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November 1

RESTORATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY

Li Fu-chun

THE LAND REFORM MOVEMENT

Liao Lu-yen

PREPARATION FOR COLLECTIVE AGRICULTURE

Dr. Hewlett Johnson

CHINA'S ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE

Liang Ssu-ch'eng

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Supplements: *Documents of the Peace Conference
of the Asian and Pacific Regions
Draft Korean Armistice Agreement
and Other Documents*



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Editorials

The Unconquerable Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers

Two years ago, on October 25, 1950, the first detachments of the volunteer forces organized by the Chinese people to resist American aggression and to aid Korea crossed the Yalu River and went into action. Since then, in heroic and resolute actions, the combined forces of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese people's volunteers have beaten back the aggressors to the 38th Parallel, liberated the ravaged territory of the Korean Democratic People's Republic and pushed back the threat to China's borders.

In the four months between June 25 (when the U.S. and satellite forces invaded the Korean Democratic People's Republic) and October 25, Truman and his government committed a series of provocative actions against the Chinese People's Republic unparalleled for their arrogance and in defiance of all international law and custom: U.S. troops invaded Taiwan, and their warships prowled in Chinese territorial waters. U.S. aircraft raided China's Northeast, killing peaceful citizens and destroying property. Despite the warnings of the Central People's Government and the protests of the decent people of the world, the Truman administration continued its illegal activities. Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai stated on October 1, 1950, that the Chinese people wanted to build their country in an environment of peace free from threats. "But," he warned, "if the American aggressors take this as a sign of weakness of the Chinese people, they will commit the same fatal blunder as the Kuomintang reactionaries. The Chinese people enthusiastically love peace, but, in order to defend peace, they never have been and never will be afraid to oppose aggressive war." Premier Chou En-lai continued, "The Chinese people absolutely will not tolerate foreign aggression, nor will they supinely tolerate seeing their neighbours being savagely invaded by the imperialists." Those who violated the interests of the Chinese people and

tried arbitrarily to solve any Far Eastern problem directly concerned with China, Chou En-lai predicted, would "certainly break their skulls."

The American imperialists made a gross miscalculation when they advanced to the Yalu and boasted of the coming invasion of China. The crack troops of the U.S. army have been shattered on the Korean battlefield. The best troops of the aggressor—the most powerful imperialist power today—proved to be of no avail against the determined blows of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese people's volunteers. Between October 25, 1950, and October 15 this year, the invading forces have suffered more than 660,000 casualties, including over 290,000 U.S. troops; over 3,800 planes have been shot down and over 3,500 damaged; more than 2,000 tanks have been destroyed. So serious is the situation for the Pentagon that even National Guards have had to be sent to the "damned war" to meet the shortage of cannon fodder. The Wall Street magnates shed no tears over American and other boys sacrificed on the altar of their lust for power and profits; but such losses cannot be ignored.

The Korean war has brought millions more in profits to the big corporations; they have utilised the increase of world tension to step up their arms drive and tighten still further their economic and political stranglehold over the satellite countries. But the peoples of the world, seeing the increasing threat to their lives and happiness, have redoubled their pressure for peace against the Washington warmongers. It is against this background that we must view the American command's acceptance of Jacob Malik's proposal at the United Nations in June last year that cease-fire talks be held in Korea. As the events of the last one year and more have shown, the policy makers in Washington accepted the proposal of the Soviet Government in order to

temporarily allay public condemnation while they built up fresh forces to continue the war.

While the cease-fire talks were in progress, the American generals, politicians and Truman himself made it unmistakably clear that the object of the American Government was to force the Korean-Chinese side to accept their terms—by so-called “military pressure.” As a statement of Van Fleet, commander of the U.S. 8th Army, put it, “Victory for the United Nations is the only medicine for the Kaisung talks.” With each passing week, the invading troops have sunk deeper and deeper into crime. The neutral zone has been violated again and again while American planes invaded China’s Northeast, bombing and killing innocent people; gas, napalm and germs have been employed in an attempt to win a quick victory; military offensives have been launched at the same time in the hope of enforcing fantastic demands on the Korean-Chinese Delegation.

Supported by the peace-loving peoples of the world, however, the Korean-Chinese Delegation have steadfastly maintained their just and reasonable stand, exposed the lies and threats of the U.S. negotiators and done all in their power to arrange a ceasefire in Korea. With the bubble of “military pressure” exploded, the invaders have been inexorably pushed, step by step, towards an armistice, until today, fifteen months after the negotiations began in Kaisung, the draft armistice agreement is ready for signature, and only one issue remains to be settled—that dealing with prisoner of war repatriation.

The stand taken by the Korean-Chinese Delegation on this question is both just and reasonable. The principle stressed by the Delegation since March 27 of this year is that all foreign armed personnel captured by both sides, namely, the captured personnel of the United Nations forces or the Chinese people’s volunteers, should be repatriated in full; that all Korean captured personnel of the Korean People’s Army or South Korean forces, whose homes are in areas held by the side they came from, should be repatriated in full, while those whose homes are in areas held by their custodians may be allowed to return home, to lead a peaceful life and need not be repatriated.

The stand of the Korean-Chinese Delegation is fully supported by international law, the dictates of humanity and in fact, by the draft armistice agreement itself, to which both sides have already agreed. But the rulers of the

United States have not shown the slightest desire to settle the question reasonably. They have sought by every means to delay the settlement.

What are the arguments of the enemies of peace? Contrary to the Geneva conventions which guarantee the right of repatriation to all P.O.W’s on the conclusion of an armistice and explicitly state that prisoners cannot be forced to give up this right, they make the claim that prisoners in their hands do not in fact want to return to their homes and their loved ones.

What could be better proof that their claims are base lies than the magnificent conduct of the prisoners in their torture camps? Officers and men of the Korean People’s Army and the Chinese volunteers have refused to bend the knee to them and give up this right of repatriation; their courage in face of murder and torture has gained the admiration of the world. Time and again camps declared to belong to the “refuse repatriation” class have declared their allegiance to their countries and have braved the tanks, bayonets, grenades and machine-gun fire of their U.S. guards. A hundred and sixty-five Chinese volunteers were killed or wounded only as recently as October 1 by their U.S. goalers when they quietly celebrated the 3rd anniversary of the Chinese People’s Republic on Cheju Island. And these were the men the brutal American commanders had boasted had refused to return to their country!

Exposed as they were to the condemnation of the world by their crude and cruel tactics, the U.S. generals have in recent weeks resorted to “adjourning” the sessions at Panmunjom to the accompaniment of abusive and threatening utterances by the warmongers in Washington and elsewhere and by the ruthless all-out bombing of Korean cities and their peaceful inhabitants. On October 8, they left the tent, declaring an “indefinite recess” hoping to coerce the coming United Nations Assembly into agreeing to the scheme for wrecking the talks and extending the war.

Try as they will, however, the American generals will never defeat the will of the peoples of the world for peace. On October 8, the Korean-Chinese Delegation made a proposal which, while maintaining the principle of full repatriation, met some of the American proposals. The Korean-Chinese proposal was that all P.O.W’s be despatched to the agreed exchange points within the demilitarised zone

for handing over to the opposite side in accordance with what the Americans had recommended; interviewing and explanations by joint Red Cross teams; classification of P.O.W's according to nationality and area; and, finally, repatriation of all P.O.W's to their homes.

Had the American negotiators agreed to this, the armistice would have been concluded. But the usual tactic was adopted. Fearing that this latest proposal would cut the ground from under their feet, Acheson and Co. suppressed the news of it. A. Y. Vyshinsky, head of the Soviet Delegation, exposed the plot to the world when he spoke at the General Assembly on October 18. Even the contents of the cable sent by Bak Hun Yung, Foreign Minister of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, on October 17 to Trygve Lie requesting that the draft armistice agreement and the text of the letter from General Kim Il Sung and General Peng Teh-huai to Clark be circulated among members of the United Nations were distorted and partially suppressed by the obedient tools of the State Department in the Secretariat.

Peace is within grasp in Korea. If the American war-makers give up their barefaced tactic of demanding so-called "voluntary repatriation" and stop spinning their web of lies

around that sinister theme, the armistice could be signed tomorrow and a big step made towards world peace. The people's demand for peace cannot be frustrated. The Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions and the strong support for the Polish resolution at the seventh session of the U.N. General Assembly show that the people are determined to have peace restored in Korea as a major step towards world peace.

The aggressors in Korea have been isolated. By their savage invasion of a peaceful land, by their use of napalm and biological weapons, they have earned the loathing and hatred of the world. The Korean People's Army and the Chinese people's volunteers have shown to the world that bullies will be beaten. By their heroic actions, they have not only defeated the U.S. plan to over-run Korea but encouraged and consolidated the forces for peace in Asia and throughout the world.

Whether it be in the conference tent, or on the battlefield, we are fully confident that the Korean People's Army and the Chinese people's volunteers, supported by the efforts for peace of the Korean and Chinese peoples and the peoples of the world, will together achieve victory in Korea and finally defeat the war policies of Washington.

The International Significance of the 19th Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.)

The 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which has just ended is of tremendous international significance. Its significance is all the greater for the Chinese people who are resisting American aggression and aiding Korea and who are about to embark on large-scale economic and cultural construction.

The Congress discussed and approved the political line and practical work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). It adopted the Congress directives regarding the 1951-1955 five-year plan (the fifth five-year plan) for

the development of the Soviet Union. It passed resolutions revising the programme, changing the name and amending the rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It elected a new central organ. Before the close of the Congress, Comrade Stalin, amidst the warm cheers of all delegates and leaders of Communist and Workers' Parties of various nations, delivered a historic address of world importance.

With convincing arguments, Comrade Stalin's speech and Comrade Malenkov's report expounded the difference in the situation and future of the two major camps in the world—the camp of imperialism and the camp of peace and democracy. They expounded the incomparable superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system. They in-

The full text of the editorial of the *People's Daily*, October 17, 1952.

icated the road for the advance of the Soviet Union to Communism and for the peoples of all capitalist countries to complete victory in their struggles for liberation.

Since 1929, industrial output in the Soviet Union, though it experienced the severe trials of the Great Patriotic War, has increased thirteenfold. The industrial output of many capitalist countries, despite the stimulus of armaments expansion, has remained stationary at their original levels, while in the United States, which was never ravaged by war, industrial output has increased only twofold. The nations in the world camp of democracy, headed by the Soviet Union, have a population of 800 million, one-third of the world's population. They are politically united, and, economically, they are surging forward to prosperity. Their people's living standards are rising daily. They have, moreover, built up a world market among themselves, which stands in contrast to the world market of the imperialist aggressive camp. The development of these countries is free from the menace of economic crisis.

The world camp of imperialism headed by the U.S. has already become greatly weakened. Politically, it is disunited. The contradictions between the various countries, first and foremost between the U.S. and Britain, are sharpening. The imperialist world market is contracting day by day. Economic crisis is inevitable. War between the imperialist states is also inevitable. The people are subjected to poverty, unemployment, famine and the menace of war.

Full of confidence, the Soviet Union is advancing towards Communism. As Comrade Malenkov said:

We have everything required for the building of a complete communist society. The natural resources of the Soviet Union are inexhaustible. Our state has demonstrated its ability to utilise these vast resources for the benefit of the working people. The Soviet people have demonstrated their ability to build a new society and look forward to the future with confidence.

With the solicitous aid of the Soviet Union, all states in the world camp of peace and democracy are building socialist or new-democratic societies.

On the other hand, "the bourgeoisie—the chief enemy of the emancipation movement—has itself become different, has changed substantially, has become more reactionary, has lost its ties with the people, and has thereby

weakened itself" (Stalin). In the capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie has lost every shred of liberalism and "national principle." Apart from the Communist and democratic parties, no one else is able to raise the banner of democratic freedom and national independence.

The world camp of peace and democracy, headed by the Soviet Union, is surging forward. The imperialist aggressive camp, headed by the United States, is disintegrating and is experiencing many internal revolts. The basic causes of this split have been exposed with great insight by Comrade Stalin in his recent work *The Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* Quoting from Comrade Stalin's exposition in this essay, Comrade Malenkov said:

Comrade Stalin has shown that the major features and requirements of the basic economic law of modern capitalism are "the securing of the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of the given country, through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries, and, lastly, through wars and militarisation of the national economy, which are utilised for the obtaining of the highest profits." This law discloses and explains the crying contradictions of capitalism, and reveals the reasons and roots of the rapacious aggressive policy of capitalist states. The operation of this law leads to the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, to the inevitable growth and eruption of all the contradictions of capitalist society.

The very antithesis of decaying capitalism is the ascending and flourishing socialist system. The essential features and requirements of the basic economic law of socialism, discovered by Comrade Stalin, are: "the securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques." Comrade Stalin has shown that the aim of the socialist mode of production is not profit-making, but man and his needs, the satisfaction of his material and cultural requirements. The maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society is the aim of socialist production, and the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques is the means by which this aim is achieved. The operation of this law leads to the advancement of society's productive forces, to its progress, and to a constant rise in the material and cultural standards of the working people.

The Chinese people are faced with the tasks of economic and cultural construction on

a vast scale. In carrying out these tasks, we also have the task of opposing war and defending peace. From the various reports and discussions at the 19th Congress of the C.P.S.U., we are able to understand more clearly that peace can certainly be won so long as we make efforts to strengthen our national defence forces, strive for victory in the campaign to resist American aggression and aid Korea, consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship and build unity with our friends internationally. By his report to the 19th Congress of the C.P.S.U., Comrade Malenkov furnishes us with rich experience in economic and cultural construction, the building of state power and the Party, which are of extremely great importance and can and should be correctly applied to the concrete circumstances in our country.

The spirit that breathes through all the documents of the 19th Congress of the C.P.S.U. is one of confidence in the victorious building of Communism, and of criticism and self-criticism. Comrade Malenkov's report is a document to be carefully studied by our comrades in all departments, so that our work may improve and still greater achievements be made in all fields.

To achieve success in the work of construction that faces us, in our opposition to aggressive war and defence of international peace, the people of our country must endeavour to learn from the Soviet Union and consolidate and strengthen the friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union.

Comrade Stalin said:

After our Party had assumed power in 1917, and after it had taken effective measures to abolish capitalist and landlord oppression, representatives of the fraternal parties, in their admiration for the daring and success of our Party, conferred upon it the title of the "Shock Brigade" of the world revolutionary and labour movement. By this, they were expressing the hope that the successes of the "Shock Brigade" would help to ease the position of the peoples languishing under the yoke of capitalism. I think that our Party has justified these hopes...

We, members of the Chinese Communist Party and the people of China, know from our personal experience what great assistance has been given to our revolutionary and construction work by the Socialist Soviet Union under the leadership of the C.P.S.U.

As early as the first stage of the war of resistance to Japanese aggression, the great leader of the Chinese people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, said:

In this world, all imperialism is our enemy; if China wants independence, she can never attain it without the aid of the socialist states and the international proletariat. That is to say, she cannot attain it without the assistance of the Soviet Union, without the assistance given by the anti-capitalist struggle waged by the proletariat of Japan, Britain, the United States, France, Germany and Italy in those countries. (*On New Democracy.*)

In 1945, the Chinese people eventually won victory with the direct assistance of the Soviet Union in the war of resistance to Japanese aggression.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said further in 1949:

Just consider. If the Soviet Union did not exist, if there had been no victory over fascism in the Second World War, if Japanese imperialism had not been defeated, if the various New Democratic countries had not arisen, if the oppressed nations of the East had not begun to fight, if there were no struggle inside the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and other capitalist countries between the masses of the people and their reactionary rulers, and if there were no such sum-total of all these, then the reactionary forces bearing down upon us would certainly be immeasurably greater than they are now. Could we be victorious under such circumstances? Obviously not. Furthermore, it would be impossible to make the victory secure even if it were attained. (*On the People's Democratic Dictatorship.*)

Since then, all the achievements in rehabilitation, reform and construction of our country and the rise of our international status have had the assistance of the Soviet Union and the people of other countries.

In his essay *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is our very best teacher, and we must learn from it." The Communist Party of China was built up on the model of the C.P.S.U. The victory of our revolution has been gained through the correct application of the experiences of the C.P.S.U. Our future tasks in construction will also succeed because we can learn from the C.P.S.U.

For us, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, the success of the 19th Congress of the C.P.S.U. greatly raises our confidence in our struggle and illuminates our road ahead—the road leading from New Democracy to Socialism and Communism, the road of unity with our international friends to oppose war and defend peace.

The Restoration and Development of Industry

Li Fu-chun

Vice-Chairman of the Committee of Financial and Economic Affairs

Through the past hundred years and more, under imperialist encroachment and the bondage of the feudal system, China had remained an industrially backward nation. Up to 1937, the year when the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression started, the value of modern industrial output was only about 10 per cent of the total value of the nation's production. Furthermore, a position of monopoly and domination was occupied by those industries operating with the investments of the imperialists and Kuomintang bureaucratic capitalists. The young and weak national industries were oppressed and prevented from growing. China had become a dumping ground for the imperialists' wares and an object of their aggression.

In the more than ten years of war which followed, extremely serious damage was done to industrial enterprises. Many important factories and mines were totally destroyed by the reactionary Kuomintang troops in their retreat. Compared with the highest production levels recorded, the output of coal in 1949 was less than one-half; that of iron and copper was less than 20 per cent; and textiles less than 75 per cent. Generally speaking, industrial production had decreased on an average by about 50 per cent.

Led by the Communist Party of China through all the difficulties of a long period of arduous struggle, the Chinese people, however, uprooted the reactionary Kuomintang regime, expelled the aggressive imperialist powers from their country and established a democratic, independent and united new China. Losing no time after the attainment of their great revolutionary victory, they immediately embarked with boundless courage and enthusiasm upon the work of economic rehabilitation and reform.

In March, 1950, the Central People's Government took active measures to bring both revenue and expenditure under unified control

throughout the country and to stabilise commodity prices and the currency. The rapid success achieved in these tasks was the starting point for the nation-wide restoration and development of production in public as well as private industries. With the state budget approaching a balance and the gradual stabilisation of the currency and of commodity prices, the Government was enabled to invest large amounts of capital in state-owned industrial and mining enterprises. These enterprises were also enabled to adopt a modern system of budgetting and accounting, to begin mapping out production plans and to undertake various reforms. At the same time, privately-operated industries were enabled to regulate their production freed from the control of speculators and to develop along lines of benefit to the nation's economy and the living conditions of the people.

Since the state-owned industrial and mining enterprises were taken over from the reactionary Kuomintang government, from war criminals and traitors, it was necessary to rely on the workers to carry out democratic reforms, so that the old, corrupt organs of management could be radically reconstructed. Those features in the system of management which oppressed the workers were abolished; counter-revolutionary elements secreted in factories and mines were exposed; and the feudal despots, deeply hated by the workers whom they had hitherto oppressed, were ousted. The technical personnel who had served under the old management were rallied to the new, and they were helped to gradually remould their outlook and methods in conformity with the new conditions. They came to serve the people consciously and with great enthusiasm.

The preliminary success attained by democratic reforms made possible a further step towards streamlining production. Irrational methods of management were abolished; a

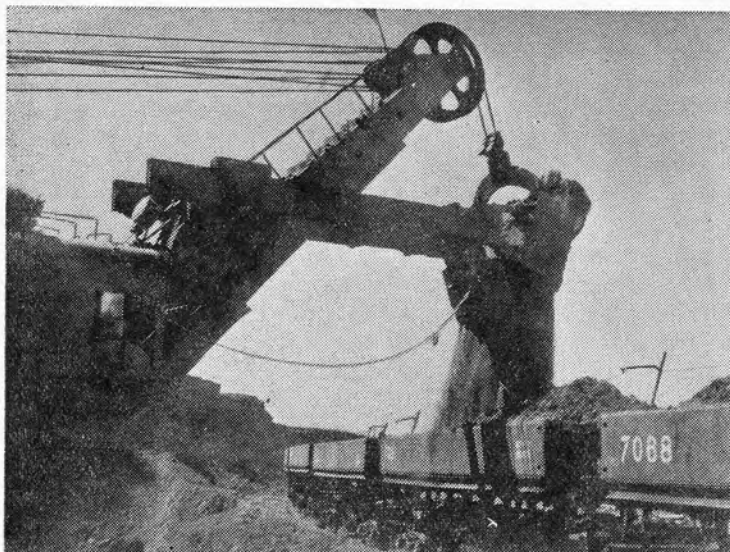
rational wage system and a system of fixed responsibility in production were introduced; production plans were drawn up; technical standards set up; and costs of production were strictly calculated so that the management of industries could gradually adopt a modern system of budgeting and accounting. All these measures were agreed upon in group discussions, introduced and carried out amidst enthusiastic production campaigns, helped on by the workers' initiative and ingenuity.

On the basis of the above-mentioned achievements, we further launched the patriotic movement to increase production and practise economy which, in addition to improving methods of management, further enhanced the creative power and labour enthusiasm of the working class. Last year alone, 2,380,000 workers participated in the patriotic production emulation movement. During the first half of this year, over 80 per cent of the office employees and workers in industrial establishments participated in this movement. They continued to make a great number of rationalisation proposals.

Production norms were continuously raised in the course of democratic and production reforms and the movement to increase production and practise economy. At first, the norms set were based on the highest records of former times. But these records were soon broken as the production efficiency of the masses of the workers was raised. In the past three years, the old levels have been left far behind, as the table below shows:

TABLE I

	1949	1952
Rate of utilisation of electric installations	100	182
(as base)		
Rate of recovery in state-owned collieries	30%	75%
Coal miner's average daily output	0.33 ton	0.62 ton
Production rate per spindle	100	115
(as base)		
Production rate per loom ..	100	126
(as base)		



China's industry is receiving an increasing amount of powerful modern equipment. This new Soviet medium-sized excavator at work at Fuhsin coal mine digs up 2,500 cubic metres of earth per hour, doing the work of 500 men

Average no. of spindles attended by one fine-yarn worker	250	800
Average no. of ordinary looms attended by one worker	4	24
Average no. of automatic looms attended by one worker	10	32

The working efficiency of blast furnaces in China is approaching that of the Soviet Union. In the machine-building industry, the high-speed and multi-tool cutting methods we have mastered are increasing the efficiency of various types of lathes four or fivefold.

The production of new goods has greatly increased in all industries. Many items which could not be made in China before, such as iron rails, various types of lathes, mining machinery, mammoth sluice-gates, spinning and weaving machines, etc., can now be manufactured here.

What has been said above is merely a glimpse of the achievements attained as a result of the innumerable new working methods evolved and new records made in various industries. As a result of these achievements, the rate of production has risen rapidly in all industries, while production costs have been systematically reduced.

The Chinese working class has produced countless numbers of labour heroes in production movements. New production records,

new working methods and new techniques are continuously emerging in various production departments. The names of workers like Chao Kuo-yu, Pan Chang-yu, Ma Heng-chang, Ma Lu-hai, Su Chang-yu, Ho Chien-hsiu and others are household words; they are loved and admired by the people. Their technical innovations and new working methods have not only saved billions of yuan for the nation, but, through nation-wide popularisation of their advanced methods and techniques, production rates have greatly increased in all industries and the speed of development has been accelerated.

As to privately-operated industries, the guidance and aid received from state-owned enterprises—especially through contracts for processing and orders for goods—have effectively helped their restoration and development. At the same time, the Government regularly supplies them with adequate raw materials and ensures the successful distribution of their products. Owners of private enterprises can, therefore, fully develop their production according to over-all government plans. Meanwhile, the workers reorientate their relations with the capitalists according to the principle of “benefits to both labour and capital,” and establish the labour-capital consultative system on the principle of equality. This greatly enhances the workers’ production enthusiasm, and they help the owners of enterprises to develop production in various practical ways.

Owing to the correct leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, to the efforts of the working class and the people’s governments at all levels, and to the readjustment of relations between labour and capital and between public and private enterprises, the nation’s industrial and mining production during these three years in most cases surpassed the highest levels reached in old China. Taking the highest recorded pre-liberation production as 100, the following figures show the recovery and development of the nation’s main industries:

TABLE II

	1949 production	1952 planned production
Electricity	72	115
Coal	45	90
Petroleum	33	136
Pig-iron	11	104
Steel ingots	16	155
Steel	18	167
Cement	31	148

Cotton yarn	72	144
Cotton cloth	73	161
Paper	90	234
Cigarettes.	83	145
Matches	85	111
Flour	78	106

From the above figures we see that industrial production in 1952, with the exception of coal, will surpass, and even greatly surpass, that of the best pre-liberation year. Needless to say, this will help raise the proportion of modern industry in our national economy. Because our state-owned industries are of a socialist nature, they develop very fast. However, with the assistance of state-owned enterprises, privately-owned industries have also reached remarkable levels of development during the past three years.

The structure of our industries has also undergone a definite transformation. Heavy industry, particularly those sectors manufacturing steel and machines, has developed more rapidly than light industry. The rate of self-sufficiency in various types of machinery and industrial equipment is daily increasing. Thus the proportion of heavy and light industries in the total value of production has also undergone a change. In 1949, the ratio between capital and consumer goods was 32.5 per cent to 67.5 per cent; in 1952, it will be 43.8 per cent to 56.2 per cent. But this does not mean a reduction in the output of consumer goods. In absolute figures, production of consumer items in 1952 will increase by 88.6 per cent over 1949.

During the past three years, with the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the labour enthusiasm of the working class and the help rendered by Soviet experts, the difficulties in restoring industrial production have been overcome. Through the *san fan* and *wu fan** movements this year, the democratic reform in industry has been basically completed and some headway has been made in improving methods of business management.

* The *san fan* movement—On New Year’s Day, 1952, Chairman Mao Tse-tung called upon the whole nation to wipe out corruption, waste and bureaucratism among government personnel (abbreviated to “three-anti movement” in Chinese).

Wu fan means the “five-anti movement” among business circles, i.e. against bribery of government personnel, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information for private speculation.

The ideology of technical personnel has been successfully remoulded. As a result of all this, the work of restoring and reforming the people's economy has been successfully completed, and the financial and economic conditions in our nation have made a fundamental turn for the better. On the basis of the preparations made during these past three years, we therefore must and can undertake the large-scale economic construction which is soon to begin.

Tremendous victories have been gained on the economic front during the past three years. But these have been in the main victories of economic rehabilitation and reform. In turning from rehabilitation to construction, many new problems will be met which will require fundamental study. The most important and the most complex object of study is how to carry out basic construction. Here, specialisation and thoroughness are essential. In his article *On People's Democratic Dictatorship*, Chairman Mao Tse-tung points out:

We must overcome all the difficulties and learn the things we do not understand. We must learn to do economic work from all who know the ropes, no matter who they are. We must

respect them as teachers, learning from them respectfully and earnestly. We must not pretend to know when we do not know. We must not put on bureaucratic airs. If one bores into a subject for several months, for a year or two, or perhaps even three or five years, one will eventually master it.

At first some Communists in the Soviet Union were also unable to handle economic matters, and the imperialists then also looked forward to their failure. But the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. emerged victorious. Under Lenin's and Stalin's leadership, the Soviet Communists have been able not only to conduct a revolution but also to carry out construction. They have already built up a great and glorious socialist state.

The Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. is our very best teacher, and we must learn from it. The situation at home and abroad is in our favour. We can rely entirely upon the weapon of the people's democratic dictatorship, unite all the people throughout the country, except the reactionaries, and march steadily towards our goal.

By following the instructions of Chairman Mao Tse-tung as we strive to forge ahead, we will assuredly succeed in accomplishing the glorious task of industrialising our country and advancing steadily to Socialism.

The Land Reform Movement

Liao Lu-yen

Deputy Secretary-General of the Government Administration Council

The land reform movement has been in the main completed throughout New China. During the past three years the reform was carried out in areas with a total rural population of 300 million. Added to the rural population of the old liberated areas where land reform was already completed before 1949, this amounts to over 90 per cent of the nation's total agricultural population. Apart from Taiwan which is still awaiting liberation, and national minority areas like Sinkiang and Tibet, the rural population of the areas where land reform has not yet been carried out is only thirty million. Land reform in these areas will be finished within this year or before the spring ploughing next year at the latest. The agrarian reform in the national minority

areas of Sinkiang will be completed before the next spring.

At long last, the peasants of China who have suffered under the heavy pressure of feudalism during the past two thousand years and more are emancipated. Once the beasts of burden of the landlords, they have become the rulers of the countryside. Once slaves of the land, they have become its masters. This tremendous, historic victory is a victory of the unflinching and dauntless struggle of the Chinese peasants, led by the working class and its Party—the Communist Party—which have fought together with the peasants for thirty-one years. It is a victory of Mao Tse-tung's teachings, a victory in China of the theory on

the peasant problem of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

How Success Was Achieved

How was it possible within this short period of three years to complete the work of land reform in areas with a rural population of 300 million people? The reasons are as follows:

Firstly, by the unequivocal implementation of the general line and policy concerning land reform as laid down by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party—the policy of relying on the poor peasants and farm labourers, uniting with the middle peasants, and neutralising the rich peasants, to wipe out the system of feudal exploitation systematically and with discrimination, and to develop agricultural production.

The practical experience of the land reform movement has completely confirmed the fact that the poor peasants and farm labourers, who constitute 70 per cent of the rural population, are the mainstay of the movement. Having little or no land, they have been most active and most resolute in the land reform struggle. They form the majority of leading members of local peasant associations. It was by relying on them that the elimination of feudalism was successfully realised. The poor peasants and farm labourers acquired a share of land equivalent to about 90 per cent of the average of land that each person owned in their locality, and their urgent demand for land was thereby basically satisfied.

The interests of the middle peasants who constituted 20 per cent of the rural population also received strict protection during the reform. Article 7 of the *Agrarian Reform Law* stipulates: "Land and other properties of middle peasants (including well-to-do middle peasants) shall be protected from infringement." This article has been strictly observed everywhere. The land of middle peasants exceeding the average land holding in the locality was left intact, while those middle peasants who owned insufficient land received additional amounts. Thus, the average amount of land owned by middle peasants as a whole has increased as compared with pre-land-reform days. Furthermore, the middle peasants in general benefited greatly from the movement launched on the eve of land reform to over-

throw the local despots, to reduce rents and get the refund of deposits. Peasant associations everywhere also ruled that middle peasants should constitute no less than one-third of their leading members. All this served to ensure solid unity between the farm labourers, the poor peasants and the middle peasants, forming a united front of more than 90 per cent of the rural population. This policy enabled the poor peasants and farm labourers to avoid being isolated; it isolated the landlords and ensured the success of the land reform.

A policy of preserving rich peasant economy has been followed. Article 6 of the *Agrarian Reform Law* stipulates that "Land owned by rich peasants and cultivated by themselves or by hired labour and their other properties, shall be protected from infringement." This has also been strictly observed everywhere. After the land reform, the amount of land owned by each rich peasant in general is still equivalent to twice the average amount of land each person owns in a given locality. In some places, small amounts of land rented out by rich peasants were also exempted from requisition, and allowed to remain in their hands. In the land reform struggle, this undoubtedly helped to neutralise the rich peasants, who had formerly been the consistent allies of the landlord class, isolated the landlords still further, and hence facilitated their elimination as a class.

There is hardly need, of course, to explain that the landlords as individual persons are not "eliminated," but only as a class. According to Article 10 of the *Agrarian Reform Law*, landlords are given shares of land equal to those the other peasants receive to enable them to reform themselves through labour. A distinction is made between the feudal land and properties of the landlords and the industrial and commercial enterprises which they may concurrently operate, and these are accordingly dealt with separately. Such industrial and commercial enterprises as well as the land and properties directly used in their operation are not confiscated. Only those landlords and local despots who had committed heinous offences and crimes involving death and had incurred the wrath of the people, and those law-breaking landlords and local despots who had resisted or sabotaged the land reform were punished according to law and, in the more serious cases, sentenced to death. This played a certain role in disintegrating the landlord class, weakened

its resistance, and was therefore beneficial to the carrying out of the reform.

The strict adherence to and correct implementation of the general line and policy of land reform and the correct application of their embodiment, i.e., the *Agrarian Reform Law*, ensured the unprecedentedly great victory achieved.

Secondly, the policy of freely mobilising the masses and providing them with guidance was strictly implemented and, as a result, unity between the core of leadership and the broad masses was maintained.

Land reform is a fierce class struggle. It can be thoroughly carried out only by freely mobilising the broad masses of peasants; only if they go voluntarily into action to confiscate the land of the landlord class and distribute it to the landless and land-poor peasants. Such mobilisation must go hand in hand with guidance, which educates the masses to grasp the policy and fully acquaints them with government policies and laws, and enable these to be made the weapons of the masses in their struggle against the landlords.

For the work of intensive mobilisation, large numbers of land reform work teams—more than 300,000 persons each year—were organised in various places and sent to the countryside. Upon arrival there, they visited the poor and oppressed, encouraged them to speak of their sufferings, convened the peasants' representative conferences, and set up short-term training classes for the active elements. They organised the peasants step by step and on an extensive scale, and developed small groups of poor peasants and farm labourers into popular mass peasant associations which include the middle peasants. The peasants were educated, and their class consciousness developed through successive mass meetings and peasants' representative conferences and by encouraging them to speak out about their sufferings. Government policies were carefully explained to them to raise their political awareness and their understanding of policies. Then the broad masses of the peasants went voluntarily into action—waged a fierce, face-to-face struggle against the landlord class, forced the landlord class to bow before the might of the masses, confiscated its land, draught-animals, farming implements and grain, and distributed them to the landless and land-poor peasants

and to those peasants who lacked such means of production, thus effecting the land reform.

Without such mobilisation, simple reliance on laws to push through from above a so-called "peaceful land reform" or "official land reform" could not have really overthrown the landlord class, could not have carried through the land reform; and it would have been quite impossible to consolidate the fruits of land reform.

Thirdly, a broad anti-feudal united front between the cities and the countryside was formed. Not only was a united front formed in the countryside among the poor peasants, the farm labourers, and the middle peasants; not only were the small land lessors protected and the rich peasants neutralised; but the workers, employees, young students of the cities also supported the land reform. Many college professors went to the countryside to observe or participate in the work.

At the same time, as a result of the implementation of the policy of protection of industry and commerce, many industrial and commercial capitalists who were related to feudal landlords were also drawn into the anti-feudal united front. Even certain enlightened gentry among the landlords, who had previously opposed Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule and imperialist aggression, and who now actively support the cause of people's democracy, the people's democratic rule, and the land reform, have also been drawn into participation in the movement, in the work of the People's Government and the people's organisations. This means their continued co-operation with us.

These policies were strictly enforced and a most extensive anti-feudal united front between urban and rural areas was established. The landlords were thus more effectively isolated, and the successful completion of land reform further facilitated.

New Face of the Countryside

The land reform has produced great economic, political, and cultural gains and brought about rapid changes. After its completion, the countryside assumed an entirely new appearance.

Once the peasants acquired land and other means of production and subsistence, they became very active in production. As a result, agricultural production has been speedily re-

stored and developed, and the peasants' living conditions conspicuously improved.

Between 60-70 per cent of the nation's agricultural population have received economic benefits from land reform. About 300 million peasants, including those in the old liberated areas, have been given some 700 million *mou** of land. Before the land reform, the peasants gave the landlords annually more than 30 million tons of grain as rent to farm this 700 million *mou* of land. They now no longer pay any rent to landlords nor do they labour for them.

Peasants' Patriotic Emulation

Tilling their own land, the peasants today are launching large-scale patriotic emulation campaigns to increase production. They are working for their own welfare as well as for the nation's reconstruction. Tens of millions of peasants have actively joined mutual-aid teams and agricultural producers' co-operatives. They have sold some of the means of production acquired by them and have bought large numbers of draught-animals, waterwheels, and modern farm implements to improve and expand their farming activities. Farming technique has been gradually improved and agriculture in general has been rapidly restored and developed. The total yield of the nation's production of grain in 1951 increased by 28 per cent over that of 1949. This year's yield is estimated to increase by around 40 per cent over the 1949 figure, and to exceed the maximum annual pre-war (1937) production by 9 per cent. The 1951 production of cotton and other kinds of industrial raw materials surpassed the highest records in Chinese history. With the development of agricultural production, the living conditions of the peasants have naturally also improved. In many places, where the number of middle peasants was formerly only 20 per cent of the rural population, now it is about 80 per cent, while the number of poor peasants and farm labourers has dropped from about 70 per cent to 10 or 20 per cent, and is decreasing year by year.

The land reform has greatly raised the political consciousness of the peasants. The broad masses of peasants have become the mainstay of the people's rule in the countryside. Thus the people's democratic rule as well

as the alliance between workers and peasants have been consolidated.

Since the land reform, the broad masses of peasants have shown an even deeper love for Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Communist Party, and the People's Government.

Tempered in the land reform struggle, large numbers of active elements have emerged from among the peasants. In 1951, in the East China area alone, more than 300,000 peasants joined the New Democratic Youth League of China. The members of peasant associations in East, Central-South, Southwest, and Northwest China have reached more than 88 million, of whom about 30 per cent are women. On the whole, the peasants have established their supremacy in the villages, where peasant associations now enjoy high prestige and exert real political power. The peasants have disarmed the landlords and instead armed themselves. Lawless landlords who refuse to remould themselves through labour are put under surveillance. The peasants have become real masters of the countryside. Meanwhile, the system of the people's representative conference has been established, strengthened and consolidated on the basis of the peasants' representative conferences developed during the land reform. This has made possible the firm establishment of the people's democratic rule in the countryside, and the democratisation of the whole nation.

Land reform has accelerated cultural development in rural areas. The number of primary schools and their pupils in the countryside has greatly increased. The number of primary school pupils throughout the country as of the autumn term this year is 49 million or 65 per cent of the total number of school-age children. The pupils of primary schools now include a large number of students who have passed the school age. The number of adult peasants entering winter schools is increasing every year. Many of the winter schools have grown into regular spare-time schools. Literacy classes, newspaper reading groups, and blackboard newspapers have been established in many remote villages. In response to the peasants' pressing demand for raising their cultural level, preparations are being made on a nation-wide scale for the extensive introduction this coming winter of Chi Chien-hua's quick method of learning Chinese characters and for wiping out illiteracy. These

* 15 *mou* = one hectare.

will lead to a cultural upsurge in the countryside following the completion of land reform.

Successful Completion of Land Reform And the Nation's Industrialisation

Large-scale economic construction is about to begin in our country. The basic completion of land reform on a nation-wide scale is one of the prerequisites for this.

The experience of the past three years has proved that land reform greatly accelerates the rapid restoration and development of agricultural production, ensures an adequate supply of grain for the nation, and increases the production of industrial raw materials. The purchasing power of the peasants has also rapidly risen. In 1951, the purchasing power of the people throughout the country increased by about 25 per cent over that of 1950. Take, for instance, the sales of the following daily necessities: in 1951, the sale of cotton cloth increased by 10 per cent over that of 1950; cigarettes, by 14 per cent; matches, by 20 per cent; sugar, by 44 per cent; kerosene, by 47 per cent; and tea, by 70 per cent. This shows the upward tendency of peasant purchasing power after land reform. The yearly increase of agricul-

tural production and the steady rise in the peasants' purchasing power will provide an extensive home market for the industrial goods of our country.

With land reform completed, the peasants are marching forward along the path of organising their labour as directed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The movement for agricultural mutual aid and co-operation has developed much more rapidly, especially during the past year. In the old liberated areas in Northeast and North China, 60 per cent, and in certain cases more than 80 per cent, of the total labour force is organised, while in the areas of East, Central-South, and Southwest China, where liberation came relatively later, from 25 per cent to about 40 per cent is organised. Between one and two thousand agricultural producers' co-operatives have been set up in the Northeast as well as in North China. The movement for agricultural mutual aid and co-operation, which is rapidly developing in the countryside, will further increase our agricultural productive force, develop agricultural production, and give greater impetus to the industrialisation of our country. The peasants of China are forging ahead along this path of brightness and prosperity.

Psychological Preparation for Collective Agriculture*

Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury

The land in China belongs to the men and women who till it. Nothing is likely to alter that fact in any foreseeable future. Each tiller is an owner. The only problem now remaining is: how to till the land to the greatest advantage both to the tiller and to the whole community. Is it best to till it in isolation or collectively?

Anyone who has studied collective farming in Russia and Eastern Europe has no hesita-

tion in the answer. But anyone also who says collectivise the agricultural land of China forthwith shows small understanding of the Chinese situation. To the peasant it would appear that you take away with one hand what you gave with the other. Furthermore, efficient collective farming is no easy thing, not to be learnt in a single day or a single year.

Again, Chinese individual farming is the most successful in the world. The Chinese have learnt through millenia how to husband their soil; they understand compost and return human as well as animal manure to the land;

* A chapter from Dr. Hewlett Johnson's forthcoming book "New Creative China."

in addition to that, the old feudal landlords had not, like the feudal landlords of tsarist Russia or Prussian Germany, used modern methods and modern machinery in the cultivation of their lands, producing a large marketable surplus. A surplus not sufficient indeed in bulk to supply the large-scale industry at which Russia, for her part, aimed; but enough for the feudalistic order.

But in China it was different. The feudal landlord system had a surplus for sale and for use in the towns. But that was not due to the economy of large-scale production. It was due to wringing the last grain of rice from the hungry, ill-clad, ill-housed peasant.

Naturally in such conditions the peasant could not, and would not produce the maximum output possible. But since the radical land distribution has made such farmers an owner, the peasant farmer produces more than formerly; the town receives more, and there is more for export than was at first thought possible.

More, but not enough; for the demands of the town will grow as the scale of industrialism, already planned, will grow. More, but not by any means up to the limits of possibility, if combination replaces isolation. The problem therefore is, and the necessity too, how to collectivise, and how to collectivise wisely, carrying the peasant willingly along with the process and not forcing it upon him. China of all countries is capable of wise action of this nature and will take no rash step to antagonise the peasant whose gratitude is immense, without whose help the liberation would never have come and without whose wholehearted co-operation no collective farming is practicable.

But steps are already being taken for this wise winning and already have proved their value. They are twofold. First get the peasant farmer accustomed to the value of team work. Second give him examples of successful collective farming. These steps have been taken on a wider scale than many in England realise. The ground is being very thoroughly and wisely prepared for the next step.

1. The first step is really two steps; the mutual-aid teams and the lesson to be drawn from the vast construction schemes on flood protection, irrigation and railroad transport.

Mutual-aid teams increase in popularity as their obvious benefits show themselves. We

listened to the enthusiasm of an old but capable peasant farmer who was leader of one of these teams. He proudly exhibited the small agricultural implements his team had already acquired and described the increased harvest results which his team had shared. No single peasant of the divided estate could, at that time and in the general shortage so soon after the Japanese war and civil strife, afford much machinery and none could buy a mule. But the half dozen families in the peasants' team could collectively afford the small machines. They could also and with great advantage divide the work amongst them, women as well as men, and concentrate all upon one single task when necessity demanded it.

The results were patently apparent. An increased share of products at the year's end, and the possibility of days off and holidays, made the benefit obvious and after a year or a couple of years' time neighbouring peasants were clamouring for admission to the team. Consequently other teams were formed, admitting as many members as was economically possible from a work point of view.

So the movement grew. It grows everywhere. And it receives due support, eager support, from the government. There are "medal" teams as well as "model" individual workers. That is, there are team groups which are so outstanding in achievement that they receive special recognition and reward. The team of the peasant I have just mentioned is a model team. As a reward it has been given a mule. Very proudly did the old man exhibit it. His was the only draft animal in the village.

It should also be observed that the mutual-aid teams do not interfere with the direct ownership of the parcel of land allocated to each peasant. That parcel is still his parcel, his own individual parcel which he cherishes as a long desired and now happily achieved possession. All that the team has done is to enable him, with the aid not just of this or that neighbour's help to till his own parcel, but with the whole organised assistance of a team to aid him.

No wonder the team movement grows.

2. The second step in preparing the ground for further advance along collective lines is provided by the great construction works. As we gazed upon the multitudes operating on the Chinkiang water conservancy

project—there were 300,000 of them—and observed the colossal organisation and the fruits of it, we saw at once what an object lesson this presented in mass team work. How powerless had the work of local dyke builders been, how powerless had the work of the most powerful feudal lords been, how powerless had been the work of a whole province to give the protection against the Middle Yangtse floods which had been the age-long quest of every Chinese farmer in flood threatened areas.

And on the other hand how all-powerful had been the continued team work of a whole nation. The bulk of the workers on the Yangtse project and other projects were farmers, gathering voluntarily from all the threatened districts around, farmers receiving pay for their work with security as the final great reward. And these farmers, returning home to their respective villages, carried with them the overwhelming vision they had seen, and with it the recollection of their own small but essential share in the project. That vision would be translated into graphic tales of the work; this team digging and excavating, that team preparing foundations for immense sluice structures; this team stone facing the dykes, that team erecting the huge press to carry the sluice gates and another team assembling the great steel gates themselves, while yet another team had been erecting them. Other teams building the temporary shelters, other teams laying electric power cables, other teams managing the commissariat, other teams equipped with hospitals and nurses to give first and second aid in case of accident and yet other teams of skilled actors and sweet voiced singers to entertain the peasants when tired after the long day's work.

What a vision of team work, collective team work!

Yes, the psychological ground of a whole nation is being prepared for team work, collective enterprise. The results in China are so speedy, so dramatic—the Chengtu-Chungking railway 505 kilometres long and the vast Middle Yangtse flood project both completed in the same month this year, the one after some two years' work and the other after less than



Peasant members of mutual-aid teams on a visit to a state farm to see how a tractor works

three months—that they leave an indelible impression on all minds. All this needed wise guidance and detailed instruction to drive the lesson home, to teach the inner meaning of the principle here applied on so vast a scale by those who knew what they were doing—of winning each to work according to capacity in order that each might receive according to work done. All were giving to capacity, labouring toil, organising ability or artistic gifts; all were receiving on a large scale in the great construction, in urgently needed security, as all received in team work on the small scale, not only according to work but, whenever possible, according to need as well.

That fashioning of the mind is admirable preparation for the final foreseeable stage in agricultural efficiency, the collective farm, where the individual peasant owner is still the owner, though in this case it is collective ownership, the positive and exclusive ownership of a share in the product, rather than the ownership of an isolated parcel of land.

The next stage is efficient agriculture, an agriculture which will meet the demands of growing large-scale industry. This is the collective farm; and the second preparatory step towards encouraging the peasant to welcome it, to see its advantages and to adopt it, is to give him an example of its operation and efficiency. Such is the function of the first experimental collective farm on the steppe, near Chiamussu, in Northeast China.

KOREA TODAY

Monica Felton

Stalin International Peace Prize Winner

I have just returned from a second visit to Korea.

Korea has changed.

It has changed in two respects. And I believe that both these changes are of great significance not only for the Korean people, but for the whole world.

First, the fury of physical destruction has sunk to still more terrible depths.

Those who have read descriptions of what the towns and villages of Korea looked like in 1951 will find it difficult to believe that anything could be worse. Pyongyang was already a ruin—a ruin in which tall skeletons of masonry stood up against the sky like monuments to the destroyed achievements of the recent past. But among the ruins, there were buildings which, though scarred and windowless, could still offer shelter against the weather and against the rain of bombs and the hail of machine-gun fire. There were, too, areas of tiny dwellings on the outskirts of the city, which, though broken here and there by bomb craters and the charred wreckage left by napalm, still had a dense population—a population made up chiefly of women and children and old men—who strived, amid the ruin that surrounded them, to live as they had always lived—the mothers sending the children to makeshift schools, and the children—sometimes pale and with terrified eyes, but often astonishingly sturdy and gay—playing together among the bomb-craters and fields of rubble.

That, as I said, was last year.

Excerpts from a speech delivered to the recent Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions in Peking.

Now old ruins have been torn into new shapes. In the whole of Pyongyang, there is not one building of any size which still has four walls and a roof: and no district, however humble, has been spared from the savagery of the most recent attacks. The little hovels, some packed tightly together on steep hillsides, others scattered among the fields and market gardens at the city's edge, all of them far from anything that could be called a military objective, have been shattered back to their original dust, so that all that remains of many of them is a litter of broken tiles, a few fragments of charred wood, and pathetic remnants of cooking-pots, old shoes, torn rags, and an occasional broken toy.

This is Pyongyang today. This is Korea.

The world has been told repeatedly of this terror that falls from the skies.

But the world must be told, too, and in the most exact detail, how people live in Pyongyang today—and how they die.

Many of the homeless have been evacuated from the city, but many still cling—just as many British people did during the world war—to what little is left of the associations of the past. At night, they take shelter in caves that have been blasted out of the rocky hillsides, and by day the women cook and care for their children amid piles of broken bricks, torn concrete and the soft earth of fresh bomb-craters.

And none of them can ever forget what the next day or night may bring.

On the morning of September 16, I went to see for myself the effect of a previous night's bombing. The bombs had fallen at the city's

edge, in a village of tiny houses and closely-cultivated fields, far from any building that was or ever could have been of the slightest military importance. Yet the fields of onions and cabbages were patterned with bomb-craters—patterned in a carpet so close that in an area of barely half a hectare I counted thirteen recent bomb-holes. The wounded—most of them women and children—were still being carried to hospital, and some of the dead were already being lowered into roughly-made coffins. Two women wailed as they looked for the last time on the face of their aged father. Nearby, other bodies and fragments of human limbs still lay where the force of the blast had blown them. The serene, dead face of a young girl lay beside a torn and headless body. Nearby, an old man approached me. He and his family of three had been sheltering in a dug-out on the night of August 29, when their house was destroyed, and this dug-out had been their only home ever since.

I asked him: "And were you in the dug-out last night?"

He shook his head, and his bright clear eyes held a hint of reproof as he answered: "How could I stay in the shelter last night when I knew that other people were suffering what I have suffered and that they might need my help?"

His name is Li Yang-ke. He is sixty-eight years old, a peasant who has never travelled far from the boundaries of his own suburban village. But he, too, is a significant part of Korea today—significant not because he is outstanding, but because he is typical: typical of the quiet courage and the heroic determination that make up the spirit of a people who can never be defeated. And that spirit I met everywhere I went, not only in Pyongyang, but all over North Korea.

Nobody could have visited Korea in 1951 without being struck again and again by the magnificent bravery of ordinary people—a bravery that showed itself not only in heroic deeds but in the energy with which people whose lives had been shattered by the horrors of American occupation were working to safeguard the future: the women and the old men planting their crops, tending the fields, caring for the children and the sick; and always with a consciousness that the cause for which they

worked was the cause of truth and right and that, whatever hardships lay in front of them, that cause must ultimately prevail.

But today that courage has taken on a new and still finer quality: the quality of calm. And much of this calmness is the fruit of achievement—achievements that have been won in the past year in spite of the circumstances that I have already described. In spite of the incessant bombing, life in Korea today not merely survives but advances. The countryside is rich with a bumper harvest of rice and other grain crops, and in the villages the livestock that was destroyed during the occupation is steadily being replaced by skilful breeding. And in Pyongyang itself, a new life goes on underground—where productive work and even cultural activities can be carried on secure from the risk of bombing. And outside the city, orphaned children are being nursed back to health, with a loving care for their minds and bodies that, when it becomes known, will serve as an example to the whole world. And the women of Korea, whether they are caring for children, tending the sick, or cultivating the fields, show in everything they have not only a sense of purpose but a strength and gaiety of spirit that is full of confidence in the future.

All these things are courageous in the highest and noblest sense—with the courage of people who believe not only in their own future, but in the future of humanity. But it is courage, too, in circumstances that the people of the world must refuse to tolerate. For we must never forget that the future of Korea—whatever it may be—is our future. The terror that stalks there is a terror—let us never forget it—that can destroy the world as we know it. But the hope that exists there—if only we can seize it—is a hope not only for the future of the Korean people, but for all humanity.

I have told you the truth, but the truth must be repeated again and again—in every country and in every language—told with repeated urgency until we have roused the consciences of all the common people of the world. The task is urgent. Desperately urgent. Let us pledge ourselves today to work with fresh and stronger energy. The cause of the Korean people is the cause of peace, and the cause of all that is best among mankind.

Let us try to be worthy of it.

The Voice of Asia and the Pacific

Jack Chen

Correspondent at the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions

The significance of the peace conference of the peoples of Asia and the Pacific regions unfolded itself like a panorama over the days of meetings. The speeches of the delegates brought the ends of the world together.

In the past, the voices of the people calling for peace were largely nameless—and drowned finally in the roar of war. Now they are named, names of the people we know: Wang, Ivan, Ali, Bannerjee, Ito, Jones... They have stood up, and are counted; numbered exactly in every country in the world in the hundreds of millions. Each is a will for peace. They spoke here. Bit by bit they built up a profound and vivid picture of this vast area of the world, a picture of a whole historic epoch, showing who is for war, who for peace. With this clarification grew mutual understanding of the role of each nation, each group, each person in that immense action... and the assurance that peace will conquer war. This was the prerequisite for the resolutions and declaration and final dispersal, ready for action, of the 367 delegates—workers, peasants, intellectuals, businessmen, political workers, women and youth leaders, housewives... the representatives of the people.

The surroundings of the Conference, the atmosphere in which it opened, played no small role in the achievement of its success. This surely is one of the most beautiful halls in the Far East. There were excellent arrangements for seating, simultaneous translation in seven languages and panel discussions. Peking opened wide its gates to the delegates of peace and provided every available opportunity for them to do their work. Pioneers greeted them with bouquets. Everywhere in the city, there was the symbol of the dove, in posters, on walls, in shop-windows, on lamp standards. The finely appointed Peace Hotel was specially completed to receive them. There was no mistaking the eagerness of everyone connected with the Conference to ensure its success. Press, radio, countless meetings in factories, towns, hamlets and schools followed its work with vital interest.

The theme of peace was inextricably woven into the celebrations of China's National

Day on October 1. China's millions demonstrated their love of peace, their ability to defend peace. As Nazim Hikmet, the Turkish poet, wrote:

*My dove, whiter than mother's milk,
For you to build your nest,
Peking has given you on its red columns
The topmost place.*

We entered the Conference Hall with the cheers of the people, the hurrahs of the children, the beating of the wings of countless doves still sounding in our ears.

* * *

There was no pride of place here. The thirty-seven flags of the nations decorated the Presidium, with Picasso's dove at their centre. In the Conference, no one had precedence. There was the equality of fraternity among the big and small nations. There were no aggressors or oppressed here. In the struggle for peace, all are foremost. Here were only the people—the people who suffered alike in war.

It was the small company of the merchants of death who gained from war; it was the people who paid for it, sacrificed for it, died in it. It was only the victory of the people who had no interest in war which could defend peace and devote the resources of the nations to the things of peace for the people. This was one of the realisations that the Conference brought home to us with overwhelming force. This was the main *motif* of the panorama that was unfolded before us.

Madame Soong Ching Ling, of China, who opened the Conference, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew of India who closed it, the several reports, these unfolded the general picture.

The main outlines, of course, were clear to all from the start—that indeed was why this Conference was being called: All knew that the American monopolists were intent on establishing their world domination. The main steps in their plot against peace are too big to hide any longer. Their war alliances, their military bases in many parts of the world, their war on sanity, on democracy, on mutually beneficial trade and cultural exchange... on all the things that make nonsense of their piratical

Stanzas by Nazim Hikmet

Strong Skill

*At Wanshoushan, marble, ebony and ivory
Have become as silk in the heroic hands of the masters.
I have seen the same strong skill
In the Peking beauties clad in blue over-alls.*

The Stone Boat

*There is a boat on the lake of Kunming, its hull is of stone.
In China, whose sails are all filled by the wind,
It alone moves not.
It alone is sad.*

Chih Chung Ting

*By the lake Kunming, Chih Chun Ting is a pavilion of
dreams.
The terrible Tsi Hsi* came here all in yellow and watched
the spring.
I watched too. The boats glided among the lotus,
They were singing the song about "The East Is Red."*

* Empress Dowager of the Manchu Dynasty.

Translated by Ivor Montagu

way of life; their plots to press-gang every available man and resource for this struggle; their attempts to crush the national liberation movements and therefore of the peace movements everywhere as forces that oppose their plans. This much was clear to everyone. But the Conference etched in the details of these schemes with greater clarity than has ever before been achieved. It was hammered home in speech after speech of people speaking from bitter everyday experience how direct is the threat of war to every human being and how direct the responsibility of every peace-loving person to exert his efforts against the threat of war whether it is far or near from his home—because peace is indivisible, because the warmongers have a global plan for war preparations. The Conference showed that every act the American warmongers undertake from Greenland to the Galapagos is part of a pattern for aggression. Their every act, from the introduction of comic strips to peasants in Southeast Asia to the offering of "scholarships" to students of South American states, from the offer of "technical aid" in Indonesia to germ-dropping in Korea—is a cog in the juggernaut of their war plans.

The delegate from Panama described how a whole country has been made into the servant of the Canal—an American "life-line"; how governments are made and thrown down by the masters of the Canal. The delegate from Turkey described how his government had been bought for dollars. The delegate from Chile described how the whole of South America is under pressure to sign and implement the so-called Mutual Security Pacts which turn those countries which submit into voteless dependencies of the U.S.A. and sources of war material. The Japanese Delegation in a series of impassioned declarations told of the brutal U.S. military occupation of their land, of the 300,000 children abandoned by these vandals violating Japanese womanhood.

Korea, heroic Korea! Many times did the Korean Delegation approach the stage of the Presidium to receive the tributes of delegations. These dignified figures aroused, in that beautiful hall, a vision of burning, unquenchable, all-conquering courage amid bomb-scarred ruins and napalm flames.

But if the picture of aggression, treachery, beastliness and death was made clear for us, so also was its opposite—the forces of life.

Here was the voice of the heroic partisans of peace in all countries, willing to risk death and torture in their defence of peace. They number millions. Here was the voice of the people of Korea, of Viet-Nam, Malaya, the Philippines, fighting the invaders and their puppet arms in hand for their freedom and peace.

Here were the voices of the Soviet Union, of the Mongolian People's Republic and People's China. Peoples who have met and smashed already the mightiest array of military force ever gathered together in one alliance and advanced to magnificent victories of peaceful construction in collaboration with their fraternal neighbours.

So the picture was rounded out. We could see the might of the defence of peace and the people.

It was not lost on anyone that the American invaders had suffered a shattering defeat in their attempt to colonise China. There, the U.S. interventionists and 6 million of their satellite troops were smashed. Even now the U.S. war machine is held in impotence by the Korean People's Army and the Chinese people's volunteers alone. Thinking of all this, the delegates could plan to strengthen the defences of peace with an assurance that, come what may, Peace must be victorious.

The delegates were unanimous in their praise of their host—New China—in its fresh youth and vitality. "I had thought," said a delegate from South America, "that I was coming from the New World to the Old, but I find that it's the other way around—this is the New World!"

It is in Peking, the capital of the People's China, that the representatives of the peoples numbering 1,600 million have gathered for the first time to plan for peace for Asia and the Pacific region. This exemplifies the role that resurgent China plays today in the world. In Peking, the representatives of the Korean people were embraced by the peace emissaries from America. It was here that the men of India and Pakistan found common ground to solve the Kashmir problem; here that the men and women of England clasped the hands of those of Malaya, here that Frenchmen stood in unity with the Viet-Nameese. These scenes showed that there is nothing that separates the people but the artificial enmities fanned by the enemies of peace. There is no problem that cannot be settled in peace and friendship.

Here we had an outstanding example of how democratic negotiation can settle all differences of opinion.

This was the source of the unanimity and success of the Conference. No one but wanted it to succeed. Inspired by the over-riding consideration of peace, all wanted to achieve agreement even on the most controversial questions.

This undoubtedly is the first result of the Conference of the Asian and Pacific peoples—a new consciousness of their unity and strength, a new clarity in knowing where the danger lies and how the danger can be combatted. The people will know how to recognise the hand of the warmakers no matter how skilfully it is gloved. They can now be mobilised on a yet wider scale for defence of peace and national independence, to halt the U.S. remilitarisation of Japan, ensure the signing of an all-in peace treaty to create an independent, democratic, free and peaceful Japan, to achieve an immediate, just and reasonable peace in Korea, and conclusion of a Five Power Peace Pact, to protect the rights of women and children, to open the clogged paths of trade and cultural interchange, and force back the hand of reaction and war.

Perhaps the finest tribute to the work of the Conference came from a woman of India, a wife and a mother, who said: "This mighty rally of delegates from so many Asian and Pacific countries gives me an unshakeable confidence that war can be stopped."

There was more than applause when the delegates cheered the concluding words of Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew of India: "We must halt the wars raging on our soil!"—there was the invincible determination of the peoples.

The resolutions were passed with a unanimous show of hands. The final business of the Conference was concluded. The doors were opened, and a massed choir of Chinese youth outside broke into the words of the *Defence of Peace* by Shostakovich. Three hundred Young Pioneers, rosy with health and happiness, showered the delegates with flowers. A huge fisherman from British Columbia led the delegates in three rousing British "Hip, Hip, Hurrahs!" The cheers for peace in many languages sounded long after the chairman had officially declared the session closed.

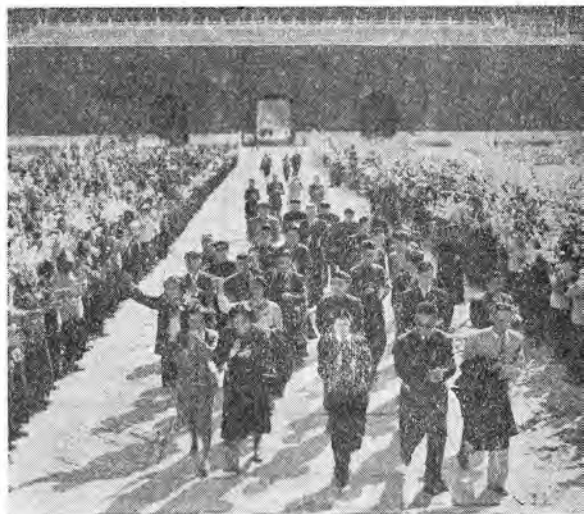
*In the hall, 37 banners,
37 boughs of one tree.
Amidst the 37 boughs the white dove
Beats its wings with joy.
—Nazim Hikmet.*



The central decorative feature of the vestibule (left) of the Huai Jen Tang, Hall of Benevolence (right), where the Conference met

A Great Conference For Peace

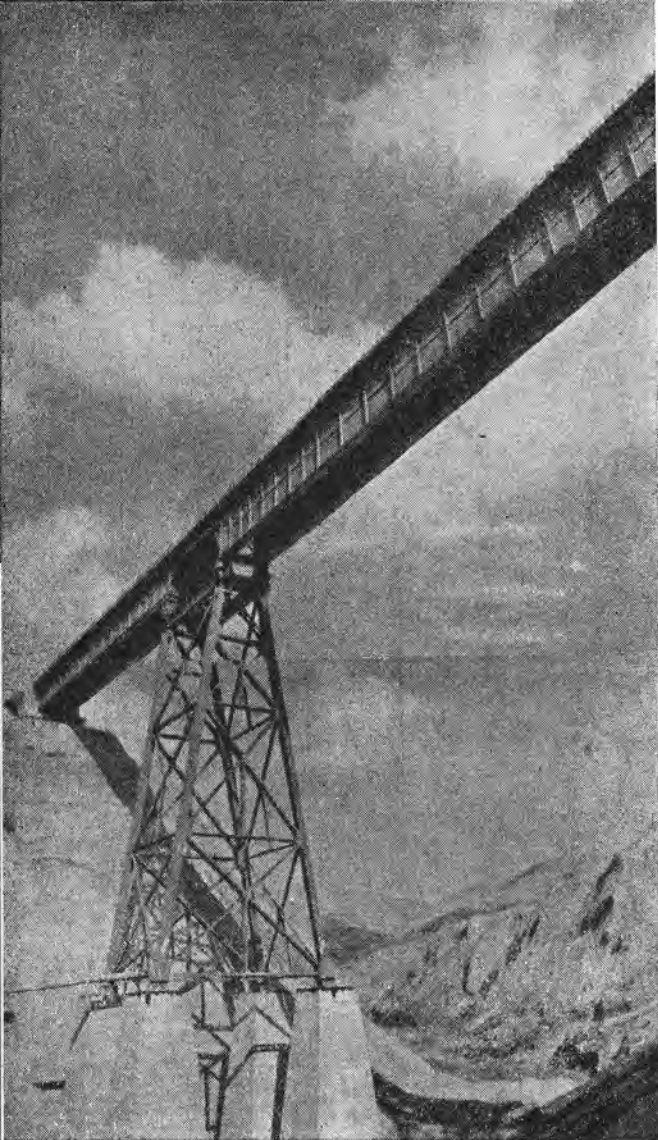
The Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions held in Peking from October 2 - 12 was attended by 367 delegates from 37 countries. It was a mighty demonstration of the will of the 1,600,000,000 people in Asia and the Pacific to preserve peace and their national independence and end the U.S. drive to war



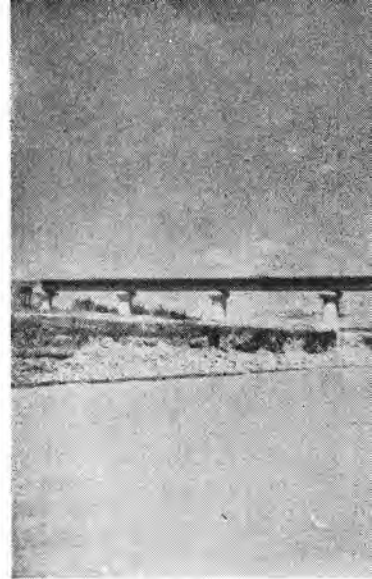
Cheering crowds greet arriving delegates at the Tai Ho Tien rally



A rally of 50,000 people in the grounds of the former imperial palace celebrated the successful conclusion of the Conference. White capped youths form the word *Ho Ping*—peace



A chasm spanned with steel. The new railway is a triumph of modern engineering



The railway crosses the placid Wei river

The Tienshui-Lanchow

Begun in May, 1950 and completed in 27 months, the new Tienshui-Lanchow line, the continuation of the Lunghai line, will play a big role in opening up China's great

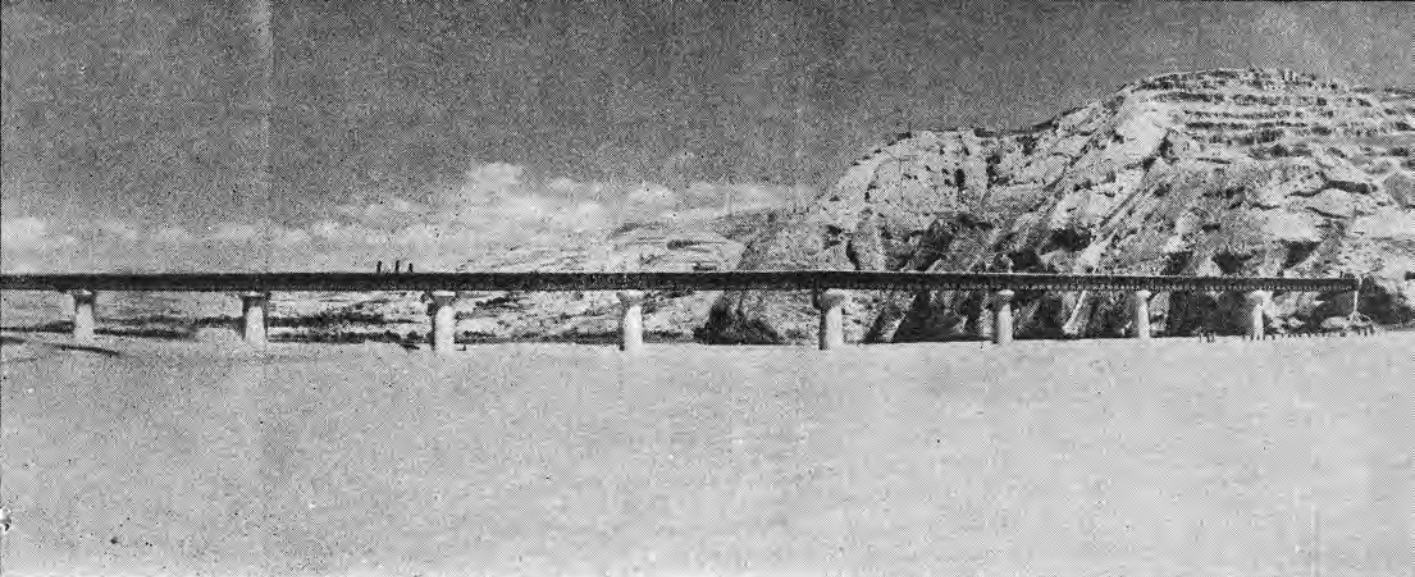


Freight for the development of China's Northwest



Preparing to blast away a rocky mountainside

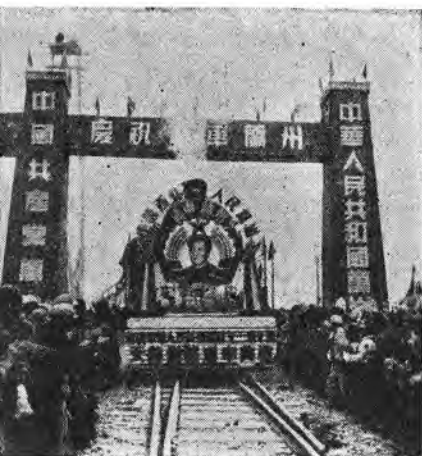
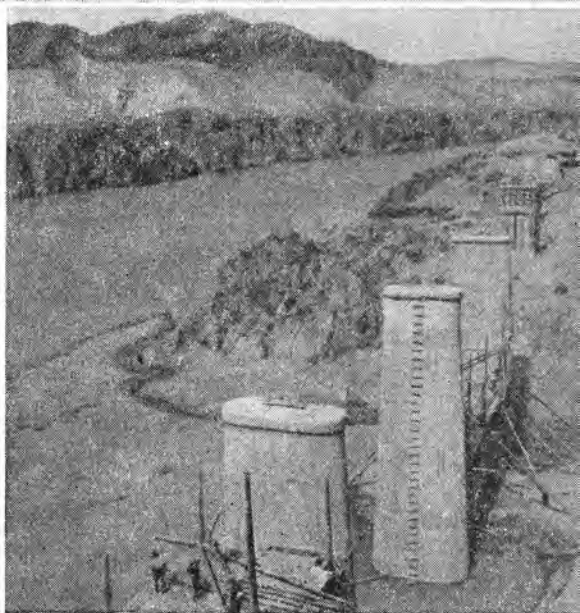




how Railway

ths, the 347 km. long Tienshui-trunk line from the China Sea Northwest with its rich resources

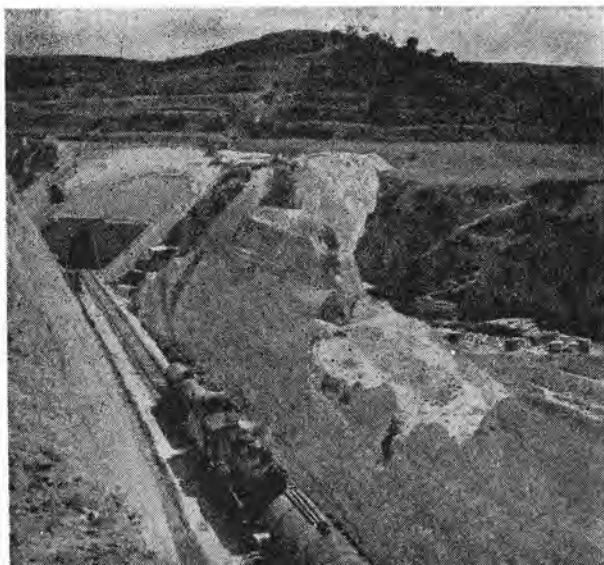
Building the last of the 1,000 bridges of this line



An unforgettable day—members of the many national minorities of the Northwest cheer the first train to arrive at Lanchow

A typical stretch of the difficult route

A tunnel through the yellow loess





Anita Willcox (U.S.A.) greets Han Sul Ya (Korea) as the U.S. delegation presents a symbolic sapling and gifts of friendship to the Korean delegation



Nguyen Thi Chien, guerilla heroine of Viet-Nam meets the French peace partisan, Raymonde Dien

The Friendship of the Peoples for Peace

At the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference

There were many moving moments at the conference as the delegations of the various peoples pledged their unbreakable friendship and common determination to end war



Mun Yae Bong, the famous Korean actress-delegate greets a Chinese Young Pioneer friend

Pir Manki Sharif of Pakistan (left) and Saifuddin Kitchlew of India congratulated by delegates after signing the joint declaration on the peaceful settlement of the Kashmir question

Monica Felton and Ivor Montagu of Britain embrace Chan Suat Hong and Liensin of Malaya



The Tienshui-Lanchow Railway

Hsiao Feng

On September 30, the eve of China's third National Day, the first train drew into Lanchow, opening the latest of China's great projects—the 346-kilometre Tienshui-Lanchow railway.

Begun in May, 1950, the line was one of the most difficult pieces of construction yet undertaken by the liberated Chinese people: lying across some of the most dry and arid land in China and climbing the great northwest Lungshan ranges which tower more than 3,000 metres above sea level, the railway presented a challenge more formidable than the 505-kilometre Chengtu-Chungking railway completed in June this year. But the workers and technicians, spurred on by high patriotic enthusiasm, completed the task eight months ahead of schedule—their gift to the nation on the third anniversary of the People's Republic.

The thousands of peasants and Huis, Tibetans, Tunghsiangs and other minority peoples who met the gaily decorated train with banners flying and gongs and drums beating have reason to be grateful to Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party for the new line. For the first time in history, Lanchow now has rail communication with the rest of the country. As Wang Shi-tai, Vice-Minister of Railways, said: "The Tienshui-Lanchow railway... will greatly speed up industrial construction, agricultural production, the interflow of goods and improve the livelihood of all nationalities in the northwest of China and will bring about a swifter development of economic construction in the whole Northwest area." For the people in thousands of square miles of territory, a new day has dawned.

The project's significance for industrialisation is indeed immense. Machinery, practically barred from the area in the past because of the absence of a railway, will now be brought in to work the rich deposits of copper, iron, coal, salt and petroleum in Kansu Province.

Lanchow is the centre of trade for the national minorities not only in Kansu, but also

in the neighbouring provinces of Ningsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. But lack of transport impeded the flow of trade. During the wool season, for instance, the Northwest State Trading Company had a constant 300 tons of idle wool stock lying in the warehouses owing to the inability of the transport system to cope with the seasonal pressure. With the new line, the wool, whose production in Northwest China occupied 70 per cent of the nation's output before the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, will be immediately despatched to the processing centres, saving considerable storage space. Moreover, woolen textile mills will soon be built. A wide market has opened for the furs, hides and livestock of the area. Another benefit the railway has brought to the people is that prices of industrial goods brought in from coastal cities will be greatly cut because of reduced transportation charges. Formerly, prices of such goods in Kansu Province were generally one-third higher than the places which produced them.

The builders of the railway faced complex engineering problems. While the Wei River presented a convenient course to follow, nevertheless the mountainous nature of the terrain compelled the engineers to plan a path through the mountains. In places, the line has to climb steeply up the towering heights where it skirts the hills along the edge of high precipitous cliffs; in others, it has to thread its way along the bottom of narrow gullies where the walls of the mountains on either side form so narrow a passage that it seems they might close up any moment and destroy the line forever.

Tunnels totalling 10 kilometres had to be dug through the mountain ranges, the longest more than 1,980 metres in length. While some presented comparatively easy problems like those that were driven through solid rock, some were extremely difficult to tackle because of the looseness of the soil which caused frequent cave-ins. In some tunnels, the workers had to contend with sudden, underground springs

that filled the borings with water. More than 1,000 bridges had to be built to carry the line over the rivers and chasms, some several score metres deep, that criss-cross the north-west plateau. Sixty of the larger bridges have a total length of four kilometres.

The job of supply was a big one. Millions of tons of building materials such as steel bars, cement, rails and sleepers had to be brought from other parts of the country—from the Northeast and from north and south China. And there were other difficulties to be contended with. The land lying between Lunhsi and Tinhsi, for instance, is dry. Only a few trees and patches of grass maintain a stubborn existence in the wasteland. What little water could be found was bitter and undrinkable. The builders, therefore, had to bring their own water for drinking and engineering purposes, as well as food and fuel from many miles away.

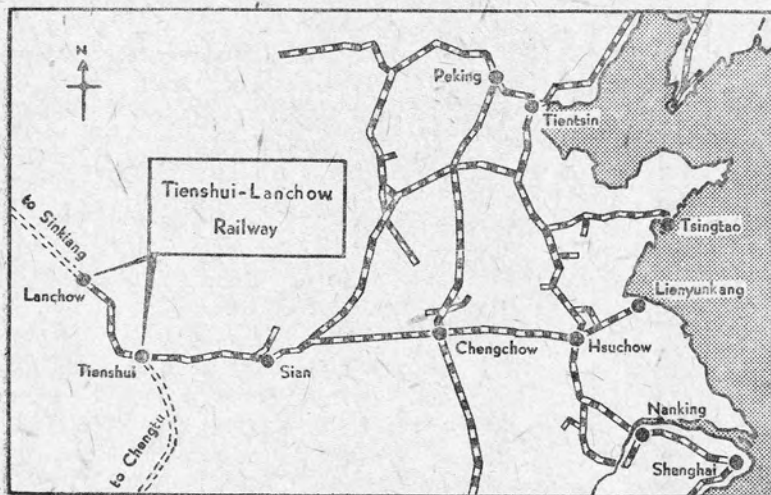
But keenly conscious of the great task they had undertaken, the builders pushed on with the job, not only overcoming all difficulties in their way but creating new records every mile of the railway. Moving feats of heroism demonstrated their deep patriotism. When work began on the first tunnel, the ventilator and motor had not yet arrived owing to a delay in the transport system. When the workers had advanced 140 metres in the tunnelling, cases of vomiting from lack of air were reported. The authorities immediately issued orders that until the ventilator arrived all work on the tunnel must be stopped. But the workers protested, arguing that they must fight against difficulties and not withdraw.

They passed a resolution to continue with the work by cutting down the shift from eight hours to four. One of the heroes of the tunnel is a worker, Chang Tao-yun. Chang one day collapsed in the tunnel. When he recovered, he was told to have a complete rest. His reply is typical of the working man of New China. He said: "To faint is nothing compared to the hardships the volunteers are facing in Korea." It is this indomitable spirit of Chang and the other workers which explains the amazing speed with which the tunnel and other works on the line were completed.

The workers displayed to the full their creative wisdom. An innovation in tunnel construction, for instance, raised efficiency six to seven times: the old method allowed only four persons to do blasting work on the rock face. At this rate, the advance was so slow that it was feared that completion of the longest tunnel would itself take more than two years. But the workers were not to be baffled. They devised a platform which divided the tunnel into a lower and upper section. This allowed ten men instead of the former number of four to work every shift. Another example which explains the speed of construction is the building of the Chingshui bridge. Four spans of this bridge totalling 24 metres were built in only seven hours; it is a fine example of what heights close collaboration between technical staff and workers can attain.

As in other projects of the people's China, help given by the Soviet Union has been invaluable. Soviet experts not only introduced

quicker methods but saved the country millions of yuan. Take, for instance, the supply of concrete products such as reinforced concrete bars and concrete pipes. The Soviet experts proposed that instead of placing orders at factories in other areas and having them transported to the site, a factory should be built on the spot to meet the needs of the project. This advice saved tools and manpower and accelerated the advance of the line through the hills.



The Tienshui-Lanchow Railway and connected lines

The workers on the Tienshui-Lanchow Railway have every

reason to be proud of their achievements. But the railway is only one of the projects which mark the beginning of the great change that is coming over the face of China. More projects are on the way. A line from Chengtu to Tienshui, linking Southwest with Northwest China, is under construction.

The great leader of the Chinese people, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, on the eve of the opening of the Tienshui-Lanchow Railway, sent a banner to the workers inscribed with the words in his handwriting: "Celebrate the opening of the Tienshui-Lanchow railway! On with the building of the Lanchow-Sinkiang railway!" And the workers have answered this call promptly. On October 1, the day after the first train pulled into Lanchow, the first rail was laid on the Lanchow-Sinkiang line.



The Tienshui-Lanchow railway runs through tunnels totalling 10 km. in length

The attack on the barren and "backward" areas has begun. On the empty wastelands of the Northwest, tall factory chimneys will emerge, and the structures of modern mines will mark the brown forbidding landscape. A beautiful and prosperous life is slowly but surely taking shape for the nationalities of the Northwest.

China Opens New Trade Channels

On October 4 in Peking, a trade agreement—the first of its kind signed between New China and a Southeast Asian country—was signed between China and Ceylon. China's Minister of Foreign Trade, Yeh Chi-chuang, signed on behalf of the Chinese People's Republic; Ceylon's Minister of Trade R. G. Senanayake, who headed a seven-member trade delegation, signed on behalf of Ceylon. Under a contract concluded the same day, China is to sell Ceylon 80,000 tons of rice. The first shipment left China on October 20.

In a statement on his departure for home, Minister Senanayake paid tribute to the warm welcome his delegation had received. "Since we first set foot in China," he said to reporters in Shanghai, "we have been overwhelmed with kindness. The warmth of your welcome wherever we went always reminded us that we were among friends...."

On October 8, the Chinese Delegation to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions celebrated the signing of the agreement with a banquet in honour of the Ceylonese Delegation to the Conference. Kuo Mo-jo, deputy leader of the Chinese Delegation, said: "We have carried out in action what we have proposed at the Peace Conference—to oppose blockades and embargoes and to restore international economic intercourse. The trade agreement between China and Ceylon not only

satisfies the material needs of both countries but will promote friendship between the two peoples."

On October 13, a contract for 50,000 tons of rice for India was signed in Peking between the Chinese and Indian Governments. This is the sixth contract for cereals to India, and it brings the total amount since the first contract in 1951, to 556,500 tons. In a speech at the signing ceremony on October 13, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade Lei Jen-min stated that there were many products which offered possibilities of trade between India and China; he expressed the hope that both parties would make further efforts to study and develop trade relations.

On October 23, a Sino-Chilean trade agreement, the first trade agreement signed between China and a Latin American country following the adoption of the "Resolution on Economic Relations" by the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, was signed in Peking. Lu Shu-chang, Manager of the China National Import-Export Corporation, signed on behalf of China; Christian Casanova, representative of the Sino-Chilean Trade Corporation who was also Chilean delegate to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, signed on behalf of Chile.

China's Architectural Heritage and the Tasks of Today

Liang Ssu-Ch'eng

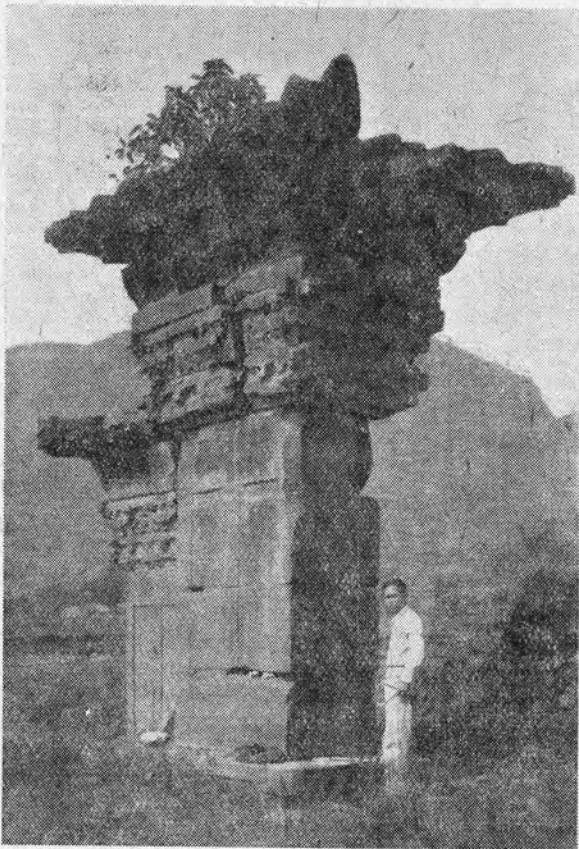
Professor of Architecture, Tsinghua University

The people of China began to rebuild their country immediately after liberation. Buildings wrecked by the Japanese invaders and Kuomintang were carefully restored to provide the people with the first essentials of living space—factories, homes, public buildings. Under the impetus of liberation, the restoration and

development of economic life proceeded at a pace which defied prophecy. The tempo of building was speeded up.

In the past three years, the total area of floor space built has far surpassed any other three-year period in China's history. The new prosperity of the peasants brought by the land reform has changed the face of the countryside. New farm buildings have been raised by the millions. Factories, office buildings, schools, hospitals, other public buildings and workers' housing projects are rising in the cities. Building workers, architects and engineers have enthusiastically thrown themselves into these tasks of peaceful construction. With the most urgent utilitarian needs attended to, they are turning their attention to the questions of artistic and technical quality, questions of particular importance in view of the fact that China is now on the threshold of large-scale construction.

The past century saw the steady degradation of architecture in China. Not only was the country impoverished by imperialist exploiters and their native hirelings to the point where important architectural achievements were financially and physically impossible, but architecture as a whole was debased by semi-colonial cosmopolitanism. Outside a few garish office buildings, luxury hotels and private mansions, the so-called treaty ports like Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin or Tsingtao were turned into squalid slums. And they reflected architecturally the traditions of the particular foreign imperialist power which once dominated them. The only groups able to afford big buildings—the bureaucratic capitalists and feudal landlords of the country—had lost their national self-respect. They aped the architectural



(Fig. 1) A stone gate-post of the tomb of Kaoyi in Ya-an county, Sikang province, dating from 209 A.D. As exemplified here, forms developed in wood construction were ingeniously translated into monumental stone structures by Chinese architects 2,000 years ago

tastes of their foreign masters. Building workers, painters, wood-carvers, stone-cutters who had handed down their traditional crafts from father to son for generations, found no use for their skills. Masterpieces of Chinese architecture were destroyed or allowed to decay on a large scale, and the artistic unity was ruthlessly erased.

Architecture is one of the most important expressions of national culture. Chinese architecture today is working to bring about a renaissance on a new level of the national tradition. It is making a critical appraisal of the cultural heritage, sifting the good from the bad, the useful from the useless. It aims, at the same time, to master the most advanced theoretical and technical experience of world architecture and in particular the lessons already learnt in the Soviet Union of the demands made on architecture by socialist ways of living and building. It is striving to adapt these experiences realistically to Chinese conditions. Chinese builders are faced with the task of cleaning away the unsightly semi-colonial air of China's cities; of planning the living and working space of the New Democratic society and bringing beauty and efficiency to the everyday life of the people on the road of advance to Socialism.

The following essay by one of China's leading architects is a contribution to the understanding of the great cultural heritage on which the new Chinese architecture with its new premises is being founded.

—Editor—

THE architecture of the Chinese nation forms a distinct system of its own among the great architectural systems of the world. In this system a skeleton of wood is first built on the stylobate in order to support the weight of the upper part of the building. Walls are in fact only "screens" forming the interior and the exterior. Complete control is thus achieved in the arrangement of the position and size of windows and doors, so that this system of



(Fig. 2) The oldest extant masterpiece of Chinese wood architecture, the main hall of Fokuang Temple in Shansi province, built in 857 A.D. Its builders already displayed the characteristic features of Chinese architecture in a mature form

architecture can be adapted to suit any climate. It is in fact distributed over a very broad area, ranging from the sub-tropics of South China to the cold climate of the Northeast. This method exactly conforms with the principle of the modern use of a steel and reinforced concrete skeleton, and provides an excellent foundation for the adaptation of modern materials and techniques to the characteristic features of Chinese architecture.

Based on the experience of generations in the use of wood, the architects and craftsmen of ancient China developed the method of using tiers of cantilevers on top of the columns forming sets of brackets or *tou-kung* to support the beams and overhanging eaves of the roof. The *tou-kung* and the majestic roof they support are particularly remarkable characteristics of Chinese architecture. The ancient craftsmen also made dexterous use of wood-protecting paints. Their beautiful decorations successfully control the boldest combinations of colours. The designs on ceilings and friezes seem endless in their variations. They also often replaced plain tiles with coloured glazed tiles and achieved magnificent effects. Although the Chinese builders are bold in their use of colour, the over-all effect produced is one of harmony. Their classical ornamentation has splendid qualities of simplicity and displays great powers of con-

trol of all architectural elements. In Chinese architecture, every visible structural element is at the same time a decorative element. An ornamental element is a structural element which has had additional artistic treatment. Decoration and structure in Chinese wooden architecture are in most cases completely unified.

In the classical Chinese plan, a "house" or "building" is composed of separate halls, connecting verandas, and the enclosed courtyards. The buildings and the courtyards are designed as a whole. The keynote of composition is the ground plan, the artistic disposition of the various architectural elements in space.

China's architectural system was basically formed at least by the fifteenth century B.C. It had already reached maturity by the time of the Han dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.). By that time, the forms of wood construction including the beams, *tou-kung* and roof had already been "translated" into stone. (Fig. 1) Bricks and stone were also used to construct certain important projects and monumental buildings, but the main form of development was architecture in which wood was the basic structural feature. Great perfection was attained in the utilisation of the special characteristics of wood; its strength and weakness were well taken into consideration. Furthermore, a high degree of monumentalism has

been achieved in all-wood constructions. This is a singular phenomenon among the architectural systems of the world.

The most prominent examples of such monumental architecture are the palaces of Peking, which are world famous. But there are temples and *yamens* in various localities which possess similar fine qualities. In such buildings the organic whole of an artistic ensemble has been formed out of the various halls, gateways, verandas and the enclosed courtyards. Their magnificence leaves an unforgettable impression.

Among such masterpieces in wooden construction, I should like to mention the main hall of Fokuang Temple in the Wutai mountains, Shansi province, which is a Buddhist structure built in the year 857 A.D. It is still intact today though well over a thousand years old. (Fig. 2) The second oldest wooden structure stands in the Tulo Temple in Chih sien county, Hopei province. This three-storey building with two main storeys and one mezzanine floor (Fig. 3) has stood sturdily for 968 years. It was built around China's largest standing clay statue, and a well with galleries around has been made in the middle of the floors of the two upper storeys to accommodate the image standing to its full height. The construction is most ingenious.

Another marvellous wooden structure is the wooden pagoda of Fokung Temple in Yinhsien county, Chahar province. (Fig. 4) With nine storeys, five main storeys and four mezzanine storeys, the height from the spire to the ground level is 66 metres (216 feet). Its boldness of construction finely displays the incomparable achievements of ancient craftsmen in China both in building and in decorative art. In four more years, this rare and elegant structure will have reached the ripe old age of nine hundred years.

These great works of art nearly a thousand years old uniquely display the monumental quality and skilful construction achieved in Chinese wooden architecture, and we are drawn



(Fig. 3) Another masterpiece of wood building. The Tulo Temple in Chih sien county, Hopei province, is 968 years old

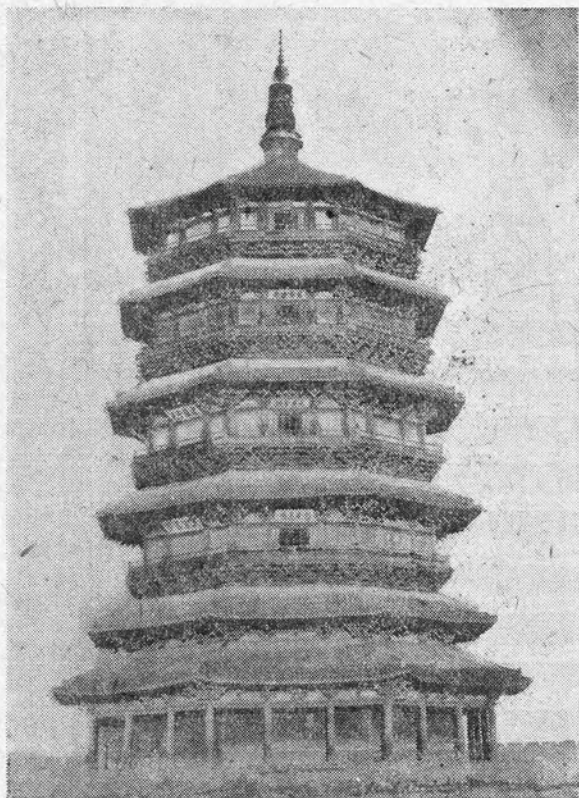
to the conclusion that the reason why they possess such durability is because their construction is scientific and conforms ingeniously to the properties of the wood material of which they are built. Historians of architecture have in their preliminary investigations discovered more than thirty extant major wooden structures with a history of more than 700 years. Further systematic investigations will surely reveal other treasures.

In architecture using brick or stone, ancient engineers and architects have also made considerable achievements. Great creative ability is displayed in the construction of tombs, defence works, in the building of bridges and in water conservancy projects.

The famous Great Wall crosses mountains and valleys for a distance of more than 2,300 kilometres. The city walls around Peking and the splendid gate-towers are important elements in making Peking what it is today. They are well proportioned, sturdy and beautifully spaced artistic creations with monumental qualities.

In the construction of bridges, the "Great Stone Bridge" in Chaohsien county, Hopei province built 1,300 years ago is an open spandrel bridge with a principal arch span of 37.5 metres. (Fig. 5) This incomparably ingenious way of employing small subsidiary arches on top of the principal arch was not adopted by European engineers until 1912, while in China, thirteen centuries ago, the craftsman Li Chun created such a masterpiece for us. This proves how rich must have been the experience of the Chinese in bridge building even before that time.

The most commonly seen structures of ancient masonry architecture in China today are the numerous Buddhist pagodas. Many of them are masterpieces of outstanding beauty. The brick pagoda in Sungyueh Temple, in the Sungshan mountains, Honan province (Fig. 6) is the oldest relic of Chinese Buddhist architecture. Built in 520 A.D., it is also the oldest existing brick structure in China. Simply stacked out of brick, it has very little architectural ornamentation. Its corbeled cornices on its 15-storeys and its graceful silhouette towering over the surrounding landscape make it a



(Fig. 4) The 66-metre high wooden pagoda of Fokung Temple in Yinhsien county, Chahar province, built in 1056 A.D.

masterpiece. In the twin pagodas of Chohsien county, Hopei province, the eleventh century architects dexterously used brick work to reproduce the same plastic forms conceived and matured in wood structures. These works are almost completely similar in outward appearance (Fig. 7) to the wooden pagoda in Fokuang Temple of a slightly earlier period. Nevertheless, they certainly display the characteristically sturdy qualities of masonry construction.

Masonry was widely used in building in the western part of North China where, in general, the barrel-vault construction was employed. Where masonry was used in the building of monumental halls, brick, stone and coloured terra cotta were appropriately employed to reproduce the accustomed forms of wood structure. Many so-called "beamless halls" belong to this category.

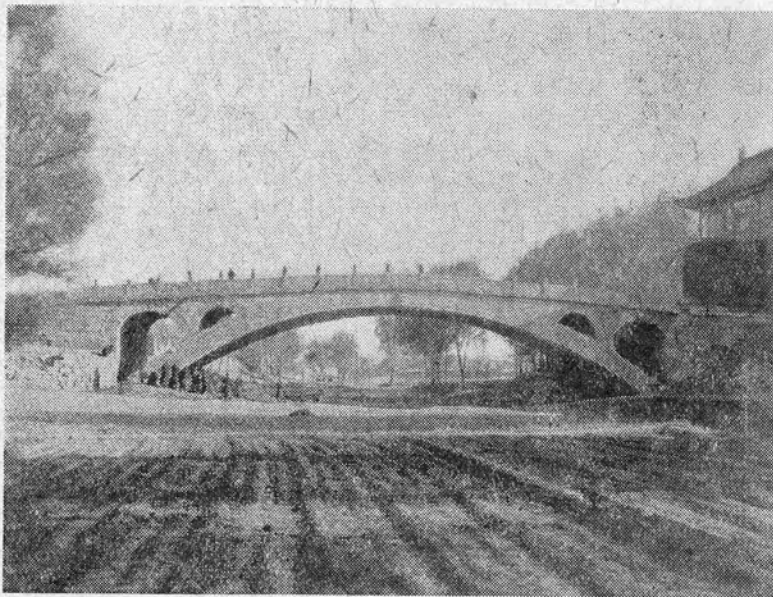
Chinese architecture whether in wood or in masonry has preserved throughout several thousands of years a distinct, continuous, and uniformly consistent national character. But China's architects have been adept at absorb-

ing outside influences on the basis of their own tradition. They have thus enriched their art and yet not lost their basic characteristics. The Buddhist and Moslem architecture of China clearly exemplifies this point. But when the imperialists invaded China, and the peaceful and natural interflow of culture was replaced by relations based on brute force, the situation changed completely. The aggressors indiscriminately transplanted into China their own architectural forms. Their buildings, like their gunboats, dominated the larger cities along the coast and the Yangtse River. In their arrogance, they looked down upon and destroyed the original style and setting of Chinese cities. Architecture in China lost its independence and individuality. Ideologically and artistically it was degraded. Although new techniques of construction were acquired and new materials mastered, for several decades mostly Western style buildings were built in large cities. Chinese architecture was deprived of its chances for lively development.

Liberation brought about a revolutionary change in the status of architects in China and in the whole direction and content of their work. Not only have they suddenly been given the opportunity of designing tens of thousands of residences, factories, schools, hospitals, and office buildings, etc.; not only will the floor area they design in any year now surpass by many times the total floor area they designed in half their working lives in the old days; but the most important thing is that they now serve not a small clique of exploiters, but the broad masses of the people. China's peaceful construction is a decisive component part of the peaceful construction of the world. The results of their collective efforts will express the cultural strivings of this new era. They have a significant task to fulfil. Today, all architects, whether in the field of economic or cultural construction, are without exception active participants in the assertion of the ideology of the new China, the New Democracy in architecture. They have shouldered this great responsibility with great earnestness. It is an inspiring task.

The full significance of their new tasks, however, was not immediately realised by all architects. Because of past habits, they at first only saw the vast increase in the amount of building as so many opportunities for showing off their abilities and asserting their pet theories. But soon more serious questions were bought to their attention. The appearance of such great numbers of new buildings will alter the appearance of all Chinese cities. What materials should be used? What kind of structures, styles and forms should be adopted? All these are momentous questions. *Laissez-faire* and unplanned development cannot be permitted. The cultural and educational policy of the *Common Programme* adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has, however, provided them with a working guide.

This policy is the same New Democratic cultural and educational policy enunciated by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Brilliantly analysing the new culture in his *On New Democracy* he writes that China's new culture is, and therefore China's new architecture must also necessarily be, "...national. It opposes imperialist oppression and upholds the dignity and independence of the Chinese nation. It belongs to this nation of ours, and is imbued with our national characteristics." New China's architecture naturally must also... "...have its own form, namely, a national form. National



(Fig. 5) The Great Stone Bridge in Chaohsien county, Hopei province, built 1,300 years ago, antedated the European use of this type of open spandrel construction by 1,262 years

in form, new-democratic in content—such is our new culture today.”

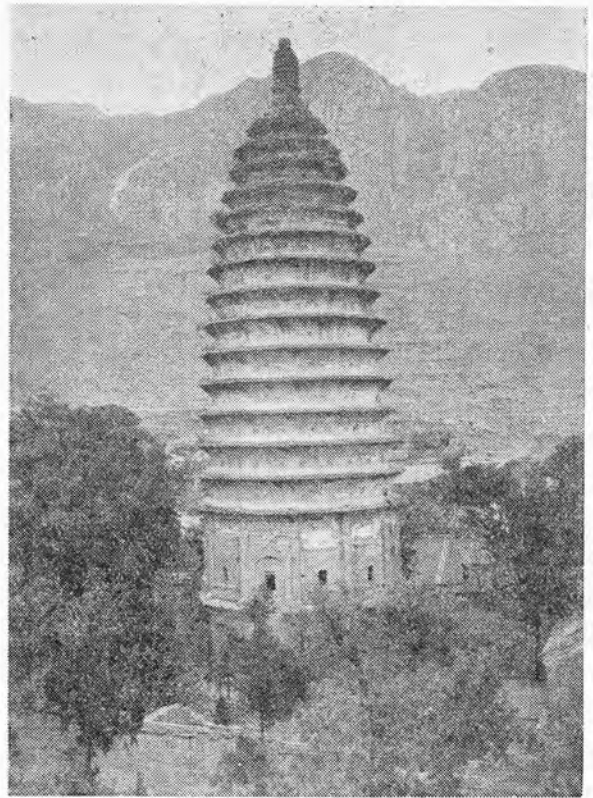
China's new architecture must be “scientific”; it must be the expression of an outlook which “stands for seeking truth from facts, it stands for objective truth and for unity between theory and practice...” and it must be an art that “has developed out of her old culture...” New China's architects “...must respect our own history and should not break it up... respecting its dialectical development, but not eulogizing the ancient while disparaging the modern...” It should “direct them (the masses of the people) not to look backward, but to look forward.”

This new architecture “is in the interests of the broad masses, hence it is democratic. It should be in the service of the toiling masses of workers and peasants, who constitute more than 90 per cent of the population of the entire nation... elevation and popularisation (of art) must be distinguished from each other but linked to each other.”

Our architects gained confidence from such clear directions. They will enable us to stride boldly forward and overcome our defects.

The architectural profession in China has been for so long subjected to the semi-colonial conditions of the so-called “treaty ports” that the architects became strangers to our finest national traditions which were most regrettably rejected and cast aside. The priceless skill of experienced artisans was allowed to degenerate through disuse. The architects of New China are faced with no small task in re-acquainting themselves with the great artistic traditions of the Motherland and making the very great adaptations needed in order to bring those traditions to serve the needs of today and tomorrow, and in preserving and developing our national artistic characteristics in architecture while new techniques are being absorbed. These tasks are especially difficult since the tempo and scale of construction work in our country is increasing with such rapidity, and our architects' time is already so overburdened.

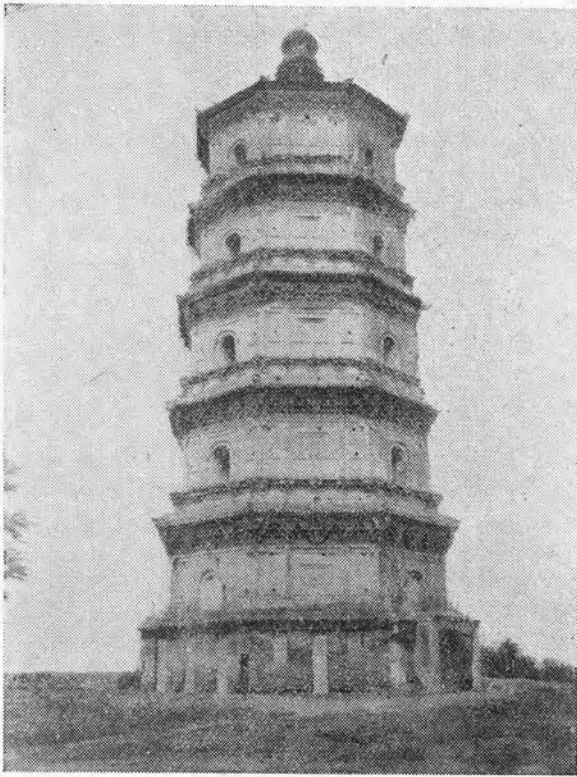
Under such conditions, first things must come first. Undeniably, at the present time the question which most urgently demands a solution is the enormous need of the broad masses of working people for decent working and living quarters. Quantity must, within carefully calculated limits, take precedence



(Fig. 6) The pagoda of Sungyueh Temple in Honan Province, built in 520 A.D., is both the oldest existing brick structure and oldest Buddhist pagoda in China

over quality. But we must constantly look for the earliest opportunity to answer both of these demands simultaneously. We believe that the raising of artistic quality and mass production can and must be linked together. We are convinced of the truth of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's words: Check “With the arrival of an upsurge in economic construction, there will inevitably appear an upsurge in cultural construction.”

The architects of New China are serving the great peaceful construction of the nation. In the first place they are at present directing all their efforts to meet the needs of large-scale economic construction, but at the same time they are equipping themselves to greet the upsurge of cultural construction that is coming. Strenuous efforts are being made to improve the quality of our designs. There is a growing enthusiasm in architectural circles for study, understanding, and appreciation of our national architectural tradition. Greater attention is being paid to systematising knowledge of our artistic heritage. This emphasis



(Fig. 7) The brick-built pagoda of Chohsien county, Hopei province, built in the eleventh century. Note the masonry "tou kung"

on the need to master our national tradition in creative work is already a key point in

educational policy for the rising generation of architects.

The Chinese people have every confidence that New China's architecture will play useful role in peaceful construction throughout the country, that the quality of architectural design will be significantly raised by absorbing the special features of China's own traditional art. With the use of new technique and materials, a glorious new architecture will be developed, a new-democratic architecture that is "national, scientific, and of the broad masses," "loved by the Chinese people" and worthy of Mao Tse-tung's era.

New China's architects build for the peace and happiness of the people. They realise at what great cost that happiness was gained. That is why, like the people of the whole country, they are ardent in their determination to defend the peace of their country and of the world that makes it possible for their peaceful construction to progress at its present unparalleled speed. They will not allow other people to destroy their cultural traditions and peaceful construction, nor will they allow the destruction of other peoples' cultures and construction. They want the peoples throughout the world to live their own peaceful, happy and creative lives, to the enrichment of each other's culture and life.

Documents

SPEECH BY LIU SHAO-CHI AT THE 19TH CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U. (B.)

A delegation of the Communist Party of China was present at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B.) It was composed of Liu Shao-chi, head of the delegation, and five members: Jao Shu-shih, Chen Yi, Li Fu-chun, Wang Chia-hsiang and Liu Chang-sheng. The following is the full text of the greetings delivered to the Congress at its session on October 8 by Liu Shao-chi, General-Secretary of the Communist Party of China.

Comrades!

The 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) is an event of great historic significance.

This Congress has aroused the greatest interest and attention among the members of the Communist Party of China.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has sent us, six persons, as its representatives to give greetings to the Congress. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

And so I have the opportunity today of personally reading to the Congress the congratulations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party

of China, signed by its Chairman Mao Tse-tung (*stormy, prolonged applause turning into an ovation*); this is a great honour for us.

The message of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China reads:

Dear comrade Stalin! (*Applause.*)

Dear comrade delegates to the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)!

On behalf of all members of the Party, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sends the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) its heartfelt greetings and warm congratulations. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Created and reared by Lenin and Stalin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) has in a long struggle achieved an incomparably great victory of world historic significance.

The Party led the Great October Socialist Revolution, which opened a new era in the history of mankind and started the basic transformation from the old world of capitalism to the new world of Socialism.

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet people have victoriously built a socialist society, created a new social system which knows no exploitation of man by man. Under its leadership the Soviet people and the Soviet Army achieved victory in the great Patriotic War, thus saving mankind from enslavement by German, Italian and Japanese fascism and building a wide road for the struggle of the peoples of the whole world for a lasting peace and people's democracy.

In their work to fulfil the fifth Five-Year Plan for the development of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people are advancing under its leadership to the perfect and boundless future of a communist society.

All these are magnificent contributions to the cause of world Communism. All these immeasurably inspire the working people of the whole world, intensify their confidence in the struggle for their liberation, for a great communist future.

The names of Lenin and Stalin are the banner leading the working people of the whole globe forward. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a model for all Communist and Workers' Parties. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet Union led by the Communist Party, the party of Lenin and Stalin, is a mighty bastion of peace and democracy in the world.

Every progressive cause throughout the world is inseparably linked with the existence and development of the Soviet Union.

The eyes of the peoples of the whole world are turned to the Soviet Union; in it they see their own future and hopes.

Long enslaved by imperialism, the oppressed nations of the East see the achievements of construction attained in the Soviet Union and the efforts of the Soviet Union in the fight for world peace, and this strengthens their confidence in the fight for national liberation a hundredfold. (*Applause.*)

The Communist Party of China was formed under the direct influence of the Great October Revolution and was modelled on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Stalin's brilliant teachings regarding the Chinese revolution played a tremendous, invaluable part in the victory which the Chinese people won in the revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The victory of the Chinese revolution and the splendid achievements in construction attained in the three years since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic prove that where the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are correctly applied on the basis of concrete conditions in the given country, where the experience acquired by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in revolution and construction is correctly drawn upon, victory is always ensured. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) is a most important event of international significance. This Congress will deeply inspire and instil fresh strength into the working people of the whole world and all peace-loving peoples.

We wish the Congress success!

We wish the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is leading the Soviet people, new and even more magnificent victories in the glorious cause of building Communism and defending world peace. (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the great, glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Long live the victory of Marxism-Leninism! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Long live the great leader and teacher of the working people of the whole world, Comrade Stalin! (*Stormy applause, swelling into an ovation. All rise. Shouts of "Hurrah! Long live Comrade Stalin!"*)

Long live the eternal and mighty friendship and alliance of the Chinese and Soviet peoples! (*Stormy, prolonged applause, swelling into an ovation. All rise.*)

MY TESTIMONY

How I was Ordered to Participate in the Germ Warfare Waged by the American Forces in Korea

I am Floyd Breland O'Neal, a second lieutenant in the United States Air Force Reserve, AO-1848575. I am 24 years old and my home address is Box 66, Moye Avenue, Fairfax, South Carolina. I have not married yet and have only my mother, one sister, and four brothers. I attended the Citadel College at Charleston, South Carolina, from September 1945 to June 1948, receiving a B.S. Degree and a commission as a second lieutenant through the Reserve Officers Training Corps. In September 1948 I attended Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana, where I held a position as a graduate assistant in chemistry, which was to supervise the freshmen in their chemical laboratory work and to grade papers for the freshmen, and worked on my Master's Degree at the same time. I graduated from Tulane in June 1950, receiving an M. S. Degree in physical chemistry.

I was then recalled into the service and chose flying training in August 1950. I reported to Randolph Air Force Base at San Antonio, Texas on August 24, 1950, and received my basic pilot training there until March 19, 1951. I received advanced pilot training at Craig AFB at Selma, Alabama in F-51s from April 3, 1951 to September 15, 1951. I was then assigned from Craig to the gunnery school at Luke AFB at Phoenix, Arizona. On December 1, 1951, I received a secret lecture on bacteriological warfare at this school. I finished my gunnery training on December 15, 1951 and reported to Camp Stoneman, California on January 3, 1952, and waited for overseas shipment there. I received tetanus, typhoid, cholera and smallpox shots at Camp Stoneman before I left the States.

I left Camp Stoneman on January 10, 1952 and arrived at Haneda AFB at Tokyo, Japan, on January 12, 1952. I was taken to Foochow Area B for further assignment and on January 16, 1952 I left Japan from Tachikawa AFB for K-10 at Chinhae, Korea which is the rear base for the 18th Fighter Bomber Group. At K-10 I was assigned to the 67th Fighter Bomber Squadron, 18th Fighter Bomber Group. On January 19, 1952 I was sent to K-46, the advance base of the 18th Fighter Bomber Group which is located about 5 miles north of Wonju, to be checked out in combat operations. I was assigned to Item Flight in the 67th Squadron and received lectures on group and squadron policies such as the types of formations used, the discipline expected, and the rest leave policy. I received two orientation flights at K-46, one a solo flight to familiarise myself with the area, and the second a formation flight carrying

a full load of armament, which was dropped in the ocean off the east coast of Korea. I was then called "combat ready".

I received a lecture on bacteriological warfare on January 22, 1952 at K-46. My flight, Item flight, was on rest leave at the time in Japan and I had to wait for their return before I began flying missions. I flew my first mission on January 28, 1952. We were flying F-51 aircraft or Mustangs. I flew my first and only germ warfare mission on February 15, 1952. I was ill with pneumonia from February 20, 1952 to February 29, 1952, being sent to the hospital at K-10 on February 22nd. I began flying missions again on March 3rd. On March 4th I was shot down by antiaircraft fire on my 13th mission west of Sinmak at approximately 09:15. I was captured immediately by members of the Chinese People's Volunteers.

I Attended a Secret Lecture on Bacteriological Warfare at Luke Air Force Base

The secret lecture at Luke AFB on bacteriological warfare was given on December 1, 1951 in the base theatre to all of the gunnery school students. There were about 70 students present, 40 from the F-84 squadron and 30 from the F-51 squadron. The lecture was held at 15:00 hours and lasted for approximately half an hour or until 15:30 hours. Among those gunnery students present beside myself, so far as I can remember, were Captain William Pohner, 1/Lt. Joe Young, 2/Lt. Frank Charette, 2/Lt. Allen Bettis, 2/Lt. John Yingling, 2/Lt. W. C. Sankey, 2/Lt. Mel Souza, 2/Lt. R. L. Michael, 2/Lt. R. S. Greyell, 2/Lt. Jack Cook, 2/Lt. John Sheldander, 2/Lt. Rick Canady and 2/Lt. Jack Shepard. All of the officers were assigned to the Far East at that time, and of them 2/Lts. Yingling, Sankey, Souza, Greyell, Michael and Shepard are already in Korea, all assigned to the 67th Fighter Bomber Squadron, 18th Fighter Bomber Group.

The lecture was given by Major Bethel W. Williams, and Air Force major. He was introduced before his talk by the base information and education officer, a captain whose name I do not remember now. The captain said that the major came to Luke from Washington especially to give this lecture about once a month to the new gunnery students assigned to Luke who had not received the lecture previously. Major Williams was assigned to Headquarters, USAF. I imagine he was under the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations. The major was about 5 ft. 8 in. tall, looked to be around 34 years old, and had a deep voice. He was of average build and had a slightly protruding stomach.

The major began his talk by telling us that the topic and contents of his lecture were classified as secret information, and that what he said was to

This written statement by 2nd Lieut. Floyd B. O'Neal, U.S. Air Force Reserve, is reprinted from the Annex to the Report of the International Scientific Commission for the Investigation of the Facts Concerning Bacterial Warfare in Korea and China.

go no farther than the four walls of the theatre. He stated that the purpose of his giving this lecture was to introduce the subject of bacteriological warfare to us and to give us general knowledge so that we would have a foundation in the subject and it would not be new to us if it were ever brought up again. He then began his lecture.

He said that bacteriological warfare could be waged in two ways: (1) by the ground forces using bacteriological artillery shells, and (2) by the Air Force dropping germ bombs, these germ bombs containing either bacteria or bacteria-infected insects. He said that the Air Force could deliver more bacteria in one germ bomb than the ground forces could deliver in many germ shells; also that the range of the artillery was limited to the front lines or relatively close to them, while the Air Force could deliver their germ bombs far behind the front lines and deep into enemy territory. Thus the artillery germ shells would be directed against enemy front line troops while the germ bombs would be used against reserve troop concentrations behind the front lines and against enemy towns and cities.

The major said that the danger to artillerymen and crews of the aircraft carrying the germ shells and germ bombs was very small—none, in fact, unless there was an accident, such as accidentally dropping the germ shells and germ bombs and the bacteria or bacteria-infected insects were allowed to escape and contaminate the area. He said that these germ shells and germ bombs were prepared and handled by special crews who had been trained for this type of work. He said that an anti-toxin had been developed for each type of bacteria so that our men were safe from the danger of catching any of the diseases used in this type of warfare.

The major told us that bacteria are grown in our special laboratories in culture mediums, each type of bacteria requiring a certain culture medium and special conditions of temperature and humidity for growth. He told us that the insects and rodents used for bacteriological warfare were chosen from among those known to medical science to be carriers of diseases, such as flies, fleas, lice, ticks, gnats, mosquitoes, spiders and rats. The insects and rodents are also grown in our special laboratories at Aberdeen, Maryland.

Major Williams said that special cold-withstanding bacteria and insects had been developed for use in bacteriological warfare in cold climates. The bacteria are made to withstand cold by acclimatization. The bacteria are placed in air baths and the temperature and humidity lowered small amounts at a time, allowing the bacteria to become used to the change before lowering the temperature and humidity again. In this manner, the bacteria would become used to colder and colder climates. After each change only the strongest bacteria are used for the next lowering of the temperature and humidity.

The cold-withstanding insects are obtained by cross-breeding. One insect which is a disease carrier will be cross-bred with a similar insect which is used to a cold climate. The offspring is then cross-bred with an insect used to the cold climate, and by continuing this cross-breeding an insect can be obtained which will have the desired disease carry-

ing characteristics as well as being used to a cold climate.

The major said that such research on bacteria and insects done on this project was extensive, and also expensive, but that this research had given the United States forces the desired bacteriological weapons. He told us that most of this research was being done by the Chemical Corps and the Army Ordnance Department in the so-called "Special Projects." The Army Ordnance Department has large laboratories at the Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland. Most of the work done at Aberdeen is done by men in the Army who are specialists in the various fields. Scientific workers in the Civil Service also work here and leading scientists of the nation are available for consultation. The Army Ordnance Department will design the germ bombs in cooperation with the Air Force, the Air Force supplying the qualifications and specifications and the Army doing the actual designing and construction work on the germ bombs.

The major told us the common types of bacteria used for bacteriological warfare such as typhoid fever, typhus fever, cholera, bubonic plague, malaria fever, dysentery, yellow fever, etc. These diseases are not necessarily fatal, but all are serious illness-causing bacteria. The persons catching these will become very ill and unless prompt medical care is obtained, many will die. If an epidemic could be started among the troops or the civilian population, much damage would be done. Those troops affected would be useless as far as battle is concerned and the civilian population affected would be able to do no work. The medical facilities of the enemy would be heavily burdened and conditions in general would be bad. The major pointed out that morale would be especially low and that this would also help weaken the enemy forces, both on the front lines and in the rear areas.

The major had a few notes before him which he would briefly refer to on occasion, apparently an outline, so that he would cover his subject thoroughly and in the same manner each time. He said that he was going from Luke to Nellis AFB at Las Vegas, Nevada, to give the lecture at the gunnery school there. He again reminded us of the secret nature of the lecture and then he dismissed us at 15:30 hours. On the way to ground school at Luke we were wondering why we had received such a lecture. We all felt surprised at the nature of the lecture.

Captain McLaughlin's Lecture on Germ Warfare

The lecture on bacteriological warfare at K-46 was given by Captain McLaughlin on January 22, 1952 in the small debriefing room behind group operations. The other pilots present besides myself were 2/Lt. Pete Nibley, 2/Lt. Jim Horsley, and 2/Lt. R. S. Greyell. We were returning to our tent when we were told that Capt. McLaughlin was looking for us. The four of us went into the group operations building and Capt. McLaughlin took us into a small debriefing room in the rear of the building. This was at 14:00 hours. Capt. McLaughlin is the group intelligence officer. I don't know his initials, but we usually called him "Captain Mac". He is

about 5 ft. 10 inches tall, around 30 years old, and has black hair which is beginning to turn gray.

The lecture had been given previously to all of the pilots in the group and we received it then because we were new arrivals. The room was about 8 by 10 ft. in size, with a table and chairs and a blackboard on the wall at one end of the room. We were told to make ourselves comfortable and to smoke if we wished. The captain then told us that even though our regular missions were classified "secret", we could discuss them among ourselves and tell each other what we had done. However, we were not to mention the subject he was about to bring up to anyone at all, and we must not discuss the subject even among ourselves. He told us that it was "top secret" and stressed the fact that we should never discuss it with anyone. He said that what he was about to tell us was a new subject to us and that we should pay close attention to what he was saying. He then began the lecture dealing with germ warfare.

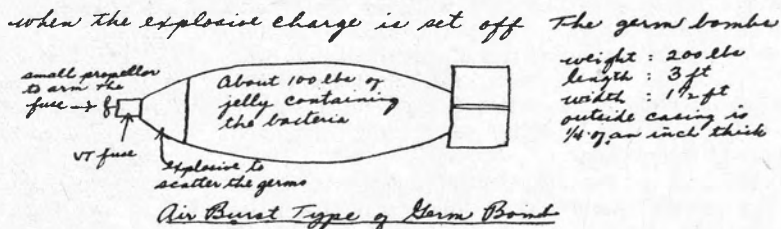
The captain did not have any notes with him and did not refer to any during the lecture. It was apparent that he was thoroughly familiar with the subject and had received training in it. I imagine that he received his training at Aberdeen, Maryland. The intelligence school in Washington, D. C. is fairly close to Aberdeen. I did not ever hear the background of Captain McLaughlin discussed, so I cannot state positively where he received his training.

He said that there were two general types of germ bombs: (1) air burst type and (2) parachute type. The parachute type were used for dropping insects infected with bacteria and the air burst type were used for dropping bacteria. It is also possible to spray germs and insects from aircraft, as well as to drop various infected articles such as leaflets, papers, etc. Our group was using the air-burst type of germ bombs and spraying at that time.

The air-burst germ bombs, Capt. McLaughlin said, are the same size as a regular 500 lb. bomb, only they weigh about 150 to 200 lbs. These bombs are especially made for this purpose. They contain jelly-like materials in which the bacteria are living. The bomb will contain enough explosive powder to scatter the jelly but not too much, as too much would kill the bacteria. The bomb would have a regular air-burst or variable time, "VT", fuse which would explode the bomb about 50 to 100 ft. above the ground. The bombs have to be dropped at least 5,000 ft. above the ground as this distance is necessary for the VT fuse to properly arm itself so that it will explode at the proper height.

CORRECTION:

In the pictorial pages 24 and 25 the length of the Tienshui-Lanchow line should have been given as 346 km.



Here and on the following pages are facsimiles of excerpts from the written testimony of 2nd Lieut. Floyd B. O'Neal

The captain said that the types of bacteria which could be in these germ bombs were typhus, typhoid, cholera, dysentery, and bubonic plague. Insects are not used in these air-burst bombs because of the danger of the insects being killed by the explosion. The VT fuse is set up so that if it does not have time to properly arm itself and explode in the air, it will explode upon contact with the ground. These germ bombs have a lighter casing or outer shell than the regular bombs, that is, the outside is thinner, so that they can easily burst when the explosive charge is set off. The germ bombs are brought in and are handled by a special crew from the armament section, at K-46 the germ bombs are kept in a concrete underground shelter in a parbed-wire enclosure in the bomb dump next to the loading area. The germ bombs are placed on the planes by the special crew from the armament section.

The captain told us that in the event of engine trouble on the way to the target, if we were south of the bomb line or in friendly territory, we should drop the germ bombs in an uninhabited area. We were to circle the place where we dropped the bombs and call a radar station for a "fix" or the exact location of the place where the bombs were dropped. The radar stations can give us the exact location and we were to report this position immediately to group operations so that men could be sent to this spot to remove the bombs so that our forces will not be exposed to danger. We were to drop the bombs unarmed. (Normally, a bomb is armed by the pilot, who will push two electrical switches in the cock-pit if he wishes the bombs to explode.) If we were north of the bomb line or in enemy territory, we were to drop the germ bombs armed and report the location where they were dropped if it was different from the assigned target area.

The captain said that we should do our best in aiming the germ bombs so that none would be wasted and so that the targets would be hit correctly. He said that the germ bombs were expensive and hence the necessity for wasting as few as possible. We would be using the germ bombs over towns or over areas which had large troop concentrations in them, as the bombs would be most effective if dropped very close to human beings. The germs could thus contaminate food and water supplies as well as being scattered over the people and their clothes. The captain told us that we should not act suspiciously when we went out to our aircraft to fly a mission with germ bombs, but to act normally, as if nothing unusual were happening.

Scientists and Doctors Condemn U.S. Germ War

Twenty-seven scientists and medical workers attending the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions made a joint declaration on October 12, 1952, condemning U.S. germ warfare. On October 15, Dr. Hector Fernando, Ceylonese delegate to the Peace Conference, added his signature to it. The full text of the declaration is as follows:

We, the undersigned scientists and doctors attending the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, are resolved to make the following declaration:

We believe that aggressive war waged by methods of mass destruction such as the use of atomic, biological and chemical weapons is a heinous crime against humanity, and we declare that all scientists should work and strive to stop this calamity and prevent its repetition.

Having examined all the available materials, of high scientific value, on which likewise were based the conclusions of the International Scientific Commission for the Investigation of the Facts Concerning Bacterial Warfare in Korea and China, we are fully convinced that the U.S. armed forces have committed this crime, and hereby strongly denounce this criminal act of misusing science against humanity.

As scientists and doctors we firmly believe that science should be developed for the benefit of mankind and not for wanton destruction. We warmly applaud the members of the International Scientific Commission, who not only have overcome various difficulties in carrying out a task of scientific investigation in the highest tradition of modern science but also have courageously engaged in the struggle against bacteriological warfare without being deterred by the possible persecution that they themselves might suffer.

We invite the scientists and doctors of every country in the world to pay attention to the materials which we have studied, so that they too will be convinced of the truth and raise their voice in righteous protest against this abominable crime for which the U.S. Government has made itself responsible.

Finally, we demand the immediate ratification and implementation by all countries, without exception, of the Geneva Protocol of June 17th, 1925, prohibiting the use of all poisonous and bacteriological weapons.

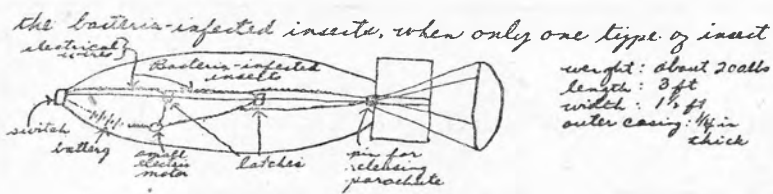
Ismael Cosio Villegas (Mexico)
Raul Cosio (Mexico)
Luis Rivera Terrazas (Mexico)
Joan Hinton (U.S.A.)
Hua Lo-keng (China)
Li Sze-kuang (China)
A. J. Faridi (India)
Hernan San Martin (Chile)
Constantino Chuaqui (Chile)
D. L. Johnson (Canada)
Mario Fabiao (Brazil)
Fued Saad (Brazil)
Chou Pei-yuan (China)
Choi Sam Yul (Korea)

L. Dulamzhav (Mongolia)
Chen Wen-kuei (China)
Chao Chung-yao (China)
Tu Chang-wang (China)
V. Fomina (U.S.S.R.)
A. M. Mehta (India)
Tsien San-tsiang (China)
Amiya Mukerjee (India)
Rafael Mendoza Isaza (Colombia)
Manuel Zapata Olivella (Colombia)
Hiroshi Minami (Japan)
Leon Valladares (Nicaragua)
Humberto Granados (Colombia)

Peking, October 12, 1952

Captain McLaughlin then briefly explained the parachute germ bombs and how they worked. These parachute type germ bombs were used for dropping bacteria-infected insects rather than germs. The bomb would have some sort of device to release the insects when the bomb touched the ground. The parachute germ bombs had no fuses and no explosive

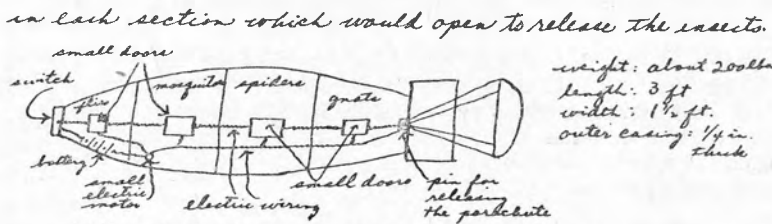
powder. The method of releasing the bacteria-infected insects, when only one type of insect was used in the bomb, was for the bomb to split into two sections when it touched the ground. The parachute would be released at the same time so that it would not cover the insects and trap them under it. When the germ bomb touched the



Parachute Germ-Infected Insect Bomb
(For one type of insect inside)

ground the switch in the nose would start the small electric motor, which would unfasten the latches and allow two sections of the bomb to fall apart. The motor would also pull the pin out of the parachute harness, allowing the parachute to be blown away by the wind.

If the germ-infected insect bombs contained more than one type of insect, they could be separated by pasteboard partitions inside the bomb. Then when the bomb touched the ground there would be a small door in each section which would open



Parachute Germ-Infected Insect Bomb
(Door type with four sections)

to release the insects. When the bomb touched the ground the switch would start the motor, which would open the doors to release the insects, and at the same time release the parachute pin, allowing the parachute to fall free. At this point we were given a ten minute rest to get a coke.

The captain then explained the set-up used for spraying germs or insects. The apparatus for spraying was mounted in the rear end of the aircraft. The fuselage gasoline tank which is normally behind the pilot would have to be removed in order to insert the container which was to hold the germs or the germ-infected insects. This would be a special aircraft which would be used only for spraying purposes. A special crew would handle the cans of germs or insects to get them into the container of the spraying aircraft.

To start spraying, the captain continued, the pilot pushes the lever in the cockpit. This lever will open the can of insects or germs, open the door to the spraying pipe and push up the safety cap to allow the insects or germs to be sprayed out the rear end of the pipe. The spray nozzle on the end of the pipe, under the safety cap, would be removed for spraying insects as the insects could not escape through the small holes in the nozzle.

The germs would come in tin cans while the insects would come in cans with tin sides and screen or cloth ends so that the insects could breathe. The

safety cap on the end of the pipe is closed by the lever in the cockpit so that no germs or insects remaining in the pipe can escape after the aircraft lands. After landing the pilot would taxi to a special area for the aircraft to be sterilised by a special crew. The pilot himself would go in and change clothes and bathe himself immediately. His clothes would be sterilised. When

an aircraft which had been on a spraying mission landed, there would be a truck equipped with sprayer to follow the plane and spray the ground behind the aircraft with a disinfectant to safeguard the base.

The captain went on to say that the jelly with germs would be diluted with water or some other solvent, as the jelly itself could not be sprayed for it is too thick. The aircraft used for spraying the germs or germ-infected insects would be restricted to fighter type aircraft as they are the most maneuverable at low altitudes. The altitude used for spraying would be 500 to 1,000 ft. above the ground. The airspeed used for spraying germs or germ-infected insects would be 350 miles per hour for the former and 200 miles per hour for the latter. F-51s, F-80s, F-84s, or F-86s could be used for germ or bacteria-infected insect spraying missions. In the event of engine trouble, the pilot was to land at the closest friendly airfield. If the

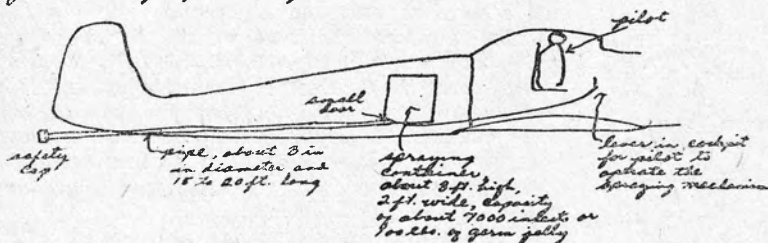
engine quit anywhere, the pilot was to bail out and let the aircraft crash and burn, as the fire would destroy the insects or germs. This type of mission would usually be flown by two aircraft, flying side by side, separated by about 200 yards. The missions of spraying germs or infected insects would be flown over towns or troop areas.

The captain told us that our group had four aircraft equipped for spraying germs or infected insects. These aircraft are parked at the north end of the parking ramp away from the rest of the aircraft. Each aircraft has a mechanic and also one of the special ground crew trained for germ warfare to take care of the spraying apparatus. Besides these four men, there are other special crew members attached to the armament section to handle and load the germ bombs and germ containers.

The aircraft to be loaded with germ bombs are parked next to the special ramp for loading. The germ bombs are loaded at night or early in the morning by the special crew. The spraying aircraft are taxied down to this area to have the germ containers loaded into the spraying mechanism. There are a chain hoist to help load the germ containers into the spraying aircraft and the usual bomb loaders to assist in loading the germ bombs onto the aircraft.

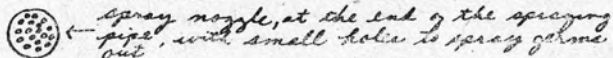
The captain said that the germ bombs and containers came in from Japan by air about every two weeks and a large supply was not kept on hand but they were brought in as needed. The germ bombs

the case of germs or insects to get them into the container of the spraying aircraft



Spraying Mechanism in the Special Aircraft

insects could not escape through the small holes in the nozzle



The germs would come in this case while the

are brought in from Japan in cargo aircraft such as C-46s, C-47s and C-54s.

The air-burst germ bombs could be dropped by B-26, B-29, F-51, F-80, F-84 or F-86. The B-26 and B-29 are most suitable for dropping parachute germ bombs.

The captain touched briefly on the growth of bacteria. He said that they are troublesome to grow and required constant care. They require special conditions for growth, being grown in culture mediums, and they were expensive to cultivate.

The captain again warned us that this was top-secret information and that we were not to repeat any of it or even discuss it among ourselves. He was very grave and stern-looking as he said this, and we realised the seriousness of the situation.

The lecture had lasted for two hours, from 14:00 to 16:00 hrs., with a 10 minute rest at 15:00 hours. It was given in the small debriefing room because of its secret nature. This room was so small that only small groups of us received the lecture together. The briefing room is large enough to accommodate 60 people, but there are people in and out of the briefing room all of the time and secrecy would have been impossible. There were only ten of us who were new to the group and as the briefing room would have been large enough for all of us, while the debriefing room limited the size of the group of us, Captain McLaughlin explained his talk by drawing about 7 diagrams of the bombs and spraying mechanism on the small blackboard with chalk and pointing to each part of the diagram as he discussed it. He had evidently given the lecture enough times so that he was so familiar with the subject that he needed no notes, even for reference. He had undoubtedly given the same lecture to each new pilot who had come into the group.

After the lecture was over, we left the room and returned to our tent, no one saying anything. Each of us was thinking about what we had just been told. I was wondering why we were using this terrible weapon when the peace talks were going on and the war was at a stalemate. We sat down in the tent and looked at each other for a few minutes. Then I suggested a card game of hearts to shift our thoughts to more pleasant topics than the one we had just heard.

My Participation in the Germ Bombing Mission

Item flight was assigned the first mission of the day from the 67th Squadron on February 15, 1952. 1/Lt. Frank Harvey, the flight leader, chose 1/Lt. Padgett, 2/Lt. R. S. Greyell and myself to accompany him on the mission. We went to early on 05:30 briefing. Nothing was said in the regular

briefing about germ warfare. All of the squadrons were represented by about 20 pilots at this briefing. Some were going on rail cuts, some on the Main Supply Route cap, etc. The operations officer, Major Clark, asked who was going on the first mission from Topkick, which is the call sign of the 67th Squadron. When "Item Flight" was called out, he said "Flak Suppressor." He then went on with the other missions, giving the assignment with any special instructions. We then all set our watches to the correct time. Next we received the weather briefing by 1/Lt. Scott, and then the intelligence briefing from Captain McLaughlin.

Briefing was over at 05:45 and Capt. McLaughlin called out, "Item flight come up and get the photos." We went to the front of the room and the captain led the way to the small debriefing room where he had given us the lecture on germ warfare days before. He handed 1/Lt. Harvey an aerial photo of Sibyon-ni and then said, "you'll be carrying germ bombs. Drop them on the west side of town and come directly back to K-46. I'll be waiting to debrief you. Report the bombs as airburst VT bombs when you debrief. Remember not to act strangely when you go out to the aircraft. Remember that this is top secret."

We went over to 67th Squadron operations and left the photo there while we went to breakfast. We didn't talk about the mission we were about to go on. After breakfast we went back to Squadron operations and planned the mission—the route up, altitudes, airspeeds, etc. Captain McLaughlin had told us that our take-off time was at 08:00. The usual time was 07:00 for the first mission. We put on our parachutes and went out to the aircraft. Our four aircraft were parked right next to the loading platform. We inspected the aircraft to see that everything was in order. The germ bombs were already on the wings, having been placed there by

the special crew from the armament section. I only checked the arming wire in the nose fuse of the germ bomb to make sure that it was in position properly and then got into the aircraft.

We took off and climbed on course, leveling off at 9,000 ft. at an airspeed of 250 miles per hour. We went to a point about 10 miles west of Sibyon-ni and then headed east toward the town. As we approached Sibyon-ni, 1/Lt. Harvey gave the signal to get into in-trail formation, by diving and climbing the aircraft several times quickly—no radio signal, and then he began his dive-bombing run. We began our runs at 9,000 ft., released the germ bombs at 7,000 ft. and pulled out of the dive at 6,000 ft. at an airspeed of 350 miles per hour. We then climbed up to 7,000 ft. and returned to K-46 at 250 miles per hour, we took off at 08:00, dropped our germ bombs at 08:50, and landed at 09:30 hours. When we dropped our germ bombs, we armed them by pushing two electrical switches in the cockpit and we dropped our germ bombs by pushing a button on the control column (or stick). Each of us had dropped two germ bombs on Sibyon-ni—eight germ bombs total. We did not know what type of germs the germ bombs we had dropped contained. We only knew that they were germ bombs.

After landing, we parked the aircraft on the ramp and went to Squadron operations to put up our parachutes and flying helmets. We then walked across the street to intelligence, where Capt. McLaughlin was waiting for us. He said, "I'll get them," meaning that he would debrief us. After a normal mission any of the intelligence personnel can debrief the pilots. He led the way into the small debriefing room where we had received the photo and special instructions earlier. I had seen the germ bombs of the first three ships go off and the leader had seen mine explode, so we reported 8 bursts of VT bombs over the target. The debriefing form which the captain used looked like the regular form and the questions he asked were the usual ones, such as flak encountered, weather over the target, any malfunctions, any troubles, any enemy aircraft sighted, names of pilots, aircraft numbers, etc. The true nature of our mission was not mentioned. We reported a successful flak suppressor mission. We had gone into debriefing at 09:40 and finished at 09:45 hours.

I had flown aircraft number 055 that day, flying the number four position. Harvey was leader, Greyell was number two, and Padgett was number three. When the germ bombs had exploded, they were grayish clouds of smoke, or at least that is how they looked to us from above. The sound of the explosion to those on the ground would have been small, not nearly so loud as an ordinary bomb. The germ bombs were all dropped over the west side of the town of Sibyon-ni.

Our Group Activities in Germ Warfare Missions

Judging by their actions at our base, I am sure that every pilot in the 18th Group had carried out germ warfare missions. The relatively new pilots like myself had few of these missions, while the old

pilots, or ones who had been in the group longest, had more. Lts. Harvey and Padgett appeared to be accustomed to this sort of mission, while Lt. Greyell and I were nervous and apprehensive on our first mission. I noticed that some of the other boys who had come over with me—2/Lts. John W. Yingling, Mel Souza, W. C. Sankey, Pete Nibley and Jim Horsley—appeared to be nervous after some of their germ missions. I respected their nervousness, however, and did not question or tease them about it. I also respected the secret classification placed on the subject of germ warfare.

From their expressions and attitudes, I would say that Lts. Harvey and Padgett had five germ warfare missions to their credit each. Lt. Greyell had only one to my knowledge. Lts. J. B. Armstrong and M. Satenstein had three germ missions apiece. Lts. Jim Horsley and Pete Nibley had two missions of this type. They appeared to have become accustomed to the idea that they were carrying germ bombs.

I know of only one pilot, 1/Lt. C. O. Armstrong, leader of H flight, from the 67th Squadron who has sprayed germs. Around the 18th of February, I saw the spray truck going down the runway spraying the ground behind an aircraft, and this was the only occasion that I observed this. I don't remember whether this was on the same day that 1/Lt. C. O. Armstrong sprayed germs or not. When taxiing out for take-off, I have seen the four spraying aircraft parked at the north end of the field.

The 18th Group, which consists of the 2nd South African Air Force Squadron, the 12th Fighter Bomber Squadron, the 39th Fighter Bomber Squadron and the 67th Fighter Bomber Squadron, apparently already had an operational policy for dropping germ bombs set up in January 1952, for when I arrived, the procedure had already been established. From my knowledge, I would say that such a policy would take at least a month for planning, preparation, and training. This would mean that the 18th Group must have been dropping germ bombs since the middle of December, 1951, or perhaps even earlier. Judging by all signs, the decision by the American forces to use germ warfare in Korea was made early in the fall of 1951. This would allow several months to get the necessary personnel and equipment into the theatre and to set up the policies and procedures to be used in carrying out the germ warfare.

Our Group Morale on Germ Warfare Missions

Due to the germ warfare missions, the morale of the group was becoming lower because I am sure that every pilot was not willing to fly the germ warfare missions. The pilots would usually be talkative before the regular mission, going out to the planes, telling about the mission after it was over, etc. However, after a germ warfare mission, the less said the better it would be. The pilots would say where they had been on the mission, but none of the usual details such as flak encountered, number of hits with bombs, etc. would be volunteered as was the usual case. When talk would begin on the day's missions, those who had had germ warfare missions would be conspicuous by

their silence. The only mention of these missions would come as a slip of the tongue in general conversation or else when alone with a very close friend. If such mentioning of these germ warfare missions came up in general conversation, everything would become quiet for a few seconds and then the topic of conversation would be quickly shifted to another subject.

I remember going to see 2/Lt. R. L. Michael, who was in the hospital, shortly after my germ warfare mission. He asked what I had been doing and he guessed from my looks and answer that I had been on a germ warfare mission. He said: "In a way, I'm glad I'm in here (the hospital) and not out flying missions with you boys." He had only flown two or three missions before he was injured in a take-off accident. I knew him to be a person of strong religious sentiments, so I knew that he was not anxious to get out of the hospital and perhaps have to fly germ warfare missions. I told him that I wasn't exactly happy about everything and he said that he could sympathise with me.

After a germ warfare mission, those pilots who had flown on the mission would seem gloomy for the rest of the day and would usually be found in the club trying to drink away their troubles. The topic of conversation at their table would usually be the sad state of affairs which the government of the United States is now in. I remember the conversation of Lts. Harvey, Padgett, Greyell and myself on the night of February 15th, after our germ warfare mission on that day, was how we'd like to see Truman flying a Mustang over Korea. This thought proved to be funny and we promptly dubbed Truman as another "George Two." The term "George Two" was applied to Col. Levinson, the group commander, when he wasn't around. He had flown on a mission with George flight as number two man. He became flustered over the target and threw his bombs away. The flight leader told number two to lead the flight back to the base, but Col. Levinson, the number two man, replied that he wasn't sure of his exact position. This incident caused no little amount of laughter behind the colonel's back, and the nickname "George Two," which is an uncomplimentary name, has stuck to him. The four of us at our table in the club had the table to ourselves, for the other pilots apparently decided to let us get over our mission by ourselves. This was the custom, for we all respected the feeling of those who wished to avoid the subject of germ warfare or not be reminded of their recent part in it.

The following incident occurred at the Officer's Club one evening in the middle of February. 1/Lt. C. O. Armstrong was asked by someone at the next table what he had done that day. He replied in a rather loud voice, for he had had several drinks: "I wasn't spraying bacteria today, that's certain." Lt. Col. Crow, the 67th Squadron commander, was sitting at our table, and he immediately got up and went over to the table and took Lt. C. O. Armstrong outside and talked to him for about fifteen minutes. Lt. Armstrong left the club and went to his tent. The group in the club was quiet for a moment after

the incident and then someone called for "more beer" and talking was resumed, with everyone closely watching what he was saying.

I cannot say how the enlisted men reacted to the subject of germ warfare, for we had little contact with them. I do know that the crew chief would usually be talkative while you were getting in the plane, but on the morning of February 15th, my chief only said "Good Morning." Usually the crew chief would ask the pilot to "Please bring this plane back—we don't have many of them" and other such remarks, all in a good-natured manner.

The policy of being careful what one said naturally put a strain on most of the pilots, for discussion was usually very free and frank on all subjects, except bacteriological warfare, of course. However, the germ warfare missions did serve to lower the morale of the pilots and the group as a whole.

My Conscience Wants Me to Speak Out

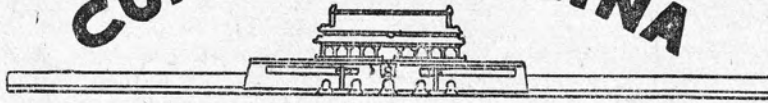
We know that the aircraft which carried out the germ warfare mission in Northeast China would be the F-80s and F-84s and F-86s. They operated generally in the area between the Chong-chong and Yalu Rivers. These aircraft are fast and maneuverable and can reach the Northeast China area easily from their bases in South Korea. These aircraft also would stand a better chance of survival in the event that any MIGs were encountered on the mission as they are faster than the F-51s. There would be F-86s flying top cover or protection for the F-80s and F-84s in the event that any MIGs made an appearance and threatened them.

In my opinion, it was apparent that the American forces had chosen winter time to start using bacteriological warfare for the purpose of using Korea as a testing ground to test the cold-withstanding bacteriological weapons developed in our special laboratories. The final purpose is to use them in bacteriological warfare against the countries with cold climates such as the Soviet Union and People's Democracies.

From these facts, I testify that the American forces have waged germ warfare in Korea for over half a year now. This was done even while the peace talks were in progress. It is a difficult thing for a pilot to do, dropping these germ bombs on innocent civilians and taking part in this inhuman type of warfare; but he has no choice but to do as he is told, even though it means dropping these terrible weapons upon the North Koreans and Chinese People's Volunteers. The use of germ warfare is against all humanitarian principles, and all the peace-loving peoples of the world are against it. Americans should speak out and condemn those who made the decision to use this inhuman weapon. It is the duty of everyone to do his part to stop germ warfare at once, before any more of these innocent people are killed by this terrible weapon. All men of righteousness the world over, and especially the Americans, must stand up without any hesitation against this inhuman warfare!

(signed) Floyd B. O'Neal
18 June, 1952.

CURRENT CHINA



Chinese-Mongolian Friendship

A ten days' celebration of Chinese-Mongolian friendship sponsored by the Mongolian people's government was held successfully in the Mongolian People's Republic between September 30 and October 10. Many events were organised to introduce the life and culture of New China to the people of Mongolia. Lectures and talks, a picture exhibition, and an industrial exhibition attracted great public attention; the visiting Chinese Song and Dance Ensemble gave many performances in Ulan Bator and is now touring other parts of the country. The Chinese Literary and Art Delegation, headed by the well-known novelist Chou Li-po, met and exchanged experiences with cultural workers of Mongolia.

At the closing ceremony Vice-Prime Minister Sharap spoke of the significance of the ten days in strengthening economic and cultural co-operation between Mongolia and China and the friendship between the two peoples in defence of world peace.

Chi Ya-tai, Chinese ambassador to Mongolia, described the achievements of the ten days, the visit to China of the Mongolian government delegation headed by Prime Minister Y. Tsedenbal and the signing of the Mongolian-Chinese Agreement on Economic and Cultural Co-operation, as "marking a new epoch in the friendly and co-operative relations between China and Mongolia."

Improved Communications in Southwest China

Speedy restoration and development of communications in Southwest China in the past three years have played an important part in speeding up the flow of goods between city and countryside and improving living conditions of the population there.

Communications in the mountainous areas of the Southwest were

extremely difficult before liberation. At the time of liberation of the area in 1949, over 80% of the highways and bridges were seriously damaged or destroyed by the Kuomintang. Shipping was also virtually brought to a standstill. Since liberation, the People's Government has devoted considerable efforts to improving and extending the communications network.

In the past three years, in addition to the new 505-kilometre Chengtu-Chungking railway, the People's Government has built 5,000 kilometres of highways and other roads, restored 15,000 kilometres of highways and over 600 bridges and dredged 170 dangerous sand bars and rapids. The mileage of highways now in service has increased by five times, and the volume of freight transported on highways has been raised by nearly 10 times over pre-liberation days.

The Three Gorges of the Yangtse River, which had been a constant danger to river shipping, are now opened to night navigation. Traveling by ship from Shanghai to Chungking takes only six days where it took 10 to 15 days formerly.

Trade has been greatly stimulated. There is now a steady stream of salt, tea, cloth, fertilisers and industrial goods going to the countryside and areas inhabited by the national minorities. Over 30,000 tons of fertilisers were thus sent through Chungking in the first half of this year, while in the same period the volume of consumer goods transported to the Tibetan areas of Sikang province was more than double that transported in the whole of 1950.

Anniversary of Lu Hsun

Literary and art circles commemorated the 16th anniversary of the death of Lu Hsun, "the Gorky of China," on October 19.

In Peking, writers, artists and film workers attended a meeting sponsored by the All-China Union

of Literary Workers at which greater study was urged of Lu Hsun's works, his realism and his indomitable fighting spirit even in times of the most brutal reactionary suppression.

At the birthplace of Lu Hsun in Shaohsing, Chekiang province, one thousand people gathered to remember this outstanding figure in Chinese literature. The house where he spent his childhood, now named The Lu Hsun Memorial Hall, was formally opened to the public on October 19.

Similar meetings were held in Shanghai, Hangchow, Tientsin, Siao and other cities.

A total of 417,000 volumes of 31 of Lu Hsun's works have been published by the People's Literature Publishing House since September, 1951. This is far more than the total of his works published in the period between the death of this literary giant in 1936 and the liberation in 1949.

To help more readers fully appreciate the great value of Lu Hsun's writings, the editing department of the People's Literature Publishing House will bring out in the coming year an annotated edition of Lu Hsun's works.

National Drama Festival

The first National Festival of Classical and Folk Drama is now being held in Peking. Twenty-three varieties of popular opera and other drama forms including the well-known Peking, Chekiang and Canton operas are represented in more than 88 items of this Festival, which opened on October 6. Over 1,600 performers, both veteran and promising young artists, are taking part in this 27-day event.

China has a rich variety of classical and folk drama. Almost every province and even smaller areas have their own theatrical forms.

Some of the items in the Festival are outstanding examples of China's traditional dramatic art; while others are new plays or plays revised since liberation.

This new practice of holding performances of various types of opera for critical review by members of the profession has proved already of great help in the reform of

this art form and has raised the standard of the classical theatre. This festival is the first of such meetings which are expected to become annual events.

Table Tennis Championships

Matches to decide the national table tennis championships for 1952 were played off in Peking from October 12 to 16. The winners will represent China at the first Asian Table Tennis Championships to be held in Singapore in November.

Sixty-two contestants selected from six administrative areas participated in the contest. They come from every walk of life and include workers, armymen, students, teachers, government cadres, housewives and merchants.

More than 7,000 spectators saw the 236 games played. Premier Tsendenbal of the Mongolian People's Republic and Ivor Montagu, president of the International Table Tennis Federation, who was here for the Asia-Pacific Peace Conference, were two of the distinguished visitors who attended the opening ceremony of the matches.

Eight men and six women champions and six candidates were selected.

News Briefs

An exhibition of pictures on the Korean people's struggle for independence, peace and freedom opened in Peking on October 9. It is sponsored by the China Peace Committee in commemoration of the 2nd anniversary of the Chinese people's volunteers' entry into the Korean war against American aggression.

The exhibition exposes some of the most barbarous crimes committed by the American forces and government, including the bombing of peaceful Korean cities and villages, the waging of biological warfare, the massacring of war prisoners and the stalling and wrecking of the Korean armistice negotiations. It provides a systematic introduction to the Korean people's war against aggression and the Chinese people's movement to resist American aggression and aid Korea.

* * *

Intensive preparations are being completed for a nation-wide Sino-

Soviet Friendship Month sponsored by the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. The celebrations will start on November 7, the 35th Anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution.

* * *

Workers and technicians of the privately-owned Hsin Chen Electric Machinery Corporation in Shanghai have succeeded in manufacturing a magnetic remote-control device for automatic operation. It was never produced in China before. The device is particularly useful in power plants, steelworks and waterworks where remote control is needed.

Chronicle of Events

October 6

National Festival of Classical and Folk Drama opens in Peking.

October 7

Hsinhua News Agency reports U.S. military aircraft again intruded over Northeast China on October 1, bombing villages in Changtien district, Kuantien county, Liaotung province. During the previous four days, September 27-30, American intruders flew 392 sorties over Northeast China.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung sends greetings to President Wilhelm Pieck of the German Democratic Republic on the occasion of the 3rd anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic. Commemorating the anniversary, an exhibition on Germany and a glass model of the human body given to China as a gift by the government of the German Democratic Republic, opened in Peking on October 6.

October 8

Representatives of the overseas-Chinese visiting group, from Korea, India, Indonesia and Burma, and the overseas-Chinese refugees from Malaya and delegations representing 46 nationalities of the country who came to Peking to take part in the National Day celebrations present banners to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh and Premier Chou En-lai.

October 10

Hsinhua News Agency reports that U.S. aircraft continue to intrude over Northeast China. During the period October 2-7, 64 groups intruded over 11 cities in Northeast China in 404 sorties.

October 12

Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh sends a message to the Polish Minister of National Defence K. Rokossovsky, greeting the anniversary of the founding of the Polish Armed Forces.

The Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions holds its final session.

Finals of the 1952 National Table Tennis Championship start in Peking.

October 16

A trade contract under which the Central People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic will sell 50,000 tons of rice to the Indian Government is signed in Peking by the representatives of the two governments.

October 19

Indian Delegation to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference presents gifts to Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

October 20

Hsinhua reports a Chinese People's Delegation of 1,091 members has arrived at the Korean front to join with the Korean and Chinese people's forces in commemorating October 25, the 2nd anniversary of the Chinese people's volunteers' joining with the Korean People's Army to resist American aggression.

LETTERS

Jewish and Arab Friends

KIBBUTZ MERHAVIA, ISRAEL

The development of your country is of great interest to Israel, to the Jews as well as to the Arabs. The progressive newspapers and particularly the newspaper of the United Workers Party write a great deal about your achievements. There have appeared already two books with translations of the works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. There has taken place an exhibition of Chinese art (old and new), and now there is an exhibition in Kibbutz "Hazorea" of photographs of the life in New China.

A. Y.

Peace for Life

TOKYO, JAPAN

I have read the interesting articles in *People's China*. I congratulate you on the success of the flood detention basin on Yangtze river and the nationwide campaign of health and sanitation.

I earnestly hope for the continuation of world-wide peace. It will all the more assure the improvement of the people's life. Let us remove the smallest germ of discord, and interchange news and products among all the countries.

SHINICHI KIKUCHI.



A SONG OF LOVE FOR THE MOTHERLAND

A group of Chinese people's volunteers in a frontline trench in Korea

Drawing by Ku Yuan