

**THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE ASIAN
AND PACIFIC REGIONS**

REPORTS AND SPEECHES

Supplement to People's China

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Greetings From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

October 2, 1952

To the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions:

The Convocation of the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions will contribute tremendously towards the defence of peace, a great task jointly shouldered by the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions and of the whole world. I wish the Conference complete success.

MAO TSE-TUNG

*Chairman of the National Committee of the
Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference*

Speech of Welcome by Peng Chen

Mayor of Peking and Deputy Leader of the Chinese Delegation

MR. PRESIDENT, Ladies and Gentleman:

On behalf of the people of the capital of the People's Republic of China, and the people of the whole country, I greet the convocation of the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, welcome all the delegates to the Conference, and salute the peace-loving people of the various countries whom you represent. It is an exceptional honour to us that the Conference should have chosen Peking, the capital of the People's Republic of China, as the site of the Conference.

The participants in this Conference include delegates from 37 countries in Asia, Australia, and countries on the Pacific coast of the Americas, representatives of the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions and its Asian-Australasian Liaison Bureau, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Demo-

cratic Youth, the International Union of Students, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, as well as visitors from the United Kingdom, France, Brazil, Algeria and champions of peace who have been specially invited to attend this Conference. It is thus a big and broadly representative gathering. Irrespective of language, race, nationality, social stratum, profession, religious faith, political outlook, all cherish one common desire—to defend peace and oppose war.

The Chinese people have suffered much from the calamities of aggressive wars so they know full well that only in a peaceful environment can they successfully carry on cultural and economic construction and provide a beautiful and happy life for the people. Our country has suffered from the destruction of a long war. Under the great leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, we have now accomplished the great work of rehabilitation and are on the way to large-

scale economic construction. Naturally peace is our urgent need.

However, in Asia not only the threat of war exists, but war is raging in several regions. Many peaceful constructions and peaceful cities are being destroyed, peaceful inhabitants slaughtered, by the most up-to-date lethal weapons. The people throughout China, the Asian and Pacific regions and the whole world all are urgently demanding that war be checked and a just peace restored and maintained.

The U.S. government has recklessly violated all international conventions and international agreements, brazenly fostered the revival of Japanese militarism, delayed and disrupted the cease-fire negotiations in Korea. It has introduced its military forces deep into many countries in Southeast Asia, Australia, America, the Near East, the Middle East, North Africa and Western Europe, established military bases everywhere, seriously encroached upon the sovereignty of the various countries, and interfered in their internal affairs. This is an extreme threat to peace.

In order to realise peace in the Asian and Pacific regions, it is necessary, first of all, to bring about cease-fire in Korea on a just and reasonable basis. The most reliable guarantee against extension of the Korean war is that all foreign troops—including the Chinese people's volunteers—should withdraw from Korea and let the Korean people settle their own problems for themselves.

In order to achieve peace in the Asian and Pacific regions, we must check the revival of Japanese militarism, and ensure the national independence of Japan and the democratic rights of the Japanese people. An independent, democratic Japan is an essential factor in the security and peace of the Asian and Pacific regions.

We believe that the safeguarding and achievement of real national independence is an indispensable condition for the building of peace, for it is impossible that real peace can be founded on a basis of one country enslaving another or arbitrarily encroaching on another's sovereignty. In order to achieve real peace, the national independence of all countries must be respected and ensured. No country must interfere in the internal affairs of another country in any manner. For over a century the Chinese people have bitterly suffered from encroachment by force upon their national sovereignty and independence. For this reason, the Chinese people have the profoundest concern and sympathy for the sacred determination of the peoples of many countries to gain their national independence and for every just struggle in defence of national independence.

We believe that countries with different political systems and different ways of life can co-exist peacefully. Therefore, we advocate the employment of the

means of peaceful negotiation, and not the means of war, for the settlement of international disputes.

We believe that the development of economic exchange among the nations on a basis of equality and mutual benefit, to supply needs common to both without discrimination, will contribute towards raising the living standards of the peoples of various countries, and strengthen and consolidate the friendship and cooperation among them. Therefore, we are opposed to the policy of blockade and embargo in international trade.

We believe that development without hindrance of cultural exchange among the nations will further enhance the wisdom of their peoples, and promote mutual understanding among them. Therefore, we advocate that the noble cultural traditions of all countries should be respected and that all should learn from one another.

We believe that the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions will, without doubt, further promote the development of the cause for the defence of peace; powerfully check the threat of war, and promote economic and cultural exchange between all countries.

We believe that the peoples of the world love peace and cherish goodwill, that war is desired only by a very small minority of people who try to profit by it, that at present the forces of peace are far stronger than the forces of war, and that war can be averted and peace safeguarded if the peoples in the Asian and Pacific regions and the world unite together.

Honourable Delegates, you have come to Peking from distant lands and we warmly welcome you to take this opportunity to visit Peking and some other places in China and to see the political, economic and cultural construction now going on in our country. We hope that this will enhance the mutual understanding between the Chinese people and the people of all countries and that we shall be able to receive from you valuable advice. For it is only three years since the founding of the People's Republic of China and it has not yet been possible to eradicate completely the evils left over from the old China. Nevertheless, you will, I am sure, discover how confidently and optimistically the liberated Chinese people are looking forward to the future, and how enthusiastically, happily and energetically they are building up their great Motherland. You will also find that what concerns the Chinese people most is peaceful construction, that they will never allow anyone to invade their own country nor will they invade others.

In conclusion, allow me on behalf of the people of Peking and the whole country to wish the Conference all success and the honourable Delegates good health.

Mobilize for Peace in Asia, the Pacific Regions and the World!

The Opening Speech of Soong Ching Ling *Leader of the Chinese Delegation*

MR. CHAIRMAN, fellow delegates and friends:

The Chinese people, not only in Peking but all over the country, heartily welcome you to this Asian and Pacific Regions. We are happy to see you here after your long and strenuous journey undertaken for the sake of peace. This meeting is an event of grand and epic proportions. It provides us with the opportunity to perform a most vital task at a crucial juncture of history. All of us are here to prove once again beyond question that man *will* create peace. The people everywhere eagerly await the results of our deliberations.

This is the second international conference for peace to be held in China. The difference between this and that first meeting is indeed striking. They offer such excellent lessons. I would like briefly tell you of the fight we made for peace in Shanghai in September, 1933.

At that time, Japan had already wrenched Manchurian territory from China and was using it to prepare an all-out attack against us, and eventually against Asia and the Pacific regions. This piracy and violence was a most serious threat to world peace. So it was named in the most indignant terms by statesmen, international organisations, trade unions and ordinary men and women all over the globe. It was particularly denounced by the peace organisation of that period, the League Against Imperialism. This was a body of broad composition, which was struggling with might and main to prevent the unprecedented attack on the world's people which was obviously being prepared in the 1930's. The Japanese invasion was one of the first eruptions in the Asian and Pacific regions. The League rightly



considered it so serious that they decided to send a delegation.

The China branch heartily welcomed this decision, although the situation here was exceedingly tense. Not only were we combatting the Japanese invaders, but we also had our internal foes to fight. The reactionary government, backed by the imperialist powers, was actually abetting the aggressors. At the same time, it had launched civil war against the people's areas in South China and unleashed a white terror against the rest of the population.

As you can imagine, it was practically worth one's life to speak of unity within China and resistance to the enemy, to seek a people's peace here and throughout the world. But even in the face of this, we proceeded with our plans to welcome the delegation and mobilize public opinion to halt the aggression. From the very beginning, antagonism against us from official quarters was at fever pitch. We were badgered and threatened, hampered and slandered from all sides. Many of those whom we asked to collaborate with us were frightened away. None would rent us a hall. The authorities refused to allow the League delegates to leave their ship. I personally had to defy the ban and went on board to welcome to China the delegates working for peace from Europe.

However, we were determined that these friends should not have made the long trip in vain. We were determined to hold a meeting. Since the open gathering had to be abandoned, a closed one was prepared. The strictest secrecy was necessary, so close was the surveillance. I myself did not know where the meeting was to be held until one morning at dawn I was called to a dreary and desolate build-

ing in a Shanghai factory district. Each delegate had to come singly. Some had even stolen there in the dead of night. When I arrived, everyone, including the foreign guests, was sitting on the floor, since the only piece of furniture in the room was a small table for the secretary's use. It was practically in whispers that we delivered our reports and had our discussion. It was thus that we talked of peace in the year 1933.

We have come a long way since then. The League Against Imperialism represented 30 million people. Compare that with the over 603 million persons who signed the demand for a peace pact among the five great Powers, organized by the World Peace Council! Is this not an indication of the tremendous increase in awareness among people generally of the need to struggle for world cooperation? Does this not say that the ranks of those who want peace, which are so rapidly growing, are forging ahead to become the dominant force in the world?

As to the aspect of the meeting itself, compare 1933 with today. Now when representatives of peace come to China, they are welcomed as honored guests. You came into this hall with the eyes of the whole nation upon you. For the cause of peace, every available facility is put at your disposal. The reports and discussions will be carried by radio and press to even the smallest hamlet. The Chinese people's movement for peace, already at a high level, will be stimulated to new levels of activity.

Dear Friends, the very fact that you are in this hall today signifies one of the most towering advances for peace in the history of man. It has a golden significance for the multitudes who live in this vast and varied expanse which is Asia and the Pacific areas, and even beyond. The China example allows them even more firmly to grasp a fundamental truth: national independence and peace are born of the same struggle.

In this stage of world history, people can no longer be fooled. In the minds of the people there is a sharp demarcation between what benefits imperialists and what benefits those whom they oppress.

More and more the struggles for national independence are being linked with the demand for world peace. The oppressed people ask, "Who wants war?" The answer is right before their eyes—the very powers who build war bases on their soil and station foreign troops in their midst to keep them suppressed. "Who wants the destruction of so much steel, oil, cloth, food which our labor has provided and which we need urgently for life itself?" they ask. Again the answer is before them—the very powers who come into their lands and ruthlessly expropriate their national wealth, giving back at best a few crumbs. "And who wants to cause the tears of mothers to flow like the rivers for their young? Here too the answer is crystal clear

—the very same powers, those who demand the heartless allocation of their youth to the war mills.

These questions and their answers bring recognition. This recognition welds the quest for independence and peace into one.

An example: The Latin American peoples have refused to become part of the American aggression in Korea. They have openly and firmly warned their governmental leaders, "Hands Off!" Several have had to retract their agreements with the United States in this respect. The determination of the people to continue along this road was expressed in the Montevideo Conference, a meeting of the Americas called in defiance of war-mongers and under conditions similar to those I described earlier for China in the past.

Many other examples of such steadfastness and resoluteness can be found throughout Asia and the Pacific Regions, especially in the preparatory work leading to this conference.

This trend is clearly marked for all to see. Even those who fear above everything the loss of their gold and the value of their shares can see it. It only serves to make them more fearful and frantic. In their desperation to prevent the changes which favor independence for the peoples and peace for the world, they have stepped up their whole program of trying to solidify their control or take over all within their grasp, both at home and abroad. They have rudely cast aside all offers and attempts to frankly and sincerely negotiate differences and live in a neighborly manner. Since June 1950, led by the United States ruling circles, the imperialist powers have embarked on aggressions in various directions. Liberation movements in the Middle and Near East and Africa have been brutally dealt with. In Latin America and other areas they have increased their economic and political pressure. In Korea they moved from the talking and planning stage to shooting. They seized China's Taiwan and openly prepare for an invasion of our mainland. They heightened their campaigns in Viet-Nam and Malaya.

It is not fortuitous that each of the Far Eastern campaigns has been characterized by the most vicious and pernicious acts on the part of the imperialists. A definite pattern has evolved, one of total disregard for the Asian peoples. This is followed with the intent to cause complete obliteration, to so reduce the inhabitants and their civilization that later there will be no obstacles to exploitative dealings. Racism and genocide are their cults here, just as they are in their own homelands.

Notwithstanding this sanguinary policy, however, the American ruling circles and their allies have met with failure on every front. They are discovering what recent history should have made obvious, that perpetrators of fascist ideology and methods cannot get away with such outrages. They must face vast

people's movements and strong people's armies, devoted to their motherlands and to peace. War profiteers are called to account for their crimes on the battlefield itself. And in the eyes of the whole world, their actions are termed "dirty wars." Even at home, their spoutings advocating force are met with anxiety and they are finding it increasingly difficult to get people to fight their wars. Look at the number of American pilots who refused to fly in Korea, at the record of self-inflicted wounds at the front. The French Government has to resort to hiring former German SS cut-throats, or unemployed youth from the western sector of Germany for Viet-Nam. The British people are most unhappy about sending their sons to Malaya, and the ranks have to be filled by the overseas draft and with youngsters.

Those who make a business of war cannot seem to realize what this portends. They cannot see that every act of savagery further and more quickly seals their doom. In Korea, for instance, not content with outdoing Hitler in the matter of senseless destruction, the United States armed forces are intent upon surpassing him in the matter of destroying whole peoples. They have been consistently employing in Korea and Northeast China the most heinous of weapons, bacteriological warfare, to afflict people and animals, their water and crops with disease. By this act the United States Government has further placed itself in the category of a major war criminal according to international law and covenant.

In Viet-Nam and Malaya, American satellites are committing crimes which are equally vicious. Rice crops are purposely destroyed with chemical air attacks. Whole villages are wiped off the map, the inhabitants herded into concentration camps. These acts of insanity have the same results as those in Korea. The people fight back all the harder; the dirtiness of the war and the vileness of its plotters are fully exposed; each such crime brings them closer to their demise.

Germ warfare, indiscriminate destruction and bestial slaughter have incurred the wrath of all peace-loving peoples. The reactions from every country have been of the deepest concern and of universal revulsion. From this it is clear that the United States Government and its partners in crime have alienated the world at large, have suffered a severe political defeat which will have reverberations far into the future. The people will never forget.

There are other things the people will never forget or forgive. Among these are the continued occupation and rearming of Japan and Western Germany by the ruling circles in the United States. German and Japanese militarists have burned themselves into permanent places of hatred in our hearts and minds. It is understandable, therefore, when guns are put back into their hands that we fear for

the prospects for peace. It is understandable when we learn of the droves of war criminals released, the preservation of military and fascist organizations, the handing back of industrial empires intact to monopolist perpetrators of fascism and war, that we become apprehensive for the safety of the world.

It is plain that these are preparations for further military adventures. It is also plain that the war-hungry think the people will blankly accept this. But once again they have miscalculated, as this very conference illustrates. It is not the intention of those who treasure peace to accept the treachery of rearming the revanchist elements of Germany and Japan. Nor is this to be accepted by broad sections of those very countries, by the persons who want to live down their past shames, to build new lives and regain the respect of the world. In both countries there have been magnificent demonstrations by workers' and people's organizations against the taking up of arms, against US-imposed treaties, against turning their industrial forces to the purpose of war. In both countries there are well-developed peace movements. And from all over the world has come full-hearted support for the German and Japanese peoples as they struggle to take the road to peace.

Dear Friends, we must push forward to guarantee that this and every other striving for peace will succeed. Although our peace movement derives great strength from its mass scale and excellent organization, although it has unity within its ranks and the pledged activities of hundreds of millions, we must not lose the momentum achieved to this time. We must extend ourselves even more, make our willingness to cooperate with all who sincerely want peace bear further fruits. There are still untouched sectors as far as the peace movement is concerned, untrodden territory which begs to be included in this greatest of man's struggles. Many of those areas are in our midst. There are certainly difficult questions to solve in this connection, but these are infinitely easier to overcome than the scourge of war. What is more, we have a resource to call upon which can enable us to win through. That is, the great majority of people everywhere want peace. They do not want to see their sweat and blood poured into moulding products that destroy others and later come back to destroy them. They want bread to eat, decent housing to live in, good clothes on their backs and culture for themselves and their children. Women are the worst sufferers from warfare. In order to safeguard their children, women of Asia will fight resolutely with all peace-lovers for defence of peace. And they know the only way these can be obtained is if the world has peace.

Our activities, in my opinion, should center around several urgent problems:

Let us mobilize the people to demand that all present wars cease and be settled peacefully, through

sincere negotiations. These certainly include the wars in Korea, Viet-Nam and Malaya.

Let us mobilize the people to demand that the state of war be legally put to an end in accordance with international agreements by all the nations which participated in the last war, and thus assure the world that former enemy nations work and live for peace from now on.

Let us mobilize the people to demand that all weapons of mass destruction be abolished and outlawed and that those who have used them in the present conflicts be called to trial according to international law.

Let us mobilize the people to demand that all barriers to trade and cultural exchange be broken down and that flourishing interchange in both fields

be carried out between the peoples, for the benefit of all.

Let us mobilize the people to strive for the moral conditions which make for peaceful coexistence, the healthy climate which rejects hate and war, which gives birth to love and understanding among all peoples.

These are our objectives. If we can accomplish our task as contained in these, we will further be contributing to the world's security. May I express my complete confidence that we will successfully reach the goal.

Long live the peoples of the world!

Long live their unity!

Long live world peace!

The General Report

— LET US UNITE TO DEFEND PEACE! —

Kuo Mo-jo

Deputy Leader of the Chinese Delegation

MR. CHAIRMAN, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Today 1,600,000,000 people in the countries of the Asian and Pacific regions have entrusted to the Peace Conference which we are holding here their lofty aspirations for peace in the Asian and Pacific regions and throughout the world. This brings home profoundly to each one of our delegates here his or her responsibility in the struggle for the cause of peace as well as the historical significance of this Peace Conference.

Since the conclusion of the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions which was held from June 3 to 6 this year, the people of all the countries of Asia, Australasia, the Americas and other countries bordering on the Pacific have risen to action, warmly supporting the Declaration of the Preparatory Conference and its proposals regarding the various fields of preparatory work; they have enthusiastically elected delegates to hold this Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions. All this amply shows how eagerly the 1,600,000,000 people of our area, like all decent people throughout the world, desire peace.

When we are entrusted by our fellow countrymen to attend this Conference, each one of us must have in mind a clear vision. By this I mean the common desire expressed by loving parents, innocent children, young husbands and wives in myriads of homes. They

demand that every one should be free from fear and the anxieties of war, and lead a peaceful life, so that life may be bettered to the utmost. Such wholesome aspirations of the people for a peaceful life cannot fail to move deeply any person with a conscience.

Nevertheless, it is precisely the spectre of war that is threatening us. And this threat is growing so serious that we cannot but immediately rise to defend peace.

Honourable Delegates, everybody sees clearly today that in our area, the conflagration of war in Korea has been raging for more than two years, and the cease-fire talks have been going on for more than a year. Everyone is eagerly longing for the ending of the war in Korea, so that the way may be opened to a peaceful settlement of the Korean question and other Far Eastern questions. Yet, during the period of the negotiations, peaceful inhabitants in Korea and in Northeast China have been made the victims of inhuman germ war. This heinous crime has recently been once more confirmed by the investigations of the International Scientific Commission composed of fair-minded scientists from six countries—the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Sweden, the U.S.S.R. and Brazil. During the same period, the hydroelectric plant on the Yalu River on the Korean-Chinese border, and works of peaceful construction, peaceful towns and peaceful citizens in the northern part of Korea

have also been repeatedly and wantonly bombed, while the captured personnel of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese people's volunteers in the POW camps on Koje and Cheju Islands and at Pusan have been repeatedly murdered in large numbers. The cease-fire negotiations have been made to drag on and have time and again been obstructed in a savage manner; the war in Korea is in danger of being prolonged and extended. All this constitutes a direct and serious threat to peace in the Asian and Pacific regions.

Honourable Delegates, we can see very clearly that, running counter to the wishes of the people of the United States, violating the international agreements signed unanimously by countries of the world, including the United States, and turning their back upon the tradition of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, the U.S. government and its generals have been striving to carry out a policy of war. This is a fact which cannot be covered up by any means. They keep on intensifying their propaganda for war, and proceeding frantically with various kinds of activities designed to wreck peace and provoke war. Having already formed the "North Atlantic Pact" bloc, they now plan the formation of a "Pacific Pact" bloc and a "Middle East" bloc. They are sparing no effort to create a tense international situation involving the peril of a new war.

In pursuit of the war policy of the U.S. government, the internal affairs of many countries have been subjected to foreign intervention, and more and more foreign military bases are built in countries in the southern and eastern regions of Asia, in Australasia, in the Americas, in the Near East, in the Middle East, in North Africa and in Western Europe. Many countries have failed to achieve real national independence, and the independence and sovereignty of others is suffering increasingly serious infringement. In the countries of Southeast Asia, U.S. monopoly capital has gained control of many important vital sources of economy and, by continually cooking up pretexts, it attempts to grasp more special privileges in these countries. Consequently all kinds of frantic interference by the U.S. government in the political and military affairs of these countries has immediately followed. The U.S. is also helping other countries in their armed intervention in the countries of Southeast Asia, such as Viet-Nam and Malaya, and is making every exertion to engineer conflicts among the peoples of the Asian countries and among the different nationalities within various countries, and sow the seeds of racial discrimination as well as religious strife and discord. The countries of the Middle East such as Iran, Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, etc. are also suffering from trade based on exchange of unequal values imposed by the U.S. The decline in their industry and agriculture, and their enormous unfavourable balance in trade and large budgetary deficits, have landed the national finances of these countries in perilous plight. Inflation and soaring commodity prices have caused the cost

of living indices to shoot up. To compare the index of the cost of living in 1951 with that of the pre-war period, Iran's has risen to 750 per cent, Turkey's to 500 per cent, and Iraq's to 400 per cent. This has caused the peoples of the Asian countries to be the first to oppose U.S. war policy.

In pursuit of the war policy of the U.S. government, the U.S. budget estimates for military expenditure have reached astronomical figures. We need not go far back. Let us consider United States President Truman's message to Congress on the economic state of the nation and the message transmitting the state budget, dated respectively January 16 and January 21 this year. These messages proposed that, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, the total government expenditure should be U.S. \$85,400,000,000; of this sum, money earmarked for armaments expansion and the Korean war, together with appropriations for so-called "collective security" amounts to U.S. \$65,000,000,000 or 76.1 per cent of the total budget. If we add other expenses connected in one way or another with the afore-mentioned military purposes, the sum will come to 88.4 per cent of the total budget. This is a heavy and painful burden on the people of the U.S. Truman's messages admitted at the same time that it would become "necessary to curtail the use of critical materials for many peace-time products." He was obliged to acknowledge that in consequence "serious problems would be faced by some smaller manufacturing firms." He also had to admit that the U.S. national economy has created "large deficits." He therefore asked that the Defence Production Act be extended for another two years, and called on the American people to "bear some inconveniences and hardships" and to "bear an excessive part of the burden" of armaments expansion.

In pursuit of the war policy of the U.S. government, the remnants of Nazi Germany are being fostered in the West, while in the East, the revival of the remnants of militarist Japan is being speeded up. The remilitarisation of Japan undoubtedly constitutes an extremely grave threat to the peace of the Asian and Pacific regions. But the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions are determined not to suffer once more the ravages of aggression by Japanese militarism. (Applause)

The war of aggression launched in the East by the Japanese militarists during the Second World War brought unprecedented disaster to many of the countries invaded. It inflicted on the Chinese people the loss of over 10 million lives and over U.S. \$50,000 million worth of property. In Indonesia, it caused over two million labourers to die in forced labour, while more than a hundred thousand soldiers were press-ganged to serve as cannon fodder, and tens of thousands of patriots were butchered in the prisons of the Japanese army. The people of the Philippines suffered the death of over one million and one hundred thousand persons, and a loss of property to the value



Kuo Mo-jo delivers the General Report to the Conference

of more than U.S. \$5,500 million. In Burma, it caused a loss of over 18,000 million rupees worth of national wealth. In Viet-Nam, it caused over two million people to die from starvation. It cut off India's importation of foodstuffs, resulting in the death of over three and half million Indian people from starvation. Australia suffered bombing, the marks of which can still be seen today. And what good has it brought to the Japanese people? The two million orphans and 1,830,000 widows furnish the best answer! The two atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the occupation costs of U.S. \$4,974,000,000 borne by the Japanese people during more than six years in the past also furnish the best answer.

However, while the wounds of the Second World War are not yet healed, Japanese militarism is heading for revival at an ever-quickenning pace. On September 8, 1951, at the San Francisco Conference, without the participation of the Soviet Union, China, Mongolia, India and Burma, a "Japanese Peace Treaty" and a U.S.-Japanese "Security Pact" were signed. On February 28 this year, the U.S. government again concluded a U.S.-Japanese "Administrative Agreement" with the Yoshida government. These treaties and the agreement were announced to have formally "come into effect as of April 28 this year," and at the same time, the dissolution of the Far Eastern Commission and the Allied Council for Japan was announced. Again on the same day, the Yoshida government concluded a so-called "Sino-Japanese Treaty of Peace" with the Taiwan Kuomintang reactionaries, thereby openly showing their hostility towards the 475,000,000

Chinese people. More recently, on July 26, we saw the conclusion of yet another agreement, the U.S.-Japanese "Agreement on Installations and Regions." It further clearly stipulates that Japan should provide the U.S. occupation army with barracks, training grounds for sea, land, and air forces, airfields, and naval bases, totalling 612 sites, of which 300 are for permanent use by the U.S. army. The density of these military bases and installations is such that they average one in 600 square kilometers. In utter violation of international agreements the Japanese armed forces are already being expanded and equipped with accelerated speed. More than 184,000 Japanese war criminals have been set free and many of them given posts. Bacteriological war criminal Shiro Ishii and others have already taken part in the bacteriological war directed against Korea and Northeast China. The ban on the manufacture of arms and munitions has been lifted. As a result, huge quantities of bombs and napalm shells manufactured in Japan are already being used to destroy peaceful cities and butcher peaceful civilians in Korea.

In order to accelerate the revival of Japanese militarism and form the so-called "Pacific Pact Bloc" with Japan as its nucleus, the "Australia-New Zealand-United States Council," under the auspices of the U.S. government, held its first meeting in Honolulu from August 4 to 6 this year. At that meeting the U.S. government put forward the plan for a "Pacific Pact" on the pattern of the "North Atlantic Pact" with Japan as its nucleus. Its "sphere of military responsibilities" is to cover an area stretching "from the

Bering Strait to New Zealand by way of the Aleutians, Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines and Australia," with Korea as an "outpost" of this "sphere." Totally disregarding the cries of the people of Southeast Asian and Australasian countries against the revival of Japanese militarism, the country which convened the ANZUS meeting has placed the Southeast Asian and Australasian countries again under the threat of aggression of Japanese militarism.

The ruling circles of Japan have long been bent on staging a come-back and now, under the protection and at the instigation of the U.S. occupation army, they have begun dreaming again about a "Greater Eastern Asia Co-prosperity Sphere." In a speech on August 4 to the gang-leaders of the "Security Board," which is actually the Japanese Ministry of War in disguise, the Japanese Premier Shigeru Yoshida declared that the "Security Board" was opened for the purpose of creating a new army, and that "the United States wishes Japan to lead Asia." He expressed his determination to "answer the wishes of the United States." The manifestation of such a determination is very obvious and we have long been aware of it from the evidence of facts. We find Japan's budget for this year registering an increase of 30 per cent over that of last year, with direct and indirect military expenditure amounting to 70 per cent of the total budget. But at the same time, we find that Japan's peace industries have suffered serious injury; over 6,700 medium and small enterprises have been driven to bankruptcy; and the figure of unemployed and semi-unemployed people has reached 18 million. According to information furnished by the Japanese Labour Ministry, in the second half of 1951 there were 658 cases of workers and peasants who registered for sale of their sons and daughters, and it is hard to tell how many cases were unregistered. Again, according to the report of *Asahi Shimbun*, those committing suicide in Japan numbered 22,622 in 1951. Such are the evil consequences of the Yoshida government's attempt to "answer the wishes of the United States." Nevertheless, in utter disregard of the welfare of the Japanese people, they have set themselves to the task of rushing forward with rearmament, wishing to bring about its "hegemony in Asia" once more.

Honourable Delegates! Under the war policy of the U.S. government, does not the change in the situation in the Asian and Pacific regions constitute a great menace? The situation has alarmed all the peace-loving peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions; it has also alarmed all honest and peace-loving peoples throughout the world. Nonetheless, the U.S. government and its generals are still not satisfied, and recently there have even been voices openly declaring that an army possessing a "massive offensive impact" must be created in order to "liberate" all the People's Democracies. If the present dangerous situation is allowed to develop, is it not crystal clear that catastrophe lies ahead for the peoples of the Asian and

Pacific regions and for all other peoples throughout the world as well?

Honourable Delegates, the memory of the calamities of war that they suffered in the past is still fresh in the minds of our peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions; never will we again tolerate the threat of a new war. Our desire is one with the desire of all peace-loving peoples throughout the world. Everyone must strive to win and defend peace. (Applause)

Please allow me here to cite the example of a few countries by way of illustration.

First, permit me to make a special reference here to the efforts the Japanese people have made to win peace. In spite of the fact that the Japanese ruling class, encouraged by the U.S., is working feverishly for the revival of militarism, the Japanese people remain resolutely opposed. On May Day this year, large-scale demonstrations took place attended by 4,000,000 persons throughout the country, giving mighty voice to the firm will of the Japanese people against enslavement and the revival of militarism. The death of Jakahashi Masao—a trade union member, who fell a victim to repression and died of wounds received during the demonstration—and the words of his mother touched the hearts of the people all over the world. At the foundation meeting of the Mothers' League in Tokyo, Jakahashi Masao's mother said bitterly: "In a pocket of my son's clothes I found an appeal which reads, 'Demand freedom, demand peace, demand life.' As his mother, I want to see his wish succeed." She is only one among hundreds of thousands of Japanese mothers. It is true that the heroic struggle for peace carried out by the Japanese people is linked to their struggle for independence, freedom and democracy. Their righteous struggle will assuredly win the whole-hearted support of the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions, as well as of the peoples who love peace and justice the world over.

Next, in the United States, we find that, since the New York Peace Conference held in March, 1949, the campaign for peace has been gradually developing in various parts of the country. Peace-lovers from all walks of life in the United States, including such prominent scientists as Prof. Philip Morrison, have all affixed their signatures to the Stockholm Appeal. Since the outbreak of the war of armed intervention waged by the U.S. government in Korea, the U.S. people have been making repeated protests against the policy of their government. When the American National Peace Congress, representing the common desire of various trade unions, farmers' organisations, religious organisations, writers, scientists, artists, from the forty-eight states, was held in June last year, it put forward proposals for the complete restoration of peace in Korea, and immediate negotiations among the big powers—this fully demonstrates that in the struggle for the defence of peace, the United States people and the people of the other countries

of the world are all members of one family, and that we should be more closely united.

In Korea, Viet-Nam, Malaya and the Philippines, people are clearly conscious that their struggle against aggression and for national independence is itself an integral part of the movement of defending peace in the Asian and Pacific regions and the rest of the world; and, meanwhile, the ever growing movement of defending peace in the Asian and Pacific regions and the rest of the world is in turn one of the important factors in helping to bring about an early victory of their struggle. In consequence, they not only continue to actively and valiantly carry their struggle against aggression and for independence to the end but also ardently respond to and participate in the movement of defending peace on a large scale.

In the countries of Southeast Asia, we see the popular movement for the defence of peace developing on a national scale. Take India as an example. Under the call of the All-India Peace Congress, the Indian people's peace movement has been continually pushing ahead ever since 1949. The All-India Trade Union Congress, the Association of Progressive Writers, organisations of students, women, and peasants, and prominent social personages—they have all joined the great upsurge for the defence of peace. In Indonesia, over half a million of the people have affixed their signatures to the Stockholm Peace Appeal and by April, 1952, the number of people signing the appeal in support of a Five Power Peace Pact already exceeded 600,000. In Burma, organisations for the defence of peace have been set up in all the big, medium and small cities, as well as in the counties and many villages throughout the country. In May this year, the Burmese peace partisans held a conference for the defence of world peace and a demonstration in the defence of peace. In Pakistan, in the ancient city of Lahore alone, over 50,000 people took part in a recent peace congress, which reflects the burning desire of the people for peace and their enthusiasm in participating in peace gatherings. In Thailand and Ceylon, the peace movement has also won the wide support of the people of all strata.

In the countries of the Middle East and the Near East, people there know how to merge the struggle for national independence, and for democracy and freedom with the struggle for peace.

Under the leadership of the peace organisations in Australia and New Zealand, the struggle for the defence of peace is being extended in different fields and in various manners.

In the Americas, the peace partisans there conquered serious difficulties and triumphantly held in March this year in the capital of Uruguay the Second American Continental Peace Congress, at which the experience of the peace movement in the Americas was summed up and the future tasks for the peace movement in the Americas were laid down. In Canada, the peace movement is daily spreading.

In Mongolia, every adult person, whatever his or her belief, has signed the Stockholm Appeal and the appeal for the conclusion of a Five-Power Peace Pact. The Mongolian people are fighting energetically for peaceful construction.

In the Soviet Union, the struggle for peace has always illuminated the path of Soviet history, and the movement to defend peace has always been regarded by the Soviet government and people as the most sacred and the greatest cause. The Soviet people, under the leadership of their government, are not only taking an active part in the peace movement, but are creating a beautiful life by means of peaceful labour on a tremendous scale and defending world peace. (Applause) The strength of the people has worked innumerable miracles. The post-war Five-Year plan was fulfilled ahead of schedule, and a new five-year plan has been put into effect since 1951 designed to further the peace and happiness of the Soviet people. Just to take water conservancy as an example, the Soviet people have completed in a brief span of time such gigantic construction projects as the Volga-Don Canal named after Lenin. They are building the world's largest irrigation system and hundreds of powerful pumping stations and mechanised irrigation installations capable of irrigating over 28 million hectares of desert, semi-desert, and arid land. That can never be achieved by those countries preparing to unleash war.

In China, we see that the people have achieved their liberation through a long and arduous struggle. They know most well from their own experience the value of peace. And this is why they regard as their foremost duty and their glorious task the defence of peace in the Far East and throughout the world. In China the number of people who signed the appeal for the conclusion of a Five Power Peace Pact exceeded three hundred and forty million. (Applause) While fighting unremittingly for the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem, and for the restoration and defence of peace in the Far East, the Chinese people are devoted heart and soul to peaceful construction so that their life may grow more and more prosperous. In the field of water conservancy alone, the earthwork excavated during the past three years is more than 10 times that of the Panama Canal, and more than 23 times that of the Suez Canal. This amount of earthwork, if built into an embankment one metre wide and one metre high, would encircle the globe forty-three times at the equator. (Applause) Owing to the carrying out of various democratic reforms, and owing to the patriotic campaign for increased production and practising economy launched with great enthusiasm by China's workers, peasants, and other labouring people, Chinese industry and agriculture are being speedily restored and developed. The output of the major industrial and agricultural products has surpassed the highest levels recorded in Chinese history. In the fiscal year of 1951, the nation not only achieved a balanced budget, but there was

actually a budgetary surplus. Throughout the country commodity prices have remained stable, the people's living standard has been universally raised, the problem of unemployment has been basically solved, the realisation of full employment is approaching, and large-scale economic and cultural construction will make further progress.

The facts abundantly prove that the people of the various Asian and Pacific countries are striving in the same direction for the same aim, that is, to win peace and defend it. The fact that the Soviet Union and China are devoting their gigantic efforts to peaceful construction is a further demonstration that they do not want war, because peaceful construction is incompatible with preparation for war. Whoever prepares for war will not be able to carry on peaceful construction. This is simply common sense. The Soviet Union and China have time and again expressed their ardent desire for peace. At various international conferences, they have repeatedly made or supported proposals for the consolidation of international peace and security. They have proved by their actions that they can live together in peace with other countries of different social systems. (Applause)

From their long observation of the contrasting trends of events, the people all over the world have gradually come to see the truth of the matter. They are all awake to the danger of military expansion and war preparation, and to the restrictions caused by blockades and embargoes, therefore they strive for peace and oppose war with one accord.

Of course, the movement for the defence of peace is inseparable from the struggle for national independence and freedom. Lasting peace can only be based on the ending of national oppression and enslavement. This is a truth which finds expression not only in the struggle of the Japanese people, but also in the struggle of other peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions, in the struggle of those peoples in the Middle East, the Near East, and North Africa, whose national independence has been trampled upon and whose national sovereignty has been violated. To replace slavery by friendship, brute force by negotiation, and war by peace, to start no aggression, to tolerate no aggression, to render mutual assistance according to need in the pursuit of peaceful construction designed to reduce human suffering and promote international security—is not all this worth a common effort on the part of peace-loving humanity? (Applause)

To cherish life is a natural desire of human beings. Despite the call for mutual slaughter of man by man launched by instigators of war, one of whom went so far as to say, "letting Asiatics kill Asiatics is a short cut to world peace," several air force men captured after dropping germ bombs in Korea have frankly admitted that they were deeply conscience-stricken. The plain fact is that the peace-loving peoples of the Asian and the Pacific regions and through-

out the world will not easily be led into mutual slaughter. In spite of the fact that there are people who are accelerating the rearmament of Western Germany, it is precisely the people of Western Germany who are the most determinedly opposed to it; and in spite of the fact that there are people accelerating the rearmament of Japan, yet it is precisely the Japanese people who are the most determinedly opposed to it. It is our profound conviction that those who regard mutual slaughter among human beings as lightly as they do a cock fighting or a dog fighting, and are determined to reap super-profits out of it, are doomed to failure.

Honourable Delegates! "Peace cannot be awaited. It has to be won by the peace-loving people in unity." That is a famous saying from the Declaration of the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions. Since we are aware of the aspirations of the people and have been entrusted by the people with the responsibility of participation in this Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions which is charged with historical significance, it is our duty to put forward, in accordance with the Declaration and Proposals of the Preparatory Conference, concrete suggestions on the various problems which constitute a threat to the security of our regions. Now I wish to submit to the Conference for deliberation and adoption five points which have gone through a preliminary discussion during the preparatory period:

1. We demand an all-in solution to the Japanese question and the curbing of the resurgence of Japanese militarism. This means that a peace treaty with Japan be concluded according to the principle laid down in the U.N. Declaration (1942), the Cairo Declaration, the Yalta Agreement, and the Potsdam Declaration and Agreement; that all foreign occupation troops stationed in Japan be withdrawn; that support be given to the Japanese people in their struggle for independence, peace and democratic rights, and that, on these conditions, we shall agree to the Japanese people enjoying the right to possess armed forces for self-defence.

2. We demand that the necessary steps be taken to bring to an end the war in Korea and elsewhere on a just and reasonable basis. This means, in accordance with all the provisions that have been agreed upon in the truce negotiations in Korea and the various pacts signed at Geneva, unconditional repatriation of all prisoners of war and the realisation of a cease-fire in Korea; the cessation of the wanton bombing of peaceful cities, peaceful installations and peaceful inhabitants; the withdrawal of all foreign troops, including the Chinese people's volunteers, from Korea in order that the Korean people may settle their own internal affairs. The hostilities in Viet-Nam, Pathet Lao, Khmer and Malaya and the unrest that is seething in the Near East and Middle East, etc. are problems which must also be peacefully solved on a just and reasonable basis. No foreign power should be allowed to intervene in their internal affairs. The

national independence of these countries must be respected and they must be allowed to settle their own domestic problems.

3. We demand the conclusion of a Five-Power Peace Pact between the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union and China; the enforcement of international disarmament; the banning of atomic, bacteriological, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction; the ratification and effective implementation by all nations of "the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare," as agreed upon at Geneva on June 17, 1925, and the condemnation of the criminal acts of maltreatment and massacre of war prisoners and civilians.

4. We demand that the national independence of the peoples of all countries be safeguarded and that no country be allowed to infringe on the sovereign rights of the territorial waters or territorial air of any other country, or build military bases on its soil; that the people of all countries should have the freedom to choose the political system and the way of life they prefer and should be able to expand fully equitable trade and cultural exchange between the peoples of different countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Countries with differing social systems can co-exist peacefully and should respect each other. We demand immediate cessation of the execution of the policy of international blockade, embargo and monopoly.

5. We demand the banning of the clamour for war and propaganda inciting racial hatred, the elimination of discrimination against the coloured

peoples, and the ending of every form of repression of the peace movement. The people of all countries should have freedom to participate in the peace movement. Those who have been persecuted on account of their participation in the peace movement should have their right to open appeal and enjoyment of freedom guaranteed.

Honourable Delegates! All these, we believe, are the common demands of the 1,600,000,000 men and women in the Asian and Pacific regions. The peace-loving peoples of all the world support us. It is our responsibility to conduct unremitting struggle to realise these aims. Our cause is just. Once these aspirations are realised, a just, lasting peace in the Asian and Pacific regions, and eventually a just, lasting peace throughout the world will be ensured. It has been proved by vast accumulation of experience that to transform their wholesome aspirations into glorious reality, people must strive with their own effort. Therefore, in order to stop war, defend peace, and realise our aspirations, we must call upon all the people in the Asian and Pacific regions and throughout the world, irrespective of nationality, profession, social stratum, political views, religious creed or way of life, to unite more broadly and closely, to bestir themselves to take positive action and make sustained efforts. Although the menace of war is growing increasingly grave, yet those who defy human reason and want war are, after all, only a handful. So long as we are united with a single heart, and persist in the struggle for the cause of peace, substituting the spirit of negotiation for settlement by force, equality and mutual benefit for blockade and monopoly, and mutual friendship for national enslavement, we shall be strong enough to see peace conquer war.

Report on the Japanese Question

Togo Kameda

Member of the Japanese Delegation

AS A JAPANESE, I am heartily grateful to our hosts of the China Peace Committee, as well as to the Chinese people, for the great contribution they have made in enabling the delegates of the peoples of the Asian and Pacific countries to gather here for the purpose of holding this historic Conference to defend peace in those regions by their joint efforts.

This Conference is of particularly great significance for the Japanese people. From the past war of aggression started by the militarists, and from their own sufferings under foreign military occupation since the defeat, the Japanese people have come to realise that they were forced into an attitude of aggression

and hostility towards many of the nations of Asia, throughout the last several decades, under the rule and at the bidding of the militarists. As a result, these nations of Asia suffered many calamities, and so did the Japanese themselves. However, under the rule of the foreign occupation power and militarists, Japan is once again being compelled to become the "rogue" or "outcast" of Asia and the instrument of a new war of aggression, and once more it will be placed in a hostile relation to many of the nations of Asia. How can we Japanese be silent? "This error must in no circumstances be repeated." We must in no circumstances permit the revival of the forces of militarism, which are aggressive by nature. It is be-

cause of this that the Japanese are resolved to safeguard peace at any cost. The Japanese people wish to convey this attitude to the other peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions and are willing to strive jointly with them for peace. Today, this Conference has enabled precisely this wish of the Japanese people to come true.

I am here to express this unquenchable desire of the Japanese people. At the same time I wish to tell every person here that the Japanese people, who, by allowing Japanese militarism to launch a war of aggression, caused such Asian nations as China, Korea, Viet-Nam, Malaya, Thailand, Burma, Indonesia and the Philippines to suffer the unprecedented calamities of war, are deeply conscious of their own responsibility. Consider, for instance, China. In the long war of aggression against China, Japanese militarism caused the Chinese people to suffer a loss of over ten million lives and over fifty thousand million U.S. dollars in property. This was the most serious of the consequences of the failure of the Japanese people to curb the blood-thirsty aggression of the forces of Japanese militarism. Nevertheless, we Japanese people have also tasted the bitterness of these consequences; we experienced all kinds of suffering in the course of the war, as well as the great calamity of foreign occupation after the defeat. It is this consciousness of guilt that has impelled the Japanese people to make up their minds not to permit the revival of Japanese militarism, which would turn Japan once more into an instrument of aggressive war.

Exactly at this moment, the Extraordinary Session of the World Peace Council in Berlin pointed out that the peaceful settlement of the German and Japanese questions is today the central issue in the defence of world peace. We believe that this resolution points to the Japanese people, who desire peace in Japan and Asia, the path which they should follow and I earnestly hope that this Conference, in discussing the Japanese question, will regard it as the central issue in the defence of the peace of the Asian and Pacific regions and will give aid to the Japanese people. This is the desire of all peace-loving people in Japan, and is also, I believe, the desire of the other peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions.

The more earnestly the nations of the Asian and Pacific regions desire peace, the more distress they feel at the threat to and breach of the peace in this region, at the revival of Japanese militarism and the probability of its resuming aggression. Today, seven



Togo Kameda

years after its acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration and its unconditional surrender, Japanese militarism, fostered by the foreign occupying power, is once more throwing off the mask. And Japan as a whole has become one single military and strategic base under the occupying power and the Japanese militarists. Is this not the naked truth? Have not the handful of warmongers transformed Japan into a war base to prosecute the savage war against Korea? Are they not attempting, by using Japan as a war base, to extend the war to China, Southeast Asia, other parts of Asia, and Australasia?

The present position of Japan is the result of the close collaboration during the last few years between the U.S. occupation authority and the Yoshida government. A year ago a separate peace treaty and the U.S.-Japanese Security Pact were signed at San Francisco. These two treaties provide for the permanent occupation of Japan by the U.S. forces, the construction of military bases in Japan without restriction, the rearmament of Japan by the United States. These provisions make Japan into an ally of the U.S. aggressor, and render improbable a speedy termination of the state of war between Japan and certain countries. These two treaties are in fact treaties of a war alliance which will make Japan the enemy of every Asian people.

Moreover, this alliance is an alliance between the U.S. warmongers who are wantonly slaughtering the Korean people, and the Japanese militarists whose hands are stained with the blood of other Asian peoples and who, armed with U.S.-made weapons, now attempt to repeat their aggression against the Asian peoples. It is clear that this alliance has a common basis. On the one hand, the U.S. warmongers, with a view to carrying out their aggression in Asia, plan to get the Japanese militarists to help them and convert Japan into a tool for a new war of aggression. On the other hand, the Japanese militarists, seeking to revive the dead, and to realise their old dream of a "Great Eastern Asian Co-prosperity Sphere," are hoping to make use of U.S. aid to reassert their old authority in Asia. The basis of this alliance lies in the use of Japanese industry, which is the most developed in Asia, and of the strategic position of Japan and its vast source of manpower, for the preparing and waging of a new war of aggression. Here lies the new menace to Asia—that is to say, the revival of Japanese militarism. Thus, long before the con-

clusion of the separate peace treaty, the Japanese militarists who had in actual fact been controlling the state apparatus, cast off their masks and came out in the open. The only difference distinguishing their present from their past is that now they don American caps and clothes and arm themselves with U.S.-made weapons. The rearmament of Japan is now being carried out in the open; a militarised police state has again emerged, and Japanese enterprises are being turned into war industries.

At present, the aims of the rearmament of Japan envisaged by the foreign occupying power and the Japanese militarists are as follows: to build up an army of three hundred thousand men and to build, as a start, a small-size navy and air force during next year. To this end a system of conscription is to be enforced. At the same time, a Security Board has been set up with Yoshida himself as the head, and it is intended to turn the Board into a Ministry of Defence in the future. The core of this force is the Police Reserve Corps, 75,000 strong, established after the outbreak of the Korean war. This Police Reserve Corps is scheduled to expand to a strength of from one hundred and ten thousand to two hundred thousand men by the end of the year. It has been equipped with airplanes, tanks and other heavy arms and has begun war manoeuvres. Another aspect is this: the Japanese police force has expanded from its prewar 50,000 men to over one hundred and twenty thousand, the government has initiated a great number of acts of repression, such as the Subversive Activities Prevention Act, depriving the people of their freedom, and the government apparatus has been turned into a fascist armed-police state. To meet the needs of the U.S. armed forces and cope with the rearmament of Japan, the main branches of Japanese industry have been rapidly converted into war industries. Their production already includes the manufacture of airplanes, naval vessels and similar complete units. The re-established Japanese armed forces are not for the self-defence of the Japanese people, but for external aggression and for the internal repression of the Japanese people. They constitute a threat that bodes disaster to the Japanese people and to the peoples of the other areas of the Asian and Pacific regions as well.

Similarly, the foreign policy of the Japanese government has made it plain that its orientation is toward becoming the major accomplice of the United States in the latter's drive for a new war of aggression in the East. For instance, the Yoshida government, in accordance with the requirements of the Battle Act, which is politically and economically aimed at blockading the Soviet Union and China, has declared an embargo on trade between Japan and the Soviet Union and China. Actually, however, the principal party who suffered from the disastrous consequences of this blockade is neither the Soviet Union nor China, but Japanese economy and the livelihood of the Japanese people themselves. Recently the

Yoshida government has gone further, accepting the "Mutual Security Programme," and putting into force the so-called "Plan for the Development of Southeast Asia," in an attempt to plunder the strategic raw materials of these countries, and to help U.S. imperialism construct military bases there. In open antagonism to China, the Yoshida government has also concluded with the Chiang Kai-shek fugitive regime in Taiwan a so-called "peace treaty," and schemed to expel the Soviet Delegation from Japan. Recently, at the Honolulu meeting between the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, the United States once more ventilated plans to include Japan within the orbit of "common security," with a view to organising a Pacific Alliance, in reality an Asian edition of the North Atlantic Pact, with Japan as its nucleus, and with the rearmed Japanese army as its main force.

The most fanatical aggressor in the world, whose true character was completely revealed during World War II, has joined forces with a new aggressor, in an alliance casting Japan in the role of criminal No. 1 of a new war. Premier Yoshida, on August 4, representing the Japanese aggressors, announced to the world that their intention is to make the "Police Reserve Corps" a basis for building a national army, and that "a new Japan will lead Asia onto the world political arena."

But, perhaps, Honourable Delegates, you will ask: "What, then, are the Japanese doing?" This is a very important question. For had not the Japanese people struggled for peace, they would already have repeated their past mistakes and allowed themselves to be led by the militarists onto the road of national and racial extinction; this course is one the citizens of Japan are themselves wholly determined not to follow. The Japanese people have begun to awaken, and have clearly realised that it is their grave responsibility to unite with the peoples of Asia and the Pacific regions in a common effort to eliminate the threat of the revival of Japanese militarism.

I can inform you with pride that the Japanese people have shown unprecedented bravery in their struggle against war and for the defence of peace.

We people of Japan now understand that if the crisis of a new war with Japan as base is not averted, we shall never be able to win our ardently desired liberation from the regime of United States occupation, or to establish a democratic state and live in freedom and happiness. Indeed, the characteristic features of Japanese life today are: the unemployed who fill the cities and the countryside; the slave labour and the starvation wages; the taxation that ruins homes and businesses; the prices that keep on soaring; the destruction of agriculture and industry; the extinction of national culture; and the enslavement of the entire Japanese nation. And the primary cause of all these features is the United States occupation and the revival of Japanese militarism. During the

year since the signing of the San Francisco Treaty, the Japanese people have come to realise that the separate peace forcibly imposed on them by the governments of the United States and Japan was designed to plunge the country into remilitarisation and new wars of aggression, and this has roused their indignation. Would the people of any nation, faced by such dire circumstances, not desire peace from the bottom of their hearts?

It is against this background that the movement in defence of peace is penetrating ever more deeply into cities, villages and among all classes of the people in Japan. This movement places in the forefront the opposition to remilitarisation, "Hands off Korea!", the abrogation of the war treaty, the realisation of an all-in peace and on this basis it is forging ahead. For instance, the signatures in opposition to rearmament and demanding an all-in peace, collected simultaneously with those demanding a Five Power Peace Pact, exceed six million. This is typical of conditions in general. The General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, the largest union in Japan with a membership of three million, and the Peasant Association of Japan have also put forward peace proposals similar to those above—evidence of the strong desire for peace characteristic of the workers and peasants of Japan. Special mention should be made of the youth, students and women who, advancing the common slogans of "Don't join the Police Reserve Corps!" and "Don't serve as U.S. mercenaries!" stand out in the foremost ranks of the anti-remilitarisation struggle. They are now launching an anti-cription signature campaign, with twenty million signatures as their target. Many scholars, religious leaders, men of arts or letters and other professional men are also taking an active part in the peace movement. While protesting against the repressions directed against the peace movement, they have also made earnest appeals to the people from rostrum and pulpit, in articles, on the street, and at meetings: "If deprived of freedom now, the Japanese people will once more be plunged into war."

The popular movement, embracing numerous industrialists, financiers, leaders of political parties, progressive personalities from various groupings, workers and townfolk, to demand the restoration of trade relations with China and the Soviet Union is growing in strength. For instance, Diet Member Tomi Kora, Kei Hoashi and Ex-Diet Member Kisuke Miyagoshi, braving the persecution of the U.S. army and the Yoshida government, attended the Moscow International Economic Conference and subsequently signed in Peking the Japan-Chinese Trade Agreement to the value of thirty million pounds sterling. On their return they were enthusiastically welcomed by the people throughout the country. This illustrates the broadness of the movement. The vital significance of the movement lies in the fact that the Japanese people, with trade restricted by the American and Japan-

ese fomenters of war via the San Francisco treaty, are going ahead themselves to build peaceful, friendly relations between themselves and the Soviet Union and China, on their own account. It shows that the Japanese people is about to blaze a trail which will assuredly lead to the building of peaceful friendly relations with the peoples of Asia and the whole world.

Well above one million people throughout the country have taken part in person in the election of more than 400 candidates as delegates to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions. The reason why the Japanese people are giving such strong support to the Conference is that they look upon it as the way to peace.

The United States government pretends that the majority of the Japanese people support the U.S.-made separate treaty of San Francisco. This is completely false. As our glorious fighter for peace, Frederic Joliot-Curie, put it at the Extraordinary Session of the World Peace Council: "No one can be deceived by such assurances; the enormous demonstrations, such as those of May Day last . . . are too revealing." Mr. Gordon Schaffer, Chairman of the British Peace Committee, also stated at the same Council session: "The Japanese people demonstrated on May Day with a unanimity of purpose which showed to the world that they will not stand idle while these attempts are made to plunge them again into war." Hence the Extraordinary Session of the World Peace Council declares: "The World Peace Council salutes the heroic struggle of the Japanese people for peace, independence and democracy against the forces of militarism and war."

I must point out with deep earnestness that the Japanese people entertain the hope that, in the course of waging such struggles for the sake of peace, we may win the friendship of the peoples of Asia, join with them, and carry on normal trade with the countries of Asia and the Pacific region on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. This has become the urgent common demand of every grouping of the Japanese people.

The Japanese people are fully convinced that, though there be countless obstacles and difficulties in their way, and though blockade and isolation is enforced by the foreign occupying power and the reactionaries at home, they do not stand alone; the Japanese people, just as the other peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions, stand in the ranks of peace. No, the Japanese people not only stand in the ranks but are right in the forefront. We regard it as our highest honour to struggle to the uttermost in defence of peace in Asia on what is the largest Eastern base of the fomenters of world war. We who have been waging a life-and-death struggle for the prevention of a new war in Asia, express the heartfelt wish that the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions may unite in unity and courageously advance our common cause

of defeating war and winning peace. How can this be done? We believe that the urgent need is for Japan to conclude a general peace with all the countries concerned, to oppose the war-making separate treaty and to prevent the revival of Japanese militarism.

The sources of unendurable suffering today to the Japanese people are foreign occupation, the revival of Japanese militarism and the war crisis aggravated by the San Francisco Treaty. We feel their bitter effects. The conclusion of a separate peace with Japan has trampled under foot the Potsdam Declaration, which was won at the cost of the blood of the people of the whole world, betrayed the interests of the Japanese people and threatened peace and order in Asia. All who abhor the revival of Japanese militarism, oppose aggressors and demand peace must prevent this war treaty from remaining valid. We believe that the time has come to demand the substitution of a peace treaty for this war treaty, and to begin the struggle for this aim. This is a great cause, not only for the Japanese people but also for all the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions. It is an international obligation and a duty to peace to substitute an all-in peace treaty for the separate peace treaty, and we must wage persistent struggle to achieve it.

What then are the contents of the all-in treaty that we demand? This was made clear in the resolution on the Japanese question adopted at the Extraordinary Session of the World Peace Council. It is: foreign occupation forces must be withdrawn from Japan, foreign countries must be forbidden to establish military bases in Japan, the sovereignty of the Japanese people must be kept intact, and their right to peaceful and democratic development must be recognised. These are, as the World Peace Council has repeatedly advocated, the inherent and inalienable democratic rights of the people. If it be recognised that the independence and sovereignty of a people should be respected, and that internal affairs must not suffer foreign intervention, then it is perfectly possible for all peoples, irrespective of their different political systems and ways of life, to co-exist peacefully, to develop trade relations on a basis of equality and exchange according to needs; on this basis it will become possible to settle international disputes by peaceful negotiation and thus eliminate the scourge of war. This is the basic principle for the preservation of peace. We can clearly see that it is precisely the frustration of this rightful claim, whether in Europe or in Asia, that has subjected all the peoples to the threat of war.

We Japanese people, as also other peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions, resolutely oppose the San Francisco separate peace treaty with Japan, and hold that a genuine peace treaty, that is, a peace treaty of an all-in character, should be concluded in accord-

ance with international agreement to safeguard a lasting peace in Asia and the Pacific region.

We, the Japanese people, as also other peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions, resolutely demand that not a single foreign soldier shall remain on our soil.

We, the Japanese people, as also other peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions, resolutely demand that not a single military base for any foreign country shall remain on our soil.

We, the Japanese people, as also other peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions, resolutely demand the right to live in peace, independence, democracy and freedom.

These demands fully correspond not only to the interests of the Japanese people but also to the interests of all other peoples in Asia and the Pacific region.

We know full well that to make the imperialists give up their present plans of aggression and to realise our demands are by no means easy and that we must go through a difficult course of struggle. At the same time, the solution of this vital problem affecting the security of the Asian and Pacific regions would be impossible without the common effort of the broad masses of the people in these regions. We Japanese people are eager to strive hand in hand with other peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions to oppose the revival of Japanese militarism and to defend peace in Asia and the Pacific. We Japanese people have already expressed our determination by our action. The convocation of the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions has greatly inspired the Japanese people in their determination to struggle for peace. Well above one million people throughout the country, overcoming all sorts of difficulties, nominated more than 400 candidates out of whom sixty were elected as delegates to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions. Although the great majority of the delegates, as a result of the obstruction of the reactionaries, have been prevented from attending the Conference today, yet the will of the Japanese people and the determination of the people in the Asian and Pacific regions to make a joint struggle for peace cannot successfully be obstructed by any reactionaries. The people in the Asian and Pacific regions have also expressed warm sympathy for the plight of the Japanese people and have extended support to their struggle. The conclusion of a Sino-Japanese trade agreement last June and the support extended by the Chinese people in January of last year to the Matsukawa Incident, in which the railway workers were persecuted by the Yoshida government, are eloquent proofs of this. We believe that if only the people of the Asian and Pacific regions make a common effort, the plot to revive Japanese militarism will inevitably fail and peace in the Far East and in the whole world will be surely safeguarded!

Report on the Korean Question

Han Sul Ya

Leader of the Korean Delegation

HONOURABLE DELEGATES:

Today we are gathered here, representing the unanimous wish and common desire of the 1,600 million people of the Asian and Pacific regions to oppose war and cherish peace. The people of the countries that have sent us here earnestly hope that, with an honest and sincere attitude and in a spirit of friendly consultation, we may be able to devise measures at this Conference to safeguard lasting peace in the Asian and Pacific regions and thus dispel the sufferings of war and the threat of war to which they are subjected.

On the proposal of a number of outstanding peace champions in China, the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions was held here last June and a Declaration and resolutions were made public. The people of the countries concerned enthusiastically supported this Declaration and the resolutions, and have chosen us as their delegates with careful consideration. What great hopes have they reposed in us!

Therefore, at this historic Conference, we bear a heavy responsibility, not only towards the peace-loving people of our respective countries, but also towards the 1,600 million honest and peace-loving people of the Asian and Pacific regions and the hundreds of millions of like-minded people all over the world.

Our view is that, in order to restore and preserve peace in the Asian and Pacific regions, to prevent a prolongation of the present war in Asia, and avert the danger of its possible spread elsewhere, it is of prime urgency to put an immediate end to the utterly inhuman aerial bombardment, and the atrocities of bacteriological warfare, carried out by the U.S. armed forces in Korea and, on a fair and reasonable basis, stop the Korean war.

The war which is now raging in Korea is of a character so cruel that it has no parallel in the history of mankind. If the war in Korea be not ended, no other nation in the Asian and Pacific regions can hope to escape the threat of war.

It was precisely with this in mind that the World Peace Council which met in Berlin last July adopted a special "Resolution on the Cessation of the War in Korea" and called on all peoples throughout the world to wage a common struggle to stop the war in Korea.

If we can devise at this Conference appropriate and effective steps to win a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, and jointly strive for their realisation, then peace in the Asian and Pacific regions can be preserved, and the heartfelt expecta-

tions of the peace-loving people of the world, as well as the great hopes they have reposed in us, can be realised.

Honourable Delegates!

This disastrous war of aggression, which the Korean people are now enduring, has gone into its third year.

This war was forced on the Korean people by the American aggressors. In this war, the U.S. armed interventionists have reduced numerous Korean cities and villages to ashes, and have destroyed a great number of our factories, mills, schools, hospitals, churches, libraries and many other cultural institutions. Countless peaceful inhabitants have been ruthlessly put to death. Especially in areas which come temporarily under the occupation of the U.S. armed forces, such massacres of the peaceful population were brutal in the extreme.

To cite only a few examples: In the course of the 50 days from October 17 to December 7, 1950, 35,383 innocent people, including 16,234 women, were slaughtered in a single county, the County of Sinchon of the Province of Hwanghae.

In Pyongyang, over 4,000 patriots were thrown into jail; over 2,000 of them were later shot. Their dead bodies were piled separately into 21 air-raid shelters, 3 wells and 3 water reservoirs.

These are but a few of the countless instances. In fact, there is not one single spot where the blood of the Korean people was not shed and the treasures and valuable property of the Korean people were not destroyed or plundered.

In vain the U.S. armed interventionists reckoned that they could subjugate the Korean people by slaughter, destruction and plunder. They have miscalculated.

Thanks to the heroic struggle of the Korean people and the heroic People's Army, inspired by the cause of their national independence, freedom and honour, and to the heroic struggle of their fraternal comrades-in-arms, the Chinese people's volunteers, the U.S. aggressors have not only failed to subjugate the Korean people, but on the contrary have been dealt serious blows. Meanwhile their massacre of the peaceful population has aroused the boundless wrath of the entire Korean people, and the universal hostility of the freedom-loving peoples throughout the world.

Beneath the hammer blows dealt by the Korean people and under pressure of world public opinion, the U.S. armed interventionists were compelled to open truce talks in Korea, following the proposal

made in June of last year by Yakov Malik, Soviet delegate to the United Nations. The truce talks are obviously vital for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the restoration of peace in Asia and the removal of the threat of a new world war.

Thus, the Korean truce talks have become the focus of the deep concern not only of the Korean people, but also of the peace-loving peoples throughout the world, including the people of the U.S.A. They all hope for a rapid ending of the war in Korea.

But what has been revealed in the course of the truce negotiations, which have now been going on for almost a year and three months?

The course of the truce negotiations has shown beyond any doubt that the ruling circles of the U.S.A. do not want to stop the fighting or bring about a peaceful settlement of the Korean question; they want only to extend the war and to try to obtain by means of the talks what they have failed to obtain by war.

First, and from the very beginning, the U.S. delegates participating put forward preposterous terms which they vainly tried to force the Korean side to accept, thus fruitlessly delaying and sabotaging the negotiations.

For instance, in the discussions at the cease-fire talks on the question of the neutral belt between the two armies, the American side delayed the talks for 4 months, insisting on seizing 12,000 square kilometres of territory from North Korea.

Next, they held up the negotiations for 5 months, trying to prohibit the repair and construction of airfields by our side with a view to intervening in the internal affairs of Korea.

It was only by insistence on fair and reasonable claims, and as a result of the sincere efforts of the Korean-Chinese delegation to the truce talks, that all the pretexts put forth by the American side were exposed, so that finally they had to agree with our views on these two questions.

On this fair and reasonable basis, agreement on all the conditions for an armistice has now been reached, and the one remaining issue is the question of the repatriation of prisoners of war in accordance with the stipulations of the agreement and of the Geneva Conventions of 1949. That is to say, the truce talks have reached a decisive stage where an armistice can be signed at once if this question is solved.

However, on this question of the repatriation of prisoners of war, the U.S. delegates, who from the beginning have not wanted an armistice, have consistently ignored the solemn stipulations of the Geneva Conventions and the provisions of the draft armistice agreement agreed upon by both sides, and have attempted to detain *en masse* the captured personnel of the Korean and Chinese side, with a view to dragging out indefinitely and sabotaging the truce talks.

Now, in regard to the question of POW repatriation, which is the only issue delaying the armistice

talks, Article 118 of the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of War Prisoners concluded in 1949 stipulates that "the prisoners of war must be released and repatriated at once after actual cessation of hostilities and this shall not be delayed." And Article 51 of the Kaesong draft armistice agreement agreed upon by both sides very clearly stipulates that "at the time when the present Armistice Agreement comes into effect, all the prisoners interned by each side shall be released and repatriated as soon as possible. The release and repatriation of these prisoners of war shall be effected in accordance with the lists exchanged and checked by both sides before the signing of the present Armistice Agreement," and Article 52 provides that both sides should give assurances that prisoners of war will not participate again in the Korean war after repatriation so that they can return home and live a peaceful life. In conformity with the Agreement, therefore, the prisoners of both sides must, in their entirety, all be repatriated unconditionally in accordance with the 1949 Geneva Convention and the Draft Armistice Agreement upon which both sides have agreed, and must be allowed to return home and lead a peaceful life. Nevertheless, the U.S. side, in total disregard of international conventions and even of the Articles 51 and 52 of the Draft Armistice Agreement to which they themselves had agreed, are trying forcibly to detain a huge number of the captured personnel of the Korean and Chinese side, and turn them over to the Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek bandit cliques under the pretext of what they call "voluntary repatriation," so that they may be dragooned into betraying their own motherlands and used as cannon fodder for the United States to extend her aggressive war.

The U.S. armed interventionists are trying to rationalise this phoney "voluntary repatriation," which they themselves fabricated. They are conducting, without any grounds whatsoever, "screening" and "interrogation" of prisoners by force, obliging them to make blood fingerprints on so-called "petitions for voluntary repatriation," or fabricating such fingerprints themselves. They are branding and tattooing insulting words on the bodies of the prisoners. By such methods, they have committed all kinds of indescribable and unprecedented atrocities and violence against the prisoners, as has been admitted in writing by Colson himself, ex-Commandant of the POW camp.

In face of this arbitrary suppression and maltreatment, the captured personnel of the Korean and Chinese side held in the U.S. POW's camps could not but rise in protest, demanding humane treatment in accordance with the Geneva Conventions, opposing and protesting against forcible detention, and resolutely demanding that they should all be returned to their homelands.

However, the U.S. generals have with still more cruel and murderous measures responded to these just demands of the captured personnel.

The U.S. invaders not only have beaten, tortured, and suffocated in steam rooms, blinded with electric current, and turned loose their military dogs to bite the captured personnel of our side who opposed the so-called "voluntary repatriation," but also by mobilising their troops under the direct command of the POW camp commandant to slaughter *en masse* captured personnel of our side, have turned Koje Island where many POW camps are located into an "Island of Terror," recalling "Maidanek" and "Oswiecim."

In connection with these events, the officers and men of the Korean People's Army in the POW camps on Koje Island issued an appeal to the entire Korean people and to the people of the whole world, dated May 23, asking that they be given aid, and be delivered from an existence forever threatened by death.

Dear Friends!

This is the truth about the so-called "voluntary repatriation" fabricated by the U.S. generals. On the one hand, the U.S. generals, resorting to ruthless persecution and massacre, are compelling the prisoners of the Korean side to accept the voluntary repatriation concocted by them, while on the other hand they declare in the Panmunjom tent that they cannot return over 100,000 captured personnel of the Korean side, including those of the Chinese people's volunteers, because these prisoners do not want to return to their homelands.

We ask: If large numbers of the captured personnel of the Korean and the Chinese side really refuse to be repatriated and desire to remain under maltreatment and persecution by the U.S. forces, and to serve as cannon fodder for Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek, why then should Dodd, Boatner and even the Commander-in-Chief of the so-called United Nations forces, General Clark, have to assume personal command of armoured cars, heavy tanks and even flame throwers against the POW camps on Koje Island, which is not a battlefield and attack openly with war-like methods the unarmed captured personnel of the Korean and the Chinese side and have continuously performed and are still performing countless tragedies of slaughter?

This single circumstance has completely exposed the so-called "voluntary repatriation," fabricated by the U.S. generals, as nothing but a preposterous lie.

Nor is this all. In defiance of international law and the moral code of man, U.S. armed interventionists have even employed such methods of war as bacteriological and chemical weapons against the peoples of Korea and China.



The Indian delegation presents gifts to the Korean delegation

The germ war, waged by them over large areas of Korea and Northeast China, was long and carefully prepared. In North Korea, where the U.S. command dropped germ bombs spreading cholera, typhoid, bubonic plague and other infectious diseases, during the period from January 28 to March 11, 1952 alone, the areas affected cover six provinces and 20 cities and counties.

As to this fact, unchallengeably accurate evidence has been collected by the Commission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, by the International Scientific Commission composed of scientists and experts of world authority, and by leading friends of peace. They have made many careful on-the-spot investigations and have widely published to the peoples of the world authoritative reports summarising this evidence. Meanwhile, owing to the effective and timely measures adopted by the Korean and Chinese peoples, the germ war waged by the U.S. armed forces has been checked and prevented from attaining its expected purpose.

But the U.S. generals are not satisfied, and they even attempt to force us to come to terms by exerting so-called "military pressure." They have publicly declared their intention to launch destructive air bombardments against 78 peaceful cities together with their peaceful inhabitants in the northern part of Korea. As a matter of fact, this vicious scheme was already put into effect several months ago.

They are vainly attempting, by these barbarous methods of human extermination, to break the military deadlock at the front which prevents them from advancing by even one step, and to force the Korean and Chinese delegation to the cease-fire negotiations to submit to their unreasonable proposals.

Facts have borne out that the so-called "military pressure" of the United States has never brought them

any advantages, but, on the contrary, whenever so-called "military pressure" has been applied, it has brought them further defeats and further losses. And on the other hand the Korean people have become firmer and more united in their struggle for existence and independence.

Facts have proved that even the American generals have had to acknowledge that the attempt to impose on the Korean people, by means of so-called "military pressure," the unacceptable and unreasonable terms they demand at the armistice talks has already resulted in bankruptcy.

Even now, at the Panmunjom Conference, they are still persisting with the principle of so-called "voluntary repatriation," so clearly exposed as bankrupt, and by manoeuvre of intimidation and sophistry they are even trying to undermine the steel-strong unity between the two peoples of Korea and China. But, all such foolish manoeuvres have been smashed by the Korean and Chinese side. Since June 7, the U.S. side has adopted an attitude of refusing to discuss and to negotiate. When they cannot advance any reason to justify themselves or are at a loss for words, they announce, with no reason, a unilateral recess. In this way they have paralysed the functions of the Conference and made it easy for them to delay and undermine the cease-fire talks.

Honourable Delegates!

Such is a brief outline of how the U.S. interventionists have been deliberately dragging out and trying to wreck the armistice talks.

The Korean people have made tremendous efforts for peace, for their country, as well as for the rest of the world.

The stand taken by the Korean and Chinese side with regard to the solution of the question of POW's has always started from the principle of settlement on a fair and reasonable basis. The Korean and Chinese side is of the view that the captured personnel of both sides should, in accordance with their nationality and locality, be re-classified, and that all foreign captured armed personnel in the hands of both sides, that is to say, those belonging to the United Nations Command or those belonging to the Chinese people's volunteers, should in their entirety be repatriated. With regard to the captured armed personnel of Korea, that is to say, the members of the South Korean armed forces, or the members of the Korean People's Army, those whose homes are in areas of their own side should be repatriated in their entirety, and those whose homes are in areas under the control of the side holding them in custody may, if they themselves wish, return home directly. Both sides should on the basis of this principle of re-classification verify the name-lists. This proposal conforms to the Geneva Conventions in letter and spirit alike, as well as conforming to Articles 51 and 52 of the Armistice Agreement upon which both sides have agreed. If the ruling circles of the United States have still the slightest

intention of reaching an armistice in Korea, then there is no reason at all for them to reject this proposal.

But if U.S. ruling circles and the U.S. generals have no sincere intention whatsoever to bring about an armistice, and continue to obstruct the truce talks in an attempt to extend the war, then the United States must bear full responsibility for all the consequences. This conduct on the U.S. side can only lead to yet more heroic and resolute struggle on the part of the Korean people. The Korean people are determined to fight for the independence, peace and unity of their motherland. The Korean people are perfectly aware that their bitter struggle for the independence and freedom of their motherland is an important contribution to the preservation of the peace of the world.

In order to prevent the sufferings and misfortune that have befallen the Korean people from befalling tomorrow the peoples of other countries, it is necessary, first of all, to bring to an end, on a fair and reasonable basis, the present war in Korea. This is the common desire of all peace-loving people in the Asian and Pacific regions as well as of hundreds of millions of honest people throughout the world.

The only armistice possible is one on a fair and reasonable basis capable of contributing to the restoration of genuine peace in Korea. We are of the opinion that the following points comprise the practical way of ending the Korean war and bringing about a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

Firstly, to demand that all the prisoners of war on both sides be repatriated in accordance with international law and international conventions, particularly the Geneva Conventions of 1949, and in accordance with the draft Armistice Agreement upon which both sides reached agreement; and that a Korean armistice be concluded as quickly as possible.

Secondly, to demand that the bacteriological warfare aimed at the destruction of mankind, and the indiscriminate destructive bombing of peaceful cities and villages, carried out by the U.S. interventionists in Korea be condemned and stopped immediately, and that the organisers of these criminal acts be punished as war criminals.

Thirdly, to demand that, upon conclusion of a Korean armistice agreement, all foreign troops, including the Chinese people's volunteers, be withdrawn from Korea so that the Korean people may solve their own internal problems for themselves.

Honourable delegates, I am convinced that if the terms above are put into force, then it will be possible not only to end all the sufferings and misfortune which the Korean people are experiencing today, but also to open the road to the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and other Far Eastern problems, thus making an important contribution to the preservation of peace in the Asian and Pacific regions and throughout the world.

Let us unite and struggle together for a lasting peace in the Asian and Pacific regions.

Assuredly, peace will triumph over war.

Report on Cultural Exchange

Saifuddin Kitchlew

Leader of the Indian Delegation

MR. CHAIRMAN, Fellow Delegates:

We are meeting at a time when dark clouds of another world war are looming large on the eastern horizon. For the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions, war is not merely a threat but a painful reality. Korea is already in ruins and what remains of its towns and villages is being daily subjected to the fury of bombs. In Viet-Nam and in Malaya large-scale wars are being waged against the people. The destruction of culture in this area, caused by the war, has been colossal. Science and art have been adversely affected; institutions of learning have been destroyed and, above all, even the cultural values of the people are being subjected to war propaganda and the doctrine of racial hatred. The fear and distrust that fill a large part of the world today can be dispelled by greater understanding. That is why the world peace movement has posed the problem of cultural exchange. Where war divides, such exchange can help to unite. People with intimate knowledge of each other's culture are most likely to respect the differences in their ways of living and thinking than utter strangers.

Each civilisation and each nation has contributed in some measure to the great human heritage. A knowledge of what others have contributed is a corrective to national chauvinism which is a danger to world peace.

India for instance came under the impact of the most diverse influences from abroad and in time the influence of her culture helped in the flowing of art and letters among many neighbouring countries. The Iranian and Greek influence on Indian sculpture; the Indian influence on the dance and drama of Java and Bali; the Arab, Mongolian and Persian influence on Indian architecture, music and painting; the Indian influence on the development of science and philosophy of the Middle East in the medieval ages and the spread of Buddhism to China and other neighbouring countries—all these show the range and variety of the cultural exchanges our country has had in the past with other lands, both far and near.

What is true of India is also true of all other countries. Cultural ties

between China, Korea, Japan and the Southeast Asia have been, naturally, very strong. The ancient civilizations of Mexico and Peru seem to have been widely influenced by the cultures of some Asian peoples. A study of these mutual contributions will greatly help in creating goodwill among the various peoples of this region.

The need for cultural exchange is more urgent for the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions. In Europe there has been a continuous tradition of cultural exchange for many centuries and it is only recently that cold war propaganda has tended to divide the continent into two. In the case of the Asian people, however, it is not only the cold war which keeps them isolated from each other. They have also to contend against the barriers erected between them by the colonial powers during the last three hundred years. It is a tragic irony of history that the period which saw a series of revolutions in the means of communication in the world should have seen a complete disruption of communication between neighbouring people who had intimate cultural bonds in the past. This is not surprising: the normal and healthy process by which cultures grow in freedom and replenish themselves with elements chosen from other cultures was grievously interrupted in the case of colonial and semi-colonial countries. The colonial rulers tried to impose their own cultural patterns on the people they subjugated and as the chains which bound them to the ruling countries grew in strength,



Saifuddin Kitchlew greets Han Sul Ya

their old bonds with their neighbours were completely broken.

These old and natural bonds between neighbouring peoples need to be reforged. They have larger interests in common than ever before. It is in the interests of all to see that peace is restored in Korea, Viet-Nam and Malaya and that there are no foreign troops anywhere in any country. For only then can the peace and freedom of this region be secured and suitable conditions for the development of culture exist. Inheriting the same legacy of poverty, disease and ignorance from their colonial past, most of the Asian and Pacific countries are confronted with the same problems and a pooling of their experience and knowledge can be a big help in solving them.

This Conference comprises delegates from the countries of Asia, Australasia and the Americas. It is becoming more clear, day by day, that the interests of the peoples of the Pacific region are, to a large extent, common. Unfortunately, cultural contacts of the peoples of Asia with those of Australia, New Zealand and the Americas have not developed to any appreciable extent. In the name of defence and security, barriers are increasingly being set up throughout these regions. These barriers prevent free economic and cultural exchange between the nations of these regions which is so necessary for the prosperity and mutual understanding of peoples.

It should, therefore, be one of the major tasks of this Conference to devise ways and means for the development of cultural relations between the peoples of these areas. The peoples of Asia know something about the cultures of the Asian countries but they have hardly any knowledge of South America, or the Philippines, or New Zealand. This deficiency should be speedily made up. Peace committees of all the countries represented in this Conference should expedite the implementation of the decisions which were taken by the World Peace Council at Vienna in November 1951. Wherever national commissions for cultural exchange have not already been constituted, this should be done as soon as possible. Active co-operation of all other organisations interested in the cause of peace should be sought for the work of cultural exchange in the Asian and Pacific regions.

This Conference may discuss the desirability of setting up a suitable organisation for directing and co-ordinating the work of cultural exchange in the Asian and Pacific regions.

In many countries there must be official, and non-official organisations for the study of history and culture of other lands and for the purpose of promoting cultural relations with them. The national commissions should keep themselves in touch with such organisations and get as much help as possible from them. It is, however, necessary to safeguard against the ideas of racial superiority and cultural chauvin-

ism which are being encouraged, in certain quarters, under the garb of cultural exchange.

The peace movement is growing stronger every day in all parts of the world. The peoples of the world can surmount the barriers erected by warmongers. They are actually doing so. In spite of bans and taboos, the literature of New China has been translated into many languages and pictures depicting the struggles of the Japanese people for peace and freedom have been exhibited at various places. It is, therefore, quite feasible for us to extend the scope and nature of cultural exchanges even in the present period of restrictions and restraints.

With the present means of communications the possibilities of cultural exchange have grown a hundredfold. The concept of culture itself has changed. It is no longer thought of, exclusively, in terms of religion and philosophy or art and letters but is considered as the entire way of life of a people. Not only must the cultural contacts of today, therefore, be more continuous and more in number; they must be developed at many more points than in the past.

Thus it is not enough to exchange cultural missions with or send teams of theatre artists or dancers to neighbouring countries now and then. The cultural exchanges must embrace every section of the community's life. Cultural exchanges can have a meaning only if all sections of the community get a vivid idea of what their neighbours are doing and thinking, how the world about them is changing and what they are doing to build a better and culturally richer life for themselves.

The following should be the main items of a programme of cultural exchanges:

1. Exchange of cultural missions drawn from writers, painters, sculptors, journalists, teachers, social workers and film artists.
2. Exchange of scientists' and engineers' missions.
3. Exchange of farmers', industrial workers' and handicraftsmen's missions. Serious thought should be devoted to this because it can do more to help foster friendly feelings about other countries among the wide masses of the people than anything else.
4. Exchange of sports teams. If possible regional tournaments may be organised.
5. Exchange of dolls and toys between as many countries as possible.
6. Exchange of students. Scholarships for study in foreign countries should be provided to as large a number of students as possible.
7. Study of foreign languages. Wherever possible chairs should be established at the universities for the teaching of the main languages.
8. Art exhibitions; films; drama and dance. Plans should be made for regular exhibitions of works of artists of other countries and significant feature films and documentaries from those countries. Wherever possible visits by dancing troupes and musicians should be arranged.

9. Translations of books from other languages. A great deal of work will have to be done in this field if the people are to be acquainted with the most outstanding works of the literature of neighbouring peoples.
10. Periodical conferences of cultural workers in which papers on subjects of common interest can be read and common problems can be discussed.
11. Exchange of bibliographies and of literary and scientific publications.
12. Celebration of great cultural anniversaries. This has already been taken up by the World

Peace Council. The national commission should suggest anniversaries which may be celebrated in the Asian and Pacific regions.

Friends, before concluding this report, I would like to emphasise once more the importance and urgency of the task of promoting cultural exchange between the countries of the Asian and Pacific regions. At a time when propaganda opposed to international understanding is multiplying artificial barriers between peoples, and at a time when so much is being talked about the imminence and inevitability of war, it is absolutely necessary for the defenders of peace to chalk out peaceful projects and to fulfil the aspirations of the peoples.

Report on the Question of Economic Relations

Suroso

Member of the Indonesian Delegation

MR. CHAIRMAN and Honourable Gentlemen:

First of all permit me to thank you for giving me this opportunity to make the report on the problem of economic interchange at this Conference. As we know, the Asian and Pacific regions have a total of 1,600 million people who form more than two-thirds of the world's population. Not only do these regions, especially the Southeast Asian region, possess a numerous population, but they are also producers of important raw materials as well as an immense market.

Southeast Asia has rich natural resources and an industrious, thrifty, and intelligent labouring population. Her rubber production constitutes over 90 per cent of the world's total, and her tin production constitutes 66 per cent.

Indonesia alone produces one-third of the world's output of rubber and one-fifth of the world's output of tin. Her output of petroleum is by no means small.

Apart from these, Southeast Asia also produces petroleum, sugar, rice, copra, timber, tea, etc. Never-



theless, the economy of Southeast Asia is very backward and the living standard of her people very low. The principal cause underlying this circumstance is the fact that the countries in this area have never had a really independent foreign trade based on equality and mutual benefit. Yet such really independent foreign trade based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit is precisely the prerequisite for promoting the industrialisation of these countries and for raising the people's living standards.

It cannot be denied that for Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Thailand, Malaya, the Philippines, as well as India and Pakistan, the development of foreign trade is of important significance. Before World War II, the great majority of these countries had not achieved political or economic independence, so their foreign trade was based on serving the interests of their respective suzerain states. Like all other economically backward countries in the Asian and Pacific regions, they mainly relied upon the exportation of raw materials. For instance, rubber, tin, petroleum and copra in the case of Indonesia and Malaya, jute

and cotton in the case of Pakistan, rice in the case of Burma and Thailand and tea and rubber in the case of Ceylon.

These countries are industrially backward and have become the dumping ground for the surplus goods of their suzerain states.

With the exception of a few rice-growing countries, they are in general short of staple food and have to import it. Indonesia, for instance, has to import about 600,000 tons of rice every year.

The reliance of the countries in Southeast Asia on the export of raw materials and the import of a variety of essential goods has caused their economy to be extremely unstable. They are even faced with the grave threat of economic crisis, and the living standards of the people are being further lowered.

The tragic situation is becoming more apparent. The situation in Japan indicates that she has been turned into a base for economic aggression on the part of U.S. monopoly capital. Through its occupation directives in Japan, the United States is taking advantage of Japan's industry and her cheap labour to manufacture all kinds of industrial products, selling them at high prices and thus reaping super-profits. With its foreign trade controlled by the U.S., Japan has to buy at high prices from other countries the coal and salt which it so badly needs, though the Japanese people desire to establish trade relations with New China, and especially to import from China the very much needed coal and salt. But the U.S., through its agent, the Yoshida government, is trying by every possible means to obstruct trade between China and Japan.

The U.S. controls 20 to 50 per cent of the capital stock of over ten major industries in Japan. U.S. financial magnates not only control Japanese economy, causing Japan's national capital to disintegrate, but also shackle the economy and trade of other countries. For instance, 50 per cent of Indonesia's national textile industry has closed down.

At a time when these countries are confronted with economic crisis and trade difficulties, the promotion of international trade would contribute greatly to the elimination of abnormal economic conditions and to the betterment of the livelihood of their peoples.

This is of special importance for the countries of Southeast Asia, whose foreign trade has to rely on one or two countries as their markets.

In 1950 and 1951 the United States and the United Kingdom combined took 40 per cent of India's total exports and supplied 42 per cent of her imports.

In 1950, 36 per cent of the commodities on the Ceylon market was British or U.S. made. In the Philippines, 70 per cent of all goods come from the U.S.

Therefore, the policy of only one or two countries has an immediate effect on the economy and foreign trade of the countries of Southeast Asia.

When these one or two countries are confronted with economic crisis, they shift the burden onto the countries of Southeast Asia, thus seriously threatening the livelihood and destiny of the Southeast Asian peoples.

Therefore, to promote international trade, and to free ourselves from economic monopoly and control by one or two countries, is the only way to ensure our economic independence.

Unfortunately, although after World War II some countries of Southeast Asia seemed to have gained political independence, their colonial and semi-colonial economic status did not change. In respect to foreign trade they still do not enjoy any equal status and are subject to foreign intervention. They are forced to carry on exchange of unequal value with certain countries and are not free to conduct their foreign trade.

What distinguishes the present from the past is that the Southeast Asian countries are faced today with a single imperialist power, namely, the imperialist U.S.A. "And we all know that at the same time when U.S. imperialism granted the status of independence to the Philippines in 1946, it forced upon the Philippines the "Bell Trade Act."

This also holds true for Indonesia. We Indonesian peace supporters have called the attention of the Indonesian people to the fact that the U.S. imperialists attempted to conclude with Indonesia a so-called "Free Trade Agreement."

When the prices for the exports of the Southeast Asian countries went up, the United States imperialists threatened to stop their purchases or use more substitutes and did not resume buying until prices fell. On the other hand, they threatened to stop "aiding" those countries which had been receiving "American Aid," so as to block their normal trade between these countries, and between these countries on the one hand and the peaceful, democratic countries on the other.

The U.S. imperialists illegally adopted the "embargo" resolution against China by manipulation of the voting machine in the United Nations. They called international conferences under their control to deal with the problem of raw materials. Their purpose was to exercise control over the production

and consumption of the products of the Southeast Asian countries.

The facts mentioned above show that the U.S. imperialists are doing their utmost to monopolise the foreign trade of the Southeast Asian countries.

The main exports of Indonesia, such as rubber, tin and petroleum, and the exportable raw materials of the other countries of Southeast Asia have all been classified as "strategic materials" on the U.S. embargo list. Thus, the U.S. imperialists have been able to control and manipulate those materials. In order to get tin at low rates, they threatened to stop purchasing and forced down its price. Between April 12 and August 1, 1951, they forced it down on ten occasions to make the quotation for tin drop from US\$1.505 to US\$1.02 per pound.

On July 16, 1952, the sub-committee on tin of the United States Senate admitted that, as a result of the U.S.-manipulated fall in the price of tin, the U.S. imperialists made a profit of US\$500 million. As for rubber, the U.S. imperialists forced down its price by threatening to restrict civilian consumption and to increase the annual production of synthetic rubber to one million tons. They brought down the price of rubber from US\$0.81 per pound in June, 1951 to US\$0.38 in April, 1952. As a result, rubber and tin producing countries like Indonesia, Malaya and Thailand were forced to reduce their exports and consequently faced a surplus of raw materials on the one hand and a considerable increase of unemployment on the other. Apart from a sharp reduction in the government tax and foreign exchange receipts, the whole process led to bankruptcies and a decline in living standards.

Similar was the experience of Indonesia, the price of rubber dropping suddenly as a result of the embargo, and thus bringing to Indonesia in 1951 a loss of foreign exchange to the value of 650,000,000 gulden. In 1950, before the embargo was in effect, the foreign exchange earned by Indonesia amounted to 1,145,000,000 gulden, whereas in 1951 Indonesia earned only 495,000,000 gulden. Embargo not only caused the nation to incur losses in foreign exchange, but also produced poverty and misery among the rubber producers.

Before the embargo, rubber producers in Indonesia had a total monthly income of 1,800 gulden. After deduction of 450 gulden for living expenses, 100 gulden for softeners, and 250 gulden for grinding machine rent, there was still a monthly income of 1,000 gulden. After the embargo, however, the workers have had a monthly income of only 600 gulden, while living expenses and costs alone amount to 800 gulden. This means that now, since the embargo, they have a monthly deficit of 200 gulden.

As a result of the embargo, Indonesia has rubber unsold and allowed to melt to an amount of thousands of tons, while the Chinese people are in need of this raw material. For instance, from the tyres for trucks and wagons needed by the Chinese peasants alone, one can envisage the vastness of the market for the raw materials of the countries in Southeast Asia. But in January, 1952, the rubber export of Malaya went down by 21,000 tons, as compared with February, 1951.

I remember Prime Minister Chou En-lai of the Chinese People's Republic once said that this very "blockade" and "embargo" were utilised by China to help to eliminate the semi-colonial, dependent character of Chinese economy and to shorten the road to complete independence and autonomy in Chinese economy and that the blow had rebounded upon the imperialists themselves. This has been evidenced by the celebrations of the National Day of the People's Republic of China held in Peking a couple of days ago. In this connection, I want to add that the various countries of Southeast Asia have also suffered from blockade and embargo.

The Southeast Asian countries have supplied the U.S. and other countries with a large quantity of valuable raw materials for the development and restoration of the economy of these countries. However, it is regrettable to see that the Southeast Asian countries have not received from these countries products for the development of their own national economy. The amount of essential equipment, needed for the development of the industry and agriculture, which the Southeast Asian countries can purchase from the U.S. and other countries, is decreasing year by year. In 1950, the countries of Southeast Asia exported 1,700,000 tons of rubber, which represented an increase of 50 per cent over the amount of 1937. And the rubber export total of 1951 again exceeded that of 1950. Yet the importation of the industrial products needed by the Southeast Asian countries declined enormously. For instance, it decreased by one-third in 1950 as compared with 1949, which itself represented a still greater decrease as compared with the pre-war level, while even the pre-war imports were, in fact, unable to meet the needs of economic development in Southeast Asian countries.

From the above is clear what goods are needed by the Southeast Asian countries and what materials they have supplied. The imperialist countries by no means wish to conduct trade on a basis of mutual respect and mutual benefit. A large part of the goods they supply are of a type not needed by the people. Sometimes they supply some industrial products, but such products can be manufactured by these countries themselves, such as synthetic fabric

goods, perfume, soap, shoe polish, low-quality canned food, old newspapers, etc.

This extreme lop-sidedness and unfairness exists in the economic relations between a number of South-east Asian countries and also between the countries of Southeast Asia on the one hand and the countries outside this region on the other. This fact has not only caused loss to the people of Southeast Asia but is at variance with Article 55 of the United Nations Charter. This Article stipulates that the United Nations have the responsibility to promote "higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development." However, the United Nations has not faithfully carried out this task. On the contrary, the United Nations adopted the embargo resolution and is thus shown to be carrying out a policy in contravention of the Charter.

To the Southeast Asian countries, an economic relationship established on the basis of complete fairness, reasonableness, mutual benefit and mutual respect is the necessary way of solving the question. At the same time, our Southeast Asian countries should not permit artificial barriers, such as embargoes, blockades, and the existence of other war-like measures, since all these have endangered the peaceful relations and co-operation between nations.

The unity of the peoples of the countries of South-east Asia in the struggle for peace, with the object of developing peaceful and fair economic relations, will serve materially to promote the conclusion of trade agreements between various countries and peoples. And through active flow of mutual trade, exhibitions of industrial and agricultural goods, and exchange of commercial missions between the countries of South-east Asia and between the Southeast Asian countries on the one hand and the People's Democracies on the other, the conclusion of various commercial agreements can be reached.

The success of this work will not only raise the living standards of the peoples of the countries of Southeast Asia, but contribute materially to a prosperous and happy life for the peoples of these countries as well as of the rest of the world.

Only on the basis of peaceful and fair economic relations can a bright future be realised; and economic relations of this kind can exist provided the war atmosphere is eliminated and peace safeguarded.

For the sake of the happiness and prosperity of the peoples in the Asian and Pacific regions, I, therefore, put forward the following three proposals:

1. We must develop international trade, and eliminate artificial barriers, for only by so doing will

we be able to produce more rice, rubber, tin, cotton, jute, wool and tea, trade at reasonable and fair prices, in exchange for more necessities and machinery, increase the number of the employed and raise our material standard of living. And such endeavours are inseparably linked with the work of saving world peace. Therefore, I propose that we call upon the people in the various countries of the Asian and Pacific regions to work for the promotion of international trade and to urge their respective governments to eliminate all artificial barriers and to strive for a great expansion of international trade; at the same time, I propose that we condemn all artificial barriers in international trade such as blockades and embargoes, and war measures that undermine peaceful co-operation between the nations.

2. The International Economic Conference showed the people of the world the correct way to raise the standard of living of the people of the various countries through the development of international trade. Since the Conference, trade relations between certain countries have revived and developed, while measures of blockade and embargo have met with opposition from the broad masses of the people. The Chinese and Japanese peoples have signed a Sino-Japanese Trade Agreement and have made splendid efforts to implement the agreement in its entirety. This is a great contribution of the Chinese and Japanese peoples to the development of international trade in the Asian and Pacific regions. We suggest, accordingly, that trade agreements be signed between the governments or peoples of the various countries, that international exhibitions of industrial and agricultural products be arranged, and that delegates be exchanged between the countries to make trade contacts of all kinds.

3. The unreasonable resolution to impose an economic blockade against China, which the United Nations had adopted under compulsion of the U.S. Government, runs counter to the spirit of the United Nations Charter and has failed to receive the backing of the countries in Southeast Asia with the largest populations and territory, such as Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Burma and others. This resolution impairs the main economic interests of the Southeast Asian countries which have traditionally maintained close relations with China, and hinders the economic recovery and development of the countries of Southeast Asia. Therefore, I propose that we appeal to the United Nations to take immediately the necessary steps to promote international trade on a world-wide scale, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit among the nations and to eliminate from international trade all the artificial barriers which are contrary to the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

Thank you.

Report on the Question of National Independence

Olga Poblete

Leader of the Chilean Delegation

IN THIS VAST region of the earth, in Asia and the Pacific countries, two absolutely inseparable problems stand out extremely sharply: the problems of peace and of national independence.

The representatives of the 37 countries who have arrived in Peking to take part in the peace conference of the peoples of Asia and the Pacific have just seen the real forces of peace in a vivid form at this time, when the Chinese People's Republic is celebrating the third anniversary of national liberation. We have seen the happiness and the love of a people wholly identified with a policy of peace. We have taken part in ceremonies which are, in the deepest sense of the word, festivals of peace, festivals of the people. We, delegates from the countries of Asia and the Pacific, know how far the majority of our people are from having the opportunity of expressing themselves freely, of taking part and sharing in their boundless happiness in working together. Above all, of so uniting, in the way we saw in Peking on the First of October, so that the parades, the singing, music and dancing, represent one and the same tribute to that national liberation which, combined with peace, will give China the certainty of having a future even greater than its exciting present.

Here we have witnessed the longing for peace expressed by a people; and this people, which has won and struggled for its national independence, knows that to develop and maintain its existence as an independent nation, it must make peace its supreme purpose.

In the peace conference of the peoples of Asia and the Pacific, for the first time in the history of humanity, are brought together the desire and will of the peoples on both sides of the Pacific Ocean. This is an event of extraordinary historical significance, both because it constitutes a mighty demonstration of the peace forces united here in spite of all the obstacles put up to stop them, and because it takes place in that part of the world where the national liberation



movements are entering on their most decisive phase. But there is also something else to this picture of the conference of the peoples of Asia and the Pacific, and that is, the expression of those forces who are, on the American side of the Pacific, making a stand for peace and, at the same time, struggling for their national independence. This common denominator is what we must analyse here. We understand that peace is one and indivisible, but that, in the winning of peace, every people must make its contribution in the light of the problems which affect the masses of the people most deeply, and of the demands which represent their most legitimate aspirations,

such, as freedom and independence.

We would not understand the problem of national independence if we did not establish its fundamental premises. People understand by national liberation, recognition of their right to choose their own manner of life and form of government; to have their own say in the exploitation, use and interchange of their natural riches and to live in accordance with the principle of peaceful co-existence of all forms of government based on equality and mutual respect.

The peoples of Asia, who to-day are carrying out great struggles for national liberation, have lived for centuries under a colonial system, based on wars of conquest and oppression, which denies them the right of self-determination, which subjects their economies to slavery, their countries to military intervention and, worse still, uses their own people as an instrument of repression and to provide front-line troops for colonial wars.

This stage is coming to an end. We are living in the era of national independence for all peoples. To try and stop the progress of national liberation movements by violent and brutal repression is equivalent to getting away from the world of scientific fact. The great triumph of our time is, indeed, the decay and ultimate wiping out of colonialism. And, let us understand this well, it is the final wiping out

of colonialism, and not just the replacement of one sort of colonialism by another.

This is something the people are perfectly well aware of, and it is a certainty which extends far beyond those lands which are today engaged in a bloody struggle for their liberation. To prevent the triumph of those forces who are today seeking their complete independence, the aggressors are trying to mobilise other peoples and drag them into their military adventure. That is why they sign military pacts which are pacts for war and colonisation. That is why they rearm countries and force them to bear the weight of military expenditure; they subjugate their economies on the pretext of making them contribute to the defence of the so-called "free world"; with their hateful war propaganda, they corrupt the minds of young people and the consciences of men and women; they foster local and regional hatred; they stir up political, racial and religious discrimination, and, in a word, rob these peoples of their right of freely choosing their national and international policies.

In this way the problem of national independence goes far beyond the boundaries of the countries directly concerned. A war policy, designed to stifle these national liberation movements, means, for many other people, although situated in continents far removed from the centre of hostilities, the threat of being dragged into the fighting. A clear example of this situation is the present war in Korea. That is why no people on earth can remain indifferent to the need to bring hostilities to an end and secure an immediate cease-fire. And it must be borne in mind that if peace in Korea is held up, it is because the aggressors have still not abandoned the idea of using this particular conflict to start a third world war. For this reason, repression of national liberation movements is a direct threat to world peace. That is why national liberation and the struggle for peace proceed along the same path. Every new conquest won in the course of the struggle for national liberation constitutes an advance of the peace forces over the forces of aggression.

It is in Korea that we find the sharpest picture of the struggle for national liberation at the present time. There a fierce and bitter war of intervention has sunk to the monstrous depth of using bacteriological weapons. In Viet-Nam, the historical and legal process of consolidating the liberated republic has been interrupted by brutal violence from foreign interventionists, who are ruthlessly slaughtering a people for the crime of defending their right to self-determination. A mighty national resistance movement is today arising in Malaya to combat a colonial domination which has meant for the people one thing: repression, exploitation and death.

The remilitarisation of Japan, triply sealed by the San Francisco Unilateral Treaty, the Bilateral Security Pact and the Administrative Agreement, completes the process of occupation of the country

by open violation of its sovereignty and the transformation of the entire life of its people in order to serve as a base of aggression. Japan, then, at the present time, is facing the problem of national independence. The presence of the Japanese Delegation at this conference, which we all greeted so warmly, is proof of the Japanese people's decision to end foreign occupation, to establish a way of living together democratically and align themselves with all peoples of the world who are struggling for peace.

Australia and New Zealand are now also suffering severe curtailment of their sovereignty. The Pacific Tri-Partite Pact, formulated in the same spirit as other international agreements for remilitarisation, means for Australia and New Zealand serious sacrifices of sovereignty which will quickly be translated into interference with their internal freedom, their economic independence and their free contact with the outside world.

On the American side of the Pacific, especially in Latin America, the problem of national independence also stands at the top of the agenda as a prerequisite for the maintenance of peace and progress. We must not be deceived by the outward forms of independence if, in actual fact, national sovereignty is so interfered with that ultimately it is impossible for our countries to take any free decision in their internal and foreign policies.

There is no point in having the outward and decorative trapping of sovereignty if our people have no say in the free exploitation and employment of their natural resources. The letter of the law is not enough, if governments line up with foreign interventionists and daily assail essential human freedoms. It is not enough to have a superficial veneer of the refinements of life if the great masses of the people have to live in inhuman conditions. It is no use producing official propaganda sheets if millions of men and women in our America are practically kept outside the sphere of culture and the enjoyment of beauty, and if national feeling for these things is stifled by a cosmopolitanism intended to undermine the national spirit.

In our countries there exists a close relation between economic aggression and the attack on our sovereignty; between the surrender of the latter and the suppression of public freedoms; between militarisation and the precipitous fall in our standard of life. In the light of these things, feeling is growing in Latin America that we still have our national independence to win. Around this belief, ever bigger sections of our people are beginning to feel that only the sovereign enjoyment of our rights and resources can give us access to those ways of life which we demand. That is why understanding of the problem of national independence, like that of the problem of peace, is today a matter of concern to all sections of the people, and not simply the concern of the popular masses whose actual participation in the struggle has given them more quickly and directly a proper under-

standing of the problem. Many examples from Latin America serve to demonstrate the different forms of subjection under which our people live.

Puerto Rico, practically at the very moment of its official incorporation as a new state of the U.S.A., is forced by the Washington government to send troops to Korea. This is clear proof that the loss of national independence leads inevitably to war.

Colombia is the only Latin American republic which has sent soldiers to Korea. This action was the result of a sinister piece of trickery worked out between the governments of Washington and Bogota. The Bogota government has unleashed civil war in Colombia at the same time as it has handed over the economy of the country to the big foreign concerns. As a reward for this, Colombia has been given a certificate of perfect democracy! Thus we see how war in Korea can decimate with blood and fire people on the plains of Colombia, can abridge its sovereignty and deny the most elementary human rights to its citizens.

Generally speaking, all the Latin American countries are suffering from attempts against their national independence, principally by means of the taking over of their economies by the huge foreign monopolies. Thus the exploitation of tropical fruits brings no benefit to the people of the Central American republics; the profits derived from oil, coffee, tin, sugar nitrates and copper bring not the slightest benefit to the people of Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador, Chile and Peru. As a consequence of the lack of national independence and the atmosphere of war preparation, the greater part of the Latin American countries maintain no relations with this half of the world, to the vast detriment of their economic and cultural development; in fact there are some cases in which the masters who direct this policy maintain relations for them!

It is clear that all the people of Latin America ardently long to put an end to this anomalous and unacceptable situation. The movement, the demand of the people for the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations with China, with the Soviet Union, with the People's Democracies, with all the countries represented in this conference, with all countries in the world, without discrimination but guided solely by mutual respect and reciprocal interest, at the present time in our continent has acquired a strength and had repercussions which transcend social classes and different opinions in political and economic circles.

This loss of sovereignty in Latin America is not only reflected in the state of our economies. We see with alarm that it is also affecting us on the cultural plane, by the distortion and deterioration of our own forms of expression, as a result of the close monopoly of press, cinema and radio. Public opinion is swamped by hateful war propaganda which leads to a state of admitting the inevitability of war and imposing discriminations intended to weaken and frustrate the national and peace-loving will of the people.

Finally, the imposition of military treaties has provoked the rejection of these pacts by the most diverse sections of the people, because they are alive to the threat to the independence of our countries. The recent vivid experience in my own country, Chile, just as in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Brazil and Uruguay, allows us to say to this conference that great masses of the people have battled on the streets against these pacts and that the militarists in Washington have merely got from our countries a "scrap of paper," inasmuch as the people have not knuckled under but, on the contrary, have become more determined to fight day by day to make the fulfilment of these pacts absolutely impossible and to get them annulled as soon as may be. Moreover, the people of Mexico have held up ratification so far with success, forcing the government to postpone discussion of the military pact. Today Mexico is standing vigilantly on guard.

These experiences have permitted us furthermore to demonstrate by actual deeds that every day vaster sections of the people, without distinction of economic position or political or religious beliefs, are beginning to understand that a peace policy which condemns intervention in the internal affairs of countries and stands for the peaceful co-existence of all forms of government constitutes the only guarantee of safety for the people.

The work of the people for peace is decisive for the success of the struggle for national independence in whatever state of development it may be. We know that our common efforts are bound to win peace, even though to this end it is necessary to organise better and secure the support of other sections. We also know that peace will be won in as far as we are able to clarify our thinking and co-ordinate around peace the aspirations of all decent men and women who are opposed to war. On this point, we should like to speak specially to the delegates at this conference who represent the will to peace of the great people of the U.S.A. There are, in growing sections of the people of the United States, noble feelings of solidarity towards the people of all lands. We know that these sections in America understand that the freedom of the peoples of Latin America, like the freedom of all peoples, is an essential condition for world peace. We share with our friends among the people of the U.S.A. the idea of the enormous responsibility which falls on them in the maintenance of world peace, precisely because there are such mighty forces in their own country who are fomenting plans for war. This is why every new victory which the peace forces gain inside the United States is so important. In this great struggle we feel ourselves fraternally united with them. We are confident the peace movement in the U.S. will continue to develop.

Finally, the people on the American side of the Pacific, particularly those of Latin America, want to tell our friends in Asia that, at the end of the work of the conference, we are certain to take with us their

experiences which will be of inestimable value to drive forward in our own countries the fight for peace, which is bound up with the problem of national independence. We should like to leave our friends something in exchange for such a valuable contribution. That is, that they should learn and pass on to the millions of people whom they represent the fact that, in their great struggle for national liberation, they are not alone. There is an impression, put out by those who foster confusion and division among nations, that Latin America is tamely submitting to the dictates of the warmongers; that it limps along and allows those who hold power calmly to use it in the service of warmongering policies. That is false. We want to tell our friends in Asia that, from Mexico in the north to Chile in the extreme south, there is not a single Latin American country where a day passes without the struggle for freedom and peace bearing new fruit. Peasants as well as workers, artists as well as intellectuals, men and women in all walks of life, are carrying on without recognition, and often at the cost of their lives, the battle for self-determination, for decent co-existence and for peace. In the midst of these conditions, a new understanding of the

problem of national independence is rapidly maturing in our America, and, as it does so, the struggle for peace helps us greatly.

In these circumstances, we enthusiastically support the Asian peoples' struggles for national liberation, and, at this moment, we wish to call them our elder brothers, because their struggles are also ours. We know that the peoples who are freeing themselves from colonial tutelage, from foreign intervention, will never become aggressors. We know, on the contrary, that they will be a new and mighty force in the task of winning world peace. At the end of our work here, we shall go away with the conviction that this meeting of the peoples of Asia and the Pacific has not been brought about by mere geographical caprice, but from an identity of interests in the planning of the struggle for peace and national liberation. In this struggle the countries of Asia have advanced further than ourselves. But the road is the same, and we can tell them that the march of the peoples on the western side of the Pacific towards peace and national liberation is acquiring a new rhythm, a new breadth, which will ensure that, on both sides of the Ocean, these causes will be led by their peoples to victory.

Report on Women's Rights And Child Welfare

TAHIRA MAZHAR

Member of the Pakistan Delegation

MR. PRESIDENT and Friends:

On behalf of the Pakistan Delegation, I wish to express our deep gratitude for the honour that has done to our delegation in asking us to present this report on the defence of women's rights and child welfare. This report concerns itself with a majority of the people of the Asian and Pacific regions. Further, its importance lies in the fact that it is concerned more with persons who have less to do with the making of war, and most of whom merely are helpless victims of the most heinous weapons of mass murder ever invented by man. The war of today is no longer an affair which concerns



merely the armies involved. It is total war, involving total annihilation of man and all that he has achieved in the realm of civilisation; therefore, today more than ever before, the war against war must be total effort, mobilising the energy and the genius of all peace-loving peoples of the world.

The effect which war has on the lives of women and children is not easy to describe in words which would do it full justice. Whose conscience has not been stricken to see a mother saying farewell to a son whom she expects never to see again? Whose soul has not been harrowed at the thought of thousands of women widowed

by the relentless machine of war, which produces death on a mass scale; and even more, can even the most callous and heartless of human beings remain unmoved by the picture of innocent babes being snatched from their mothers and being used as targets for bayonet practice? Who can profess to ignore this problem when thousands of children are being killed, mangled, or maimed, by the wars that are now going on in Korea, in Malaya, in Viet-Nam; and when the world is faced with the prospect of a fearful conflagration which may embrace the whole world. Before I go any further and deal with other aspects of the question of war and peace as related to the defence of women's rights and child welfare, I would like to quote a story reported by an American correspondent writing in the weekly magazine *Time*. He writes that in a South Korean town, he saw a young boy, one of many thousands, seeking shelter on a shelterless railway platform. Talking to him, the American correspondent asked him what his plans were. The young war orphan replied, "I have no plans, for soon I shall die." "Why?" he was asked. "Because," he said, "last year when it was cold, my brother died. This year when it gets cold, I shall die." There are thousands of more Korean children, Malayan children and Viet-Nameese children who may well and truthfully make this ghastly prophecy about their own future, for these lands are also visited by the demon of war which accompanies every imperialist intervention.

Friends, if we cannot get together sufficient strength, if we cannot develop and mobilise the peoples of the world to join our ranks, if we fail in the glorious task which we have set ourselves, it may be your son, it may be my son, when questioned by one of the tribe of correspondents who travel in the wake of marauding imperialist armies, who will say these three soul-searing words "I will die. When it gets cold, I will die."

Apart from the countries where the struggle for peace is a part of the struggle against actual foreign aggression, in other lands of Asia the threat of war and preparations for war constitute a serious impediment to the progress of women in their striving for the right to be treated like human beings and the universal desire that our children should be nurtured and looked after in the best way.

I shall deal first with my own country Pakistan. Firstly because, in the short time that was available to us, it has not been possible, and for this we owe other Asian countries an apology, to devote sufficient time to conditions prevailing in other lands; and, secondly, because the situation in Pakistan with regard to the rights of women and children's welfare are as bad as in any other country.

The social conditions in Pakistan expose the vicious exploitation of imperialism which kept our country in its grip for nearly two centuries, using it as a source of supply for raw materials and cheap labour power. Created in 1947, the new state of

Pakistan has been able to do little to eradicate the damaging effects of long decades of slavery. Apart from the evil consequences of a system under which education is confined to a small section of the population, where a backward economy compels vast millions to be unemployed or under-employed, and when effective measures for social welfare are virtually non-existent, the women of Pakistan suffer from special disabilities. Co-education is discouraged and since considerably less attention is paid to the education of girls it is not surprising that out of Pakistan's 10 per cent literate population hardly 2 per cent are women. With regard to legal and political rights, although recently some legislation has been adopted to give women a share in their parents' property and certain other matters, these rights remain for the most part unimplemented. There still are certain parts of our country where women are literally treated as mere chattels, and in these backward regions it is by no means unusual for women to be sold or bartered away into a life that is no different from the worst form of slavery. With few exceptions, it can be said that the women of our country have not been able to find their rightful place of equality in society. For the grant of paper rights is of no help, unless it is accompanied by the creation of social conditions under which these rights can be exercised. With the average per capita income in Pakistan at about rupees ten or one pound sterling per month, and with women occupying a subservient position in the country's socio-economic system, they have to bear the brunt of the burden of grinding poverty. The vast majority of them have no access to proper medical aid; and living under the most unhygienic conditions they fall easy prey to such preventible diseases as malaria and tuberculosis. While there is only one qualified doctor for every thirty thousand persons in Pakistan, the number of lady doctors presents an even bigger disparity in relation to the needs of our people. Compelled by such conditions, thousands of our Pakistan women are driven to the degradation and humiliation of keeping body and soul together through beggary or through the sale of their bodies, and the legal bans on prostitution or beggary remain a dead letter, mocking the wretchedness of these helpless human beings.

The women of Pakistan are beginning to realise that the growing danger of war not only threatens to break up their families, not only does it hold out the prospect of the death of their sons or husbands; but also that the present state of insecurity, the burden of war preparations and the semi-colonial nature of our economy are a hindrance to the country's progress with which the struggle for women's rights is naturally linked. It is significant that the first response in Pakistan to the call of the Paris Peace Congress was from a women's organisation, the Punjab Women's Democratic Association. Not only do they oppose war because of the increased misery that it is certain to bring to them, but also because the heart of a woman cries out in anguish when she hears of the

pain and suffering that is needlessly being inflicted on women and children in other parts of the world. No woman, in Pakistan or elsewhere, but for rare exceptions like Elsa Koch who are a disgrace to womanhood, can hold back her tears at the thought of a Korean child crying at the breast of a mother burnt to death by napalm. No woman can disregard the humiliating treatment inflicted on Korean women by the foreign soldiery, no woman can ignore the fact that in Malaya the heads of young patriots are sought by headhunters as trophies. The honour of women, the proper care of their babies, the heads of their sons, are precious to all women. To retain the right to the decencies of civilised life, to retain the right to bring up their babies, to retain the right to see their children grow up to manhood without becoming targets of the headhunters' horrible art, the women of Asia must line themselves with the partitions of peace.

Children in Pakistan are so neglected that their proper care and welfare has become a national problem of very vital importance. Owing to economic conditions reducing large sections of the population to starvation level, our children cannot get enough food, and whatever is available lacks nourishment. The average child's early life is spent in dirty streets, and when he is able to work a little he helps the parents to add a few extra annas (pence) to their daily budget.

Infant mortality in Pakistan is supposed to be as high as 20 per cent. There are not enough clinics or hospitals. More than half the population has never consulted a doctor, therefore disease in Pakistan is increasing.

Though the demand for education has increased of late, the number of schools is not large enough for a population of about eighty million. The acute shortage of teachers, the heavy cost of books, pen and ink, and other articles are proving a great hindrance to the spread of education. Visual aids to education are lacking and radio and cinema have not so far been employed as means of education. The 5 per cent of our children who can afford to see a movie occasionally, see an American cowboy or gangster film, so the education which they get is such that it brings out the inhumanity and the moral decadence of a system of society which has perverted human values.

Korea

Korea's history of misery and unhappiness is a long one. For a long time it suffered under the yoke of Japanese imperialism and, within five years of the liberation of North Korea, the American intervention under the shameless protection of the U.N. thwarted its aspirations and employed all means to enslave this brave nation.

During the five years of liberation which North Korea enjoyed after the war, much was done by the people's government to improve the lot of women and children by way of protecting their health and

cultural enlightenment and giving full political, legal and economic equality. Everywhere children's homes and kindergartens were opened. There were 218 kindergartens and creches. The number of students was doubled and schools increased for times the number after the Koreans freed themselves from the Japanese. Infant mortality soon began to decrease. The government had prohibited child labour up to the age of 14.

But just when a new life was being ushered in, the dark forces of American intervention entered Korea. It is stated that in the province of Chwan Chee, for instance, 120,000 people were killed or burned to death while the Americans held it temporarily. Most of the victims were helpless women and children of 2 to 3 months up to 10 years of age. 309 women and children were gathered in a stone building in which they were burned to death. In the province of Wen Che, Jan En Do was first caught and raped. After that her five children were killed in front of her. Her youngest daughter, two years of age, was trampled to death. Many more examples of such crimes committed under the flag of the U.N. can be cited. The most inhuman of all deeds committed by the Americans is the unleashing of germ warfare. Cities like Pyongyang have been bombed, and a large number of civilian population—men, women and children annihilated.

No doubt the Korean people desire peace and freedom from intervention. The women of the whole world are with them in their desire for the achievement of these objectives.

Viet-Nam and Malaya

Another fighting country which is passing through a similar experience as Korea is Viet-Nam. During the six years of French vandalism now sustained and aided by American imperialism, the country has suffered immensely. The French have systematically pillaged the possessions of the population, destroyed the harvest, killed farm animals and has plunged the population into the deepest misery, exposing the children to hunger, cold and illness. In the mining area of Hon-Gay a group of workers' children were taking part in an educational course; the aggressors gouged out their eyes and a number of them were thrown into the sea. In the course of a raid in the village of My Trach, in Quang-Tri province on June 14th, 1948, soldiers of the French expeditionary corps took hold of 100 small children and killed them in various unimaginable ways. In the centre of Viet-Nam, certain commanding officers openly incite their soldiers to assault women in an organised way so as to infect them with venereal disease. Not even old women of 60 and little girls of 10 are spared.

In face of all these atrocities the government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the people's organisations have paid particular attention to the questions of the defence of children during the last six years. Various regulations prohibiting child

labour, granting allowances to workers for their children under 16, granting special support for children made orphans by war have been adopted; mass education of children from the age of 8 has been provided.

Under such circumstances, it is little wonder that the peoples of Viet-Nam and Malaya demand peace, for it is in peace only that they will be able to develop their countries and adopt all measures to protect and encourage the welfare of their women and children.

Japan

Outwardly it appears that the old imperial Japan was a powerful and prosperous country and even now under foreign occupation its industries and trade are developing. But outward appearances are deceptive. In the old times Japan suffered from one of the most reactionary militarist rules and now in addition it has a foreign occupation. The signing of the recent slavish San Francisco "Peace" Treaty, to which I am ashamed to admit the Pakistan government is a signatory, increases the danger of survival of militarism. It deludes the Japanese people that they have got independence, perpetuates the old order of society, strengthens American capital in Japan, and provides for turning the country into a huge military base for aggression against China and countries of Southeast Asia and Australia.

Under such circumstances one can well imagine the plight of Japan's population, particularly of the women and children. The helpless children paid heavily during the 14 years of aggressive war provoked by Japan. Almost all Japanese children were born and grew up in the war. During the Second World War many children were killed and crippled. In addition many children who lost their fathers and mothers were thrown on to the streets. The Japanese people still cannot get over the gruesome memory of mass destruction of hundreds of thousands of their fellow-countrymen who died in agony when the first atom-bombs were thrown on the towns of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In a report given at the International Conference in Defence of Children it was stated: "Being placed into such a destitution as to be unable to feed even their children, Japanese mothers are very afraid of having any more children. Besides, almost every-day the newspapers in Japan are featuring various articles on abandoned children and suicides of the parents who accompany their children in their death's journey. Nor is this all. In Japan children are traded like commodities. It is reported that more than 300,000 children were sold last year alone.

Besides juvenile workers and war orphans, other children are also unable to receive even elementary education. In the season of harvest, 80 per cent of the school children are unable to attend school, because they have to work.

What is more, mother and child welfare suffers from the scantiness of state appropriations for it.

More than 60 per cent of Japan's budget this year is dedicated to war preparations. The people of Japan however are protesting against such a state of affairs.

The Japanese Teachers Union, an aggregation of more than 500,000 teachers are carrying forward a struggle against the resurrection of militarist education and for the enforcement of compulsory education entirely at state expense.

The urgent need of the Japanese people is peace. They feel it earnestly to stop their ranks being used as gun fodder by the American aggressors and, instead of devoting their budgets on war preparations, to devote them to the task of peaceful reconstruction.

This dismal report of conditions in the South Asian countries is relieved by the tremendous progress that has been made in the Soviet Union, and in China since it was liberated from the stranglehold of the U.S. State Department and its fascist local agents. Here women have achieved full equality, the age-old dominance of man has been abolished. Fear and insecurity have been banished and shoulder to shoulder with men, the women of the Soviet Union and China are exerting themselves to reconstruct their countries, and build up a new life. The national day celebrations convinced us that China was marching forward, and women along with their men were taking full part in all spheres of life, political, economic and social.

No word can express the suffering inflicted by war on the Chinese mothers and children. In the eight long years of Japan's aggression, the majority of victims were women and children.

New China has first of all brought peace to mothers and children, which is one of the most important aspects of women's life. The new reforms improved the standard of living, and condition of women became equal with men in all respects. The rights of women and children are safeguarded, they are now protected by the state. 85 per cent of all the counties in China now have their own health centres, midwives are given scientific training, due to all this the mortality of infants has decreased substantially. The present figure of children in school has increased to 56 per cent, the highest in Chinese history, free education is provided in towns and villages. New methods have been devised to cultivate a child's moral standards.

The most important law for women which has been passed by the People's Government of China is "The Marriage Law." This law for the first time provides women an equal right with men. "The arbitrary and compulsory feudal marriage system, which is based on the superiority of men over women and which ignores the children's interests shall be abolished. The new democratic marriage system, which is based on free choice of partners, on monogamy, on equal rights for both sexes, and on protection of the lawful interests of women and children, shall be put into effect."

I think this one item is enough to show us that women in China have at last won freedom and equality.

Chinese women are taking active part in the administration of the state, many women are in charge of important posts in all levels of government.

Over three hundred and forty million people have signed the petition for the Five Power Peace Pact, and voted against the rearming of Japan.

Throughout the Soviet Union, women receive equal pay for equal work with men. The Soviet women are working as skilled workers, technicians, engineers, workshop directors, directors and assistant-directors of enterprises.

Soviet women also play an active role in agriculture. They achieved great accomplishments, in the post-war period, in raising the produce of crops, in developing pasturage and in realising the Stalin Plan of transforming nature.

Soviet women also play an important role in national education and public health. More than a million women teachers educate the growing generation. More than a million women work in the public health system. There were only 2,000 women doctors in Russia before the revolution, while in the Soviet Union, there are now 207,000 women doctors. In Uzbekistan alone, there are 550 hospitals and clinics.

Soviet women participate, on a broad scale, in the administration of the state: 290 are the deputies of the Supreme Soviet, 2,209 women have been elected as deputies of the autonomous republics, and more than 500,000 as deputies of local Soviets. Women make up over 40 per cent of the people's judges and people's jurors. In various Republics, there are many women who work as ministers and vice-ministers.

There are numerous systems in the Soviet Union concerning the labour of women and the protection of motherhood and children. Working women receive full pay during pregnancy and confinement. In 1951, the Government had paid a sum of 6,000 million rubles as allowance for mothers with large families.

In the Soviet Union are set up, on a broad scale and daily increasing in number, free maternity hospitals and consultation centers for women and children. Numerous nurseries and kindergartens serve the mothers and their children. Mortality in the Soviet Union has decreased by two times as compared with 1940, as a result of the increase of welfare for the people and the constant care of the government in public health.

I need hardly say anything about the life of children in the Soviet Union. It is said of the Soviet Union that the only "privileged class" which exists there, and has been created entirely by the Soviet society, are the children, who get the best which can be got, for whom education is free and compulsory; equal opportunity is provided for all children to grow

and develop. All that could be desired for healthy mental and physical growth of a child has been made available for the Soviet people's rising generation.

In conclusion we can do no better than to endorse the demands made by the International Conference in Defence of Children held at Vienna in April this year. It is no longer disputed that the women's movement in every Asian country is becoming increasingly conscious of this, that a condition precedent to the defence of women's rights and for safeguarding the welfare of our children, is the establishment of a lasting peace. It is therefore the common task of the women all over the world to give the highest priority to the struggle against war. Already enough new horrors have been inflicted on Asian soil, on the orders of American generals whose concept of defence compels them to lead their armies into foreign lands thousands of miles away from the United States. They want to protect Democracy by the use of germ warfare and napalm bombs and if this is not enough, threaten mankind with atomic warfare. In alliance with the peace-loving people of America whose representatives including women grace this conference, let us resolve to resist the expansion of U.S. imperialism and its allies, let us resist the establishment of military bases on our soil, let us resist the export of our sons and brothers as cheap cannon fodder, let us resist the attempts of the warmongers to divide mankind and with unity and determination, let us march forward to the attainment and preservation of peace. In this noble task the women of Asia will stand in the front rank, for they have the most to gain through peace and most to lose through war.

The Appeal

Men and Women of Good Will!

Let us devote all our strength and unite our efforts to ensure for all the children of the world the right to life, to health and to moral and intellectual development.

Let us obtain from the governments a guarantee of these rights; that laws should be passed everywhere protecting children, and that existing laws should be applied.

Let us demand that an important part of budgets be set aside for social and cultural needs, for the protection of mothers and children, instead of being devoted to armaments.

Let us denounce and condemn publicly the stimulation of racism, violence and war in schools, certain children's publications and cinema and radio programs.

To safeguard our children, let us use all our strength to re-establish and consolidate peace between peoples.

Let us act to make our governments bring to an end the wars which are killing the children of Korea, Viet-Nam and Malaya.

Let us take action directed to the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations so that the crushing burden of military budgets should be lifted to the benefit of the children.

Let us demand the condemnation and the banning of the horrible crime of mass murder of children by atomic, chemical and bacteriological weapons, the weapons for the mass destruction of human life.

Let us demand that all countries ratify the Geneva Protocol of 1925 which outlaws the use of bacteriological weapons.

Let us proclaim the right of the colonial peoples to free themselves from the oppression which is stifling them and sacrificing their children.

Peoples of the world, let us strengthen the bonds of fraternal collaboration in order to save the children!

Before I sit down, I wish to pay tribute to some of the more important leaders of the international women's movement. These women with their ability, courage and devotion to the cause of social justice and peace, have won a place in the hearts of women all over the world, serving as an example to the hundreds and thousands of women who are joining the struggle for truth, for the preservation of human dignity, and for saving mankind from war.

First there is Madame Soong Ching Ling, leader of China's new womanhood, who has fought for long years to unbind the feet of her Chinese sisters; who has played a proud role in realisation of a new China visualised by her noble husband, the father of the Chinese nation, Dr. Sun Yat-sen; and who is today continuing the struggle for women's liberation from

the chains of a dead past. Madame Eugenie Cotton, President of the Women's International Democratic Federation, a brave fighter for the cause of peace and women's emancipation, whose gentleness covers an unbending will, as strong as steel.

There is Kosmodemyanskaya of the Soviet Union, who gave the great Zoya to her Fatherland, who having lost two of her children in the world war, has been steeled further to fight for the right of the world's children to grow up to manhood—Kosmodemyanskaya is not just a school teacher in the great socialist state. She is a great teacher for all women, all over the world.

I would also like to mention Pak Den Ai, the flower of Korea's womanhood, and Anna Seghers, Germany's great novelist. With their countries divided by the imperialists, one aflame with war, the other threatened with war, these peace-loving women fight for national unity, national freedom, and the right of their peoples to sovereign nationhood.

No chronicle of women's service to humanity would be complete without mention of Britain's Monica Felton, whose work in the cause of peace will form a happy chapter of Britain's history.

Charlotta Bass of America deserves honour for expressing all that is best in this great land, now caught in the grip of Neo-fascist warmongers.

Your tears, Monica Felton, your tears, Charlotta Bass, are washing away some of the blood spilt by the American and British armies and their allies in Korea and Malaya and Viet-Nam, and your work will lead to a world where no more blood will be spilt.

Report on the Five Power Peace Pact

LOUIS W. WHEATON

Leader of the U.S.A. Delegation

PERMIT ME to express, in the name of the United States Delegation, the deep joy and gratitude that we all feel at our presence at this historic conference; all of us share with all of you the wonderment at the progress of People's China, whose achievements in three short years we saw so strikingly manifested on National Day. How can we possibly tell you what we felt in words; that which the new China's millions express in their dances, marches, banners, songs, flowers and doves?

And permit me also to thank the Presiding Committee for having



assigned us this discussion of the problems of harmony among the Five Great Powers. We have all listened to the general report of Kuo Mo-jo and it is in the spirit of his thoughtful and challenging address that we shall try to present our report. We invite your criticisms and we know that your discussion will enable our commissions to bring forward fruitful resolutions which will spur the movement for peace in all lands of the Asian and Pacific regions.

The peoples of our area differ from each other in many ways, but they have one need and interest in

common. That is peace. War not only shatters our hopes for the future; it not only means suffering and death; it destroys what has been built by the hard labor, the skill and the genius of each people. And all our peoples need time to work out the deep-going changes necessary to all of us. To gain this time to change, as well as to conserve the best of our national heritage—to change according to our specific conditions and traditions, we must have peace.

But no single people can solve these problems standing alone. No matter what our geographic position, no matter whether large or small in size or power, we are all linked by a common fate. We are in a dangerous crisis because the great powers have failed to settle by negotiation the issues arising from the ambitions of a handful of men in the ruling political, economic, and military circles of our own country which the people of the United States have so far been unable to halt.

To end the dangerous tension it is necessary first of all to end the wars now being conducted with such horror and savagery. And here we wish to say solemnly that what has been done in the name of our country—yes, without sufficient opposition from our people—against the peoples of Korea and China is an unspeakable shame before history and humanity. It stems in part from that racism and discrimination against the coloured peoples who are part of us—that racism which is the cancer of American life. Korea has placed the mark of Cain upon us. To end the Korean disaster, to save other peoples from what Korea has suffered, to give all peoples the time and the chance to resolve their problems in peace, the leaders of the great powers must be brought to the same table. For this, the time has now arrived.

More than 603,570,000 people from nearly 70 countries have recognized these truths by their support to the Five Power Pact appeal of the World Peace Council. Tens of millions of others—despite their differences on many questions—have shown in their own ways that they understand the profound meaning of a Big Five agreement.

Our people in the United States are being told by 90 per cent of the press that our security as a nation requires the present gigantic, reckless rearmament. In the name of this security, we have been pushed into sending our youth—many of whom are being brutalized because they are bewildered by issues that they are kept from understanding—into the lands of other peoples, some of whom they had never heard of before and never seen, certainly not on their own soil. Yet what could give us greater security than a long period of peace coming out of the agreement of the great powers? Thus, the five power pact is not the special interest of any one country or group of countries. Everybody needs the security which would come with freedom from fear for all.

It has been said that armaments are necessary to bring about agreements, that “situations of

strength” will lead to a settlement. But our people see that the piling up of arms does not create strength; it turns the whole of humanity against the United States, for rearmament is undermining the living conditions of all peoples. And our people see that those who are piling up arms become more arrogant, and that they betray their own promises of seeking agreements. Is it not clear that only by calling a halt, and by agreeing to agree can we draw back from the brink of disaster?

It has been said that the existence of the United Nations makes Big Five agreement unnecessary. But the truth is that the absence of Big Five agreement has turned the United Nations into a caricature of what the peoples expected. It is in the name of the United Nations that the crimes in Korea have been committed. It is in the United Nations that the legitimate claims of many colonial peoples to national independence and the economic development of all the colonial peoples have been ignored. To restore the United Nations to its true function requires negotiation among the great powers. It requires in the first place that the People's Republic of China shall take its rightful place in the United Nations as the true spokesman of the entire Chinese people. Already People's China is recognized by nations that comprise half the human race; how can one speak of the United Nations unless this will of the peoples is recognized?

The urgency of Big Five agreement also transcends all political lines. It is not, and it cannot be, the special interest of any single political or economic group. It is a matter of life and death for entire peoples. It is a hope for whole nations. Hence, to impose the will of millions upon that small minority in the United States which is holding back great power agreement, the widest unity of everyone who cherishes peace is today necessary.

The consequences of the failure to reach great power unity is as serious for the people of the United States as it is for all humanity.

All that was so promising, so self-confident in American life, and all that was gained by the toil of many generations is in danger of being wasted and abused. The United States was built by two hundred years of intense hard work by our common people. Their self-sacrifice, their technical skill operating on the vast resources of our land could have provided a magnificent standard of living for all our population and helped other peoples; today it is being used to build up a juggernaut of war in a world that is sick of war, a world that refuses to let itself be used as a stamping-ground for war. Our misinformed and uninformed people—only yesterday the allies of those who are today called our enemies and today told to make allies of those who were yesterday's enemies—are being led reluctantly down a path which brings us into collision with the vast majority of humanity.

The average men and women who work for a living find themselves on a dizzy treadmill, and

always slipping backwards. The facts show that the boom of war preparations coins heavy profits for the very rich and increases difficulties for everyone else: in 1951 corporations reaped 44.8 billion dollars in profits, which are eight times the pre-war level. On the other hand, a recent survey of the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that the average city family in the U.S. (including all classes, both rich and poor) was forced to spend about six per cent, or \$400 more of its income for living expenses in 1951. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics the cost of living is 135 per cent above the pre-war, World War Two, level, but labor union figures which reflect more fully the living costs of the average worker show the increase to be 185 per cent.

And what is true of all working people is doubly true of the 15 million Negro people, of the Mexican-Americans who are five million, of the Puerto Ricans, of the many hundreds of thousands of Asian extraction. It is on their backs that the whole structure has rested. They feel its monstrous weight most sharply. The whole world has heard of the national scandals in our land: the lynching and bombing of innocent Negroes, their denial of jobs, of housing, their ever-lowered health conditions, and all this becomes worse with preparations for war. Attempts have been made to apologize for these realities to which the Negro people and other minorities are subjected and many are the promises which have been made; but no one can deny the truth of actual conditions. For they cannot be denied.

The civilian economy is being disrupted, or else it is being expanded beyond the point where our people can buy back what they themselves produce. The land our farmers cleared has been abused and eroded; the great rivers wait to be tamed while almost each year they overflow. The gods of war are given priority over necessary public works. The homes our people want are not being built; instead we produce planes to make other peoples homeless by bombardment, risking some day the bombing of our own homes. The hopes of our youth are being dashed by the threat of militarization; every father and mother faces the terrible dilemma that they can find work on the condition that their sons be sent to kill and be killed in far-away corners of the earth. The American trade union movement, built by such militant struggles over many decades, faces the determination of hard-jawed, hardfisted corporation owners to undermine them from within or smash them head on: it is the war preparations that have reduced the influence of American labor and confronted it now with the most serious challenge of its history.

Such democratic standards as we have managed to win by the painful effort of many generalisations are rapidly being smashed: the world has learned that the Statue of Liberty has been gagged in the country whose leaders proclaim themselves defenders of freedom. The world knows that the equal rights gua-

ranteed by the U.S. Constitution to Negro citizens more than eighty years ago still remain unrealized in practice.

Many peoples who have at last freed themselves from dictatorship and fascism watch with amazement and contempt: for those who prattle most of freedom are afraid of books; they fear new ideas; they try to cut our people off from the living world. They harass our leaders of labor; they frighten or dismiss our teachers; they attempt to cow our artists and poets into silence or submission, or corrupt them with illusory gold; they prevent the best sons of our people from travelling: they imprison those who maintain the national honour by their fearless protest.

The challenge of peaceful competition from new systems, as well as older peoples is no longer answered with confidence. The very ideas on which the nation was built have been labelled subversive.

Those peoples, as in western Europe, or Latin America, who are being held back by the United States which constantly intervenes in their internal affairs, regard us with mistrust and fear; those peoples who are pioneering their own paths according to their own wishes and ideas are passing us by. In the attempt to stop them, the people of the United States risk the responsibility for mutual and universal devastation. If the suicidal project of turning the clock back were to materialize, the whole world would rise to smite us in terrible anger. The American dream of our forefathers is turning into a nightmare; it is becoming the American tragedy.

Is it necessary to specify the path we are travelling? Yes, we could do so for many, many hours. We could show how a land that prides itself on its high religious standards is in the grip of the worshippers of new idols—the atomic and hydrogen bombs, napalm and germs. We can cite many shameful acts which the United States government is pursuing: the imposition of a unilateral treaty on an unwilling Japan, the help to the faltering colonial oppressors of Viet-Nam with United States guns and planes—a help which only serves to prolong a war which the French cannot win. We can cite the fraudulent freedom of the Philippines. These and other acts are a record of both blunders and crimes.

There are millions of our people, who are hurtling downhill unawares, or cynically enjoying their fools' paradise without conscience and pride. But there are other millions who are honestly fighting for the best interests of our nation and heroically trying to alert our people while there is still time. To describe all this will be another subject for our conference discussions.

The pertinent fact is that our major problems arise from the failure of the great powers to maintain the principle of negotiation which united us with the overwhelming majority of humanity during the last war. Our people are paying the heavy price of this failure. It is time to call a halt.

And what has been the cost of this absence of agreement for other peoples? As for the peoples of Asia, our friends of the Burmese Delegation will elaborate in a subsequent report. For the western hemisphere the costs are very plain.

Our neighboring peoples have had no part in the origins of the present world tension. They are faced with a conflict from which they have nothing to gain. Yet the preparations for it only aggravate their misfortunes of the past century and especially the past fifty years.

The peoples of our hemisphere need balanced economic development in order to free themselves from dependence on the export of single products or crops: this is true of Chilean copper; it is true of Venezuelan oil; it is true of the coffee and bananas and minerals of almost every land of the Latin American west coast. These peoples need a drastic reform of their system of land tenure: how can industry develop without an internal market which only liberated peasants can offer? These peoples want the burden of dictatorial regimes lifted and military police-states ended. They are weary of seeing their national sovereignty undermined by military pacts which are rammed down their throats. This explains why Mexico and Guatemala rejected the United States proposals for military pacts and thus electrified the entire hemisphere.

At this very moment our Latin American neighbors might be exchanging the fruits of their labor with the whole wide world, thus escaping from dependence on the unstable United States market that is booming dizzily to a certain crash whose repercussions on the other peoples would be catastrophic. These peoples do not want to become "armored invalids" as one of their politicians observed some years ago: they cannot sustain the armies which do not defend them since they are in no way threatened and which only reinforce outworn dictatorships from which all productive classes suffer. They do not want the flooding of their schools, their theatres, their intellectual life by foreign cultures. They have long and proud histories of their own which they wish to be free to develop, and which they wish to make

known to the wide new world which is today in cultural renaissance. The peoples of our hemisphere are in a straitjacket—made in the USA. But they want to shake themselves free of it. It is not in their interests that the Colombian government has sent a thousand troops to far-away Korea. It is not in their interests that Chilean copper is sold to a few monopolists more cheaply than it could be on the world market. It is not in keeping with their right of self-determination that Guatemala should fear a U.S. plotted overthrow of her newly-won democratic government.

It is the threat of war among the great powers and the preparations for war carried out in the United States which menace the democratic hopes of our peoples, which ransacks and distorts their economies and thwarts their political possibilities. To banish this threat requires agreement among the great powers, and it is in fighting for this agreement as well as for their right to determine their own national destinies that the peoples who border the Pacific from Canada to Chile, from Japan to Australasia are serving the interests of us all.

These are some of the general considerations which we of the United States Delegation put forward in opening the discussion on this point for the Asian and Pacific Regions Peace Conference.

A pact of peace among the United States, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, Great Britain and France would open up a new era for us all. Not all our problems would be solved, but a possibility of tackling them would be given to all peoples, freed of the terror of mutual annihilation. The world needs relief from tension and crisis; it needs the peaceful competition in which each people could contribute freely to the solution of the problems of all. Such is the sense of the great Vienna Congress of the Peoples—called by the World Peace Council in December, 1952 toward which we are all looking and working. And for the first time in history, the peoples are strong enough to enforce a change, a relaxation of the tension, bringing about a pact of peace that is the path away from death and destruction to creative work, to life itself.