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THE ASIAN CONTAINMENT FRONT FROM TURKEY TO KOREA

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Report of a lecture delivered to the Royal Central Asian Society on Wednesday, May 18, 1960, Sir Philip Southwell, C.B.E., M.C., in the chair.

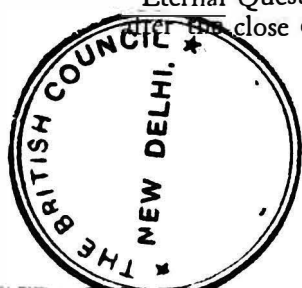
The CHAIRMAN: Your Royal Highness, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen — It is my pleasant duty to welcome our lecturer who is known not only as a distinguished member of our Society but also as one of those who is ready at any time to give his service to the Society, and for that we appreciate H.R.H. Prince Peter being with us today.

About fifteen months ago we received from His Royal Highness a very erudite talk on researches in Ceylon and India. Today his subject is particularly topical, "The Asian Containment Front from Turkey to Korea," an area in which the Western peoples are together faced with great problems. There are times when a Chairman should add a few words in regard to the subject, but today I want you to have the whole time in which to listen to His Royal Highness, and so I ask him to now commence his lecture.

MR. CHAIRMAN, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, may I, first, thank the Chairman for the way in which he has introduced me. I assure you that it is a great pleasure to come to speak to our Society, especially because many of the ideas which I have developed over the years in regard to certain problems have been gestated, one might say, because of the possibility of exchanging ideas with members of this Society. In that way you have helped me to arrive at certain conclusions in regard to Asia, particularly Central Asia.

I should like next to place the subject on which I am to speak in what I believe to be its context; then there will follow a brief narration of the journey, a description of the places visited, and some of the conclusions to which I have come. As, unavoidably, some of my points will be controversial I should like to make it clear that what I have to say will be purely my personal opinion and should not involve anybody except myself.

In a book I wrote in 1948, published in 1952, I tried to show that it seemed to me that there were two main civilizations in the world in opposition to each other: the one, the liberal maritime civilization of the Mediterranean based on Greece and Rome; the other, opposed to it, the more autocratic nomad steppe culture of the people of Central Asia. I endeavoured to show that the conflict between these two cultures was an "Eternal Question," as it had been called by Herodotus many years ago. In my book I tried to show the nature and the historical development of this "Eternal Question" throughout the years and concluded by showing that after the close of World War II the "Eternal Question" had developed



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into the opposition between, on the one side, the West—the United States and Western Europe—and on the other side the U.S.S.R., today in occupation of a large part of Central Asia, having been greatly influenced by the Mongol conquest of that part of the world. The opposition of these two cultures has been termed the “Cold War” and it is principally about this opposition that I now wish to speak.

The struggle between the two cultures has been rendered much more dangerous since the end of World War II, because today both sides are armed in quite a different fashion than in the past; it is no longer a matter of bows and arrows; both sides could now use nuclear weapons and what are known as “I.C.B.Ms.”—inter-continental ballistic missiles. In spite of the great danger which this represents, both opponents seem to carry on, each urged on by their traditional cultural and historical trends, the U.S.S.R. spilling over from Central Asia, and the West, along the maritime periphery, trying to contain it. Both at the same time are struggling desperately to avoid a suicidal atomic war.

The initiative in this struggle, as always, is with those in occupation of Central Asia, the U.S.S.R. today, because they have an outwardly directed drive from a somewhat poor, isolated part of the world, Central Asia, while they are also in possession of inner lines of communication. In fact, they are all the time on the march, even if at times their course has been described as zig-zag. Since the destruction in World War II of the, in the end, unsuccessful reactions to Soviet encroachments—Fascism, Nazism and Japanese militarism—the U.S.S.R. has met with greater success against its Western opponents by making use of novel devices for penetrating its opponents' territory, devices more effective than those ancient ones of the Tsars, for example, the support of Greek Orthodox Christians which led to the assassination at Sarajevo and to World War I. These newer devices could be listed as follows:

- (1) The promotion of Communist doctrines with the object of creating a World Revolution under Soviet leadership.
- (2) Anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist propaganda—directed against old forms of imperialism though not against the new form, the Soviet form.
- (3) Infiltration of workers' unions; the infiltration of the World Federation of Trade Unions being an apt example.
- (4) The creation and support of youth organizations.
- (5) The creation and support of women's organizations.
- (6) Promotion of Peace Movements and anti-atomic bomb propaganda in opposition to what the Communists term “capitalist war-mongering.”
- (7) Giving economic and technical assistance to specially selected under-developed countries in direct competition with Western effort in such countries.
- (8) Trade penetration of certain countries where State monopolies are encouraged rather than the investment of foreign private funds.
- (9) Armed action if and when possible as, for example, in the Korean War in 1950.

In fact, the Communists stir up and exploit all the trouble spots in the

world rather than try to appease and clear them up. Their greatest success so far has been the communization of China, the vast population of that country now being under the drastic dictatorship of Marxist-Leninist theoreticians who (and Mao himself is responsible for this) have added the unorthodox idea of peasant revolt to other methods of advance. The leaders of the present-day China may be, to some extent, in disagreement with the leaders of the Soviet Union, but they are still paralyzingly dependent on the U.S.S.R. for armaments and for industrial assistance.

What is the reply from the West to all this propaganda? It can be said:

- (1) The West promotes liberal democracy—freedom.
- (2) Gives self-government and independence to its overseas possessions, in which respect Great Britain has been outstanding during the last few years.
- (3) Supports non-Communist trade unions—which is really the same as the promotion of liberal democracy.
- (4) Gives economic and technical aid to under-developed countries, principally former colonial possessions.
- (5) Sets up military defensive organizations throughout the world.

The West does little under other headings such as youth movements, women's organizations, peace propaganda and anti-atomic propaganda which have been left to individual initiative, as befits liberal democracy. On the whole, the Western reply has been somewhat ineffective because the West is at a disadvantage, being on the defensive in order to maintain the *status quo* rather than to destroy the existing order and create something new. Those familiar with Indian philosophy will recognize in this struggle something akin to Siva *versus* Vishnu (the Destroyer-Creator against the Maintainer).

The West has been at a special disadvantage outside Europe where Asian colonies (and African—but this is not our subject today) were created by the maritime expansion of Europe resulting from the advance of the Ottoman Turks westwards in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Also there has been the arrival of the West in the Far East, over the Pacific, with the defeat of the Japanese at the end of World War II, where the West is now also containing Central Asian expansion—although eastwards this time. The arrival of the West over the Pacific in that part of the world is new and unconsolidated. The U.S.S.R.'s success in China is, I think, a proof of this. The U.S.S.R. is actually making a special bid to get at the West through the East because that is in conformity with Marxist teachings and has been repeatedly encouraged by leaders of the Soviet Union—Lenin, Zinovieff, Stalin and others.

From January to May of this year I undertook a visit to some of the Far Eastern countries to see for myself what the situation was all around Central Asia. The trip came about by combination of a holiday, after my thesis gaining me a Ph.D. at the University of London, and invitations from the Shah of Persia, the Government of Siam, friends in Hong Kong, Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa, friends in Japan, the Governments in Korea and in Turkey and even B.O.A.C.; all helped me on this trip. I also had

a desire to see our Asian allies after the unpleasantnesses that we had been through at Kalimpong recently and the Tibetan revolt of last year. As a result of the trip I am now aware of the existence of what can be termed an *Asian Containment Front* from Turkey to Korea. I am especially in on the military aspect of this Front in what is the South-Eastern section of N.A.T.O., the C.E.N.T.O. and S.E.A.T.O., or the Central and the South-East Asia Treaty Organizations, what is happening in Malaya, Formosa and Japan, and in the United Nations Headquarters in South Korea.

I will now give a short synopsis of my impressions, while avoiding indiscretions which might embarrass my hosts who welcomed me so warmly. The warmth of the welcome was due, I believe, partly to the anti-Communist reputation of Greece, possible, of course, largely because of the help we received from Great Britain and the United States of America after the war, and also because last year I was in some trouble through my outspoken support of the Tibetans in their struggle against annihilation by the Communist Chinese. Unfortunately, the more one sees the less one can talk. I hope that anything that I may have to cut out will not detract from the general interest of this talk. I made a film during the trip, showing the chiefs of States visited, street scenes and festivals, and the armies. When that film has been edited and is ready for showing, perhaps I could come here again in the autumn and show it to you.

Turkey

Coming to the narrative of the trip I will start with the first country visited on the way out: Turkey. The tour in this case began in Smyrna or Izmir to which I flew in a Greek Air Force 'plane on January 7, 1960. Asia Minor is the classical land of the "Eternal Question," when the Greeks were under Persian rule. Today the area is peopled by Turks from the last Central Asian overflow, but they are allies now forming a bulwark against the next threatened wave!

I was probably the first member of my family to visit Turkey in this fashion since 1920-22, when the Greek Army, in which the Duke of Edinburgh's father, my uncle Andrew, was serving, was forced to re-embark after our defeat by the Turks in the Turkish War of Independence. However, I was everywhere on my visit well received by the Turkish authorities, who asked me to return as their guest. We came to an agreement that I would return in the spring.

While in Izmir I stayed with the American General Commanding Allied Land Forces S.E. Europe, at N.A.T.O. Headquarters. I was briefed as to the present situation there. I also visited the Allied Tactical Air Force, a branch of N.A.T.O. Air Force based on Naples, and I saw how Turks, Americans and Greeks are working harmoniously and effectively together for the common defensive purposes of that area. I realized as never before perhaps the vast strategic importance of the much larger Turkish territorial expanse in comparison with that of Greece. I went on to Istanbul and from there by B.O.A.C. to Teheran in Persia. But I returned in the spring, accepting the invitation by the Turkish Government to visit their country, so that on April 7 I was back in Istanbul.

I went to Ankara which I had not visited for twenty-three years, and found it much changed, in that from a small village it had become a capital. I was warmly welcomed and generously received by President C. Bayer, by the Foreign Minister, Fatin Zorlu, and the Turkish Army gave a demonstration. Altogether I was much impressed by what I saw. I took the opportunity to visit C.E.N.T.O. headquarters in Ankara, an organization covering the former Baghdad Pact and comprising Britain, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and with U.S.A. backing. I met the Secretary, Mr. Baig, who is a Pakistani, brother of the Indian Protocol chief in the Ministry of External Affairs. From Mr. Baig I heard of the political co-ordination of the powers in this organization and how they were not actually militarily co-ordinated but were going to promote that. Presumably since the last meeting in Teheran something better has been organized because the U.S.S.R. has protested against currently planned C.E.N.T.O. Air Force exercises in Persia.

Since the revolution in Irak it seems that the C.E.N.T.O. powers have enhanced their defensive organization in view of the threat not only from the north but also now from other directions. Regarding Irak, for instance, there seemed to be concern about the fact that an attempt was being made to create an independent Kurdistan in Sulemanieh under a certain Mollah Mustafa (he having returned there as a U.S.S.R. general after having been trained in the Soviet Union). The object of this is apparently to connect the Caucasus directly with Mesopotamia and so facilitate incursions by the U.S.S.R. I noted that the Afghan situation in the east was also giving rise to concern because there is strong Soviet penetration there. I regretted that I was not able to go on to Pakistan from Persia and expressed that regret to Mr. Baig, but having been to Pakistan many times previously I knew that country already.

After Ankara, I went on a goodwill tour to Anatolia with a Greek-Cypriot friend; we visited Kayseri and Konya on the Anatolian plateau and were much impressed by the fine roads; we saw silos and numerous sugar factories which seemed to be functioning very well indeed. A few years ago it would not have been possible to travel here in this way.

I spent Easter at the Patriarchate in Istanbul, and went on from the Dardanelles to Bodrun right along the coast of Asia Minor, where there are numerous interesting ancient classical ruins. There was, however, also much development taking place and having been received by the authorities in nearly every village I came to, I was most impressed by the keenness of the youthful *kaimakans*, the officers in charge of local administration.

Since I left Turkey, there has been some trouble, but, so far as I can learn, there have been only student demonstrations. The Government has promised that elections shall take place in the autumn. We wish our friend and ally every success because she is needed by our side. In fact, I gained the impression that we had gone back to the days of the Crimean War over one hundred years ago.

Persia

The country I visited after my first tour of Turkey was Persia where

I was the guest of the Shah. I will satisfy your curiosity at once by saying that I met the new Empress immediately on my arrival and afterwards saw and chatted with her quite frequently; she is a most charming and composed young lady, nineteen years old. Until recently, she had been a student in Paris, but she seemed, nevertheless, to take to the big change very well indeed.

I found Teheran enormously developed, with two million inhabitants. All my personal friends there received me very well indeed. I definitely had the impression that the Persians are 100 per cent. on our side, but they are subject to a four-pronged attack: hostile propaganda over the radio from the banned Tudeh party abroad, and from Irak and Afghanistan. (In the latter case there may have been some improvement since Prime Minister Daoud Khan's recent visit to Teheran.) One of the most embarrassing things, however, was the proposal by the U.S.S.R. to the Persian Government to abandon its membership of C.E.N.T.O. and adopt a more neutral, Indian type of attitude which would enable Persia to be financed from both sides. As the Persians, like everyone else, are always in need of money, this was tempting, especially as the United States press was at the same time attacking the Persians for graft, backwardness, a feudal type of social order, etc. Such an attack, in my opinion, only makes things more difficult and weakens the alliance and our common front.

Thailand (Siam)

From Teheran I flew in a direct seven-hour flight to Bangkok by B.O.A.C. Comet and, after having left freezing conditions on the Persian plateau, I was suddenly subjected to a temperature of 106°F., with many mosquitos around. I stayed at the Danish Embassy with the Ambassador and the Ambassadors who are old friends of mine, and, because of the special relations between the Danish Royal Family and the Thailand Royal Family, the King received me at once and told me about his coming trip to Europe this summer. I saw Prince Dhani, Prince Prem and other members of the Royal Family; all very charming and easy-going. The chief change was in the present government of General Sarit Tanarat which is certainly most austere. Having been known previously as a jolly individual, the General has suddenly become extremely ascetic and has put a ban on a large part of the night-life of Bangkok; dogs have been exterminated; there are no trishaws any longer in the streets, and he is filling in the canals (the klongs). The public ascribe this to the Prime Minister's Buddhist preoccupation; he is ill, they say, and fears he may die shortly. Nevertheless, the city has changed a lot for the better.

I visited Chiangmai in the north of Thailand to find an opium war on. And then Prince Dhani asked me if I would lecture to the Siam Society on Tibet, so I stopped off on my return journey in March and addressed a very sympathetic audience which took great interest in Tibetan affairs. I heard that the Siamese found it difficult to invite the Dalai Lama to Bangkok because they felt that might embarrass India; in spite of not approving Indian's neutral policy, they obviously do not want to offend the Indian Government.

Whilst in Bangkok, I visited the headquarters of S.E.A.T.O., which

is made up of the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan and Thailand. I met the Secretary General of that organization, Mr. P. Sarasin, a former Thailand Prime Minister, from whom I heard all about the organization of S.E.A.T.O. and the military exercises which have taken place in recent years; how protection can be extended, if called for, to both Laos and Cambodia. I was able to film the Thai Army which I found to be entirely United States equipped.

My impression of Thailand was that the country is too far away from the Communists really to worry. They certainly seem to be solidly on the side of the West, possibly because they have never been colonized by the Western powers. The $3\frac{1}{2}$ million Chinese who live in Thailand are considered to be loyal to the Thais.

Malaya

I flew down from Bangkok in March, or rather at the beginning of April, and found Singapore, my first port of call, much cooler than Bangkok. I was glad to visit the Malay Federation because of the Emergency which had existed over the last few years and which seemed to be similar in its origins to the Greek Communist movement. I went to Johore and to Kuala Lumpur. I filmed the 1st Royal Malay Regiment which was in action fighting the CTs (an English abbreviation for "Communist Terrorists"). They had killed thirty-two CTs out of thirty-eight. Some of the Gurkha regiments seemed to be unemployed, possibly because the total number of 12,000 CTs has been reduced to 700, and the Emergency is at an end, all the leaders having been killed.

I visited plantations, mainly palm and rubber, and found work going forward again, in a peaceful and productive fashion. My impression was that Malaya is an orderly country, progressive and modern, under constitutional reorganization. The three races, Indian, Chinese, Indonesian or Malay seem to be living most harmoniously together, and they appear to have a good future ahead of them. Of course, the Malays are even further away from Communist influence than the Thais, but there is a large Chinese colony in Singapore. The present Prime Minister Lee is, however, acting in a satisfactory, moderate fashion.

Hong Kong

Going east I stepped off in Hong Kong, my third visit to the colony, to which I always take pleasure in going on the way out or on returning. I stayed with a Chinese friend. I cannot say that Hong Kong is in the Containment Front of Asia because the defences of Hong Kong have, I believe, been abandoned. I found that Hong Kong had considerably changed since I was last there. Certainly the colony is no longer a British trading outpost, in fact one has the impression that it is a place where the Chinese Communists make the foreign exchange they need. Some of my Chinese friends seemed uneasy but I could not ascertain the reason for this. Many refugees are still coming in, mainly from Macao. The place is overcrowded; there is less water than ever, it being available everyday only from 4 to 8 p.m. New industries have been created and are absorbing a

certain number of refugees, but they are having trouble with foreign markets. Anyhow, the Chinese Communists seem to be determined to leave Hong Kong alone because they need it. The "forbidden city" which is part of Kowloon, a piece of land which really belongs to China, was entered while I was there and cleaned up by the Hong Kong police. Also a number of Chinese agitators were deported to Communist China, but there was no reaction by the Chinese Communists. What they are doing on the other hand is to build large reservoirs for fresh water behind Hong Kong and Macao, with the intention of selling the fresh water to the two colonies and thereby having a means of putting pressure on them when the need arises: if they don't do what is required of them, their water will be cut off. It is a plan for blackmail on a large scale.

Formosa (Taiwan)

From Hong Kong I went on to Taiwan, and I went there by invitation of Chiang Kai-shek's Government. I arrived in the middle of February. This visit was one of the main objects of my trip because I was a military officer in Chungking in 1945, attached to Chiang Kai-shek's headquarters. I had a great reception on arrival and a full programme had been arranged. The programme consisted of three parts: Seeing old friends, the military part of the programme, and visits to civilian establishments, to which one should perhaps add Tibetan discussions. These latter discussions took place shortly after my arrival in a forum lasting for five hours between myself and about a hundred Chinese experts plus a Tibetan delegation which had gone to Formosa. We exchanged information and I also learned that the Government had invited the Dalai Lama to come to Formosa but had not received a reply.

The old friends I again saw included the Generalissimo or the President; Chen Cheng, the Vice-President and Prime Minister; Ho Yin-shin, who used to be Commander-in-Chief when I was in China before; also Dr. Hu-shö, President of the *Academia Sinica*, and many others. I found the Generalissimo very bright indeed in spite of his seventy-two years. I had a long conversation with him and he questioned me at length about Yugoslavia, asking me which side I thought that country would eventually be on. It was interesting to find that people so far away took an interest in a country such as Yugoslavia. It is an indication of how international things are becoming.

The military programme included a visit to Quemoy or Kinmen island, as it is also called sometimes. I went by air on a non-shelling day. The Chinese Communists and the Nationalist Government only shell each other on odd dates. I saw dug-outs on the island which are most elaborate and costly; in fact the military live in luxury underground. I received a briefing from the Chinese Army (which was more extraordinary than the briefing I received in Smyrna) with the enemy very close. The island is tightly fitted into the coast with Chinese-Communist troops all around. Nevertheless, I had the impression that the position was impregnable, despite the large "Chincom" (an American abbreviation this time for "Chinese Communists") concentration on the coast opposite. I have seen that there are today 400,000 men and 250 new jet bombers grouped oppo-

site Kinmen. The Chinese Nationalist Air Force is probably one of the best in the Far East. The day I was there there was an air fight and a Communist M.I.G. was shot down by the Nationalists. The United States has given Formosa some new fighters because of the concentration of Chinese Communist forces opposite Kinmen. There are 45,000 inhabitants living on Kinmen, and they do not seem to worry about the state of war. I spoke to an Italian Catholic padre who had been three years imprisoned and tortured by the Chinese Communists. He had come back to run a church on the island, which church had already been hit three or four times on shelling days. He said nevertheless, that it was paradise compared with the three years he had spent in a Communist jail.

I went down to the southern tip of the island to visit Kaohsiung where there is an Air Force school and a big naval base. There I was given lunch by the Top Brass of the Navy and shown some of the sailors who paraded for me. I was given a naval briefing and shown a war game; I was taken aboard a destroyer and asked to review the cadets; I saw a marine display and finally witnessed an exercise with live ammunition. It was all very impressive. The troops were very fit, well-trained, and their morale was high. I was told that there are 650,000 armed men on Formosa, costing, in 1959, three billion dollars. I wondered for what purpose all these men were armed and asked for the reason. They told me that they were needed for defence, because the Communists on the mainland have a militia of 100,000,000 soldiers. This may be an explanation, but in spite of it, I saw all over the country slogans such as these posted up: "We must return to the mainland" "Quemoy and Matsu are the eyes and ears of Free China and must never be given up."

On my visit to civilian establishments in Formosa, I saw the land reform scheme which was fostered by Premier Chen Cheng himself. As a result they are producing three rice crops a year which makes the island self-sufficient in food; they also produce cane sugar which is exported to neighbouring eastern countries. I visited a large dam for which a Greek engineer was responsible; the Kaohsiung oil refinery, into which oil is imported from the Persian Gulf and then carried through pipes all over Formosa. I visited five factories in one morning and saw the new harbour works at Kaohsiung, which will eventually give it very extended port facilities.

My general impression was that there was a great difference between the Chinese Government which I had known on the mainland during the war and the one that is now on Formosa. I had the feeling that since they had come to Formosa all the good people had stayed and all the bad ones had left. The present Nationalist Government is certainly carrying on with the liberal principles of the Sun Yat-sen revolution, and they describe their Communist opposites as "leftist reactionaries" against the revolution and as "U.S.S.R. puppets." I believe that propaganda has some effect on the Chinese. Fourteen thousand Chinese "volunteers," prisoners from the war in Korea, are now happily settled in Formosa. In fact, I felt that China is divided today just like Korea, Viet-Nam, Germany, even India and Kashmir, the division being along ideological lines irrespective of the geographical and demographical aspects. I remind you that things

in China do last for a very long time, and therefore this situation can continue for many years. After all, there were partisans of the Ming dynasty in Yunnan right up to the beginning of World War II, in 1939!

The United States are supporting Formosa because since the attack on North Korea in 1950 they have become involved and it is a necessity for them to do what they are doing; they cannot get out of it now. But for the Korean war, it is possible that the United States would have abandoned Formosa. The Seventh Fleet patrols the straits between Formosa and the mainland and their presence there is felt quite distinctly.

Japan

I flew on to Japan; it was my second visit there. I stayed with a British friend in Tokyo. When I landed at the airport, I learned that the Crown Princess had given birth to a son and that there had been an earthquake at the same time. I was told that that was a good omen for my visit. Shortly after my arrival I was received by the Emperor and Empress. I had lunch with the Crown Prince. I certainly enjoyed Tokyo and was able to relax after the strenuous days of my visits on the way to Japan. Many changes were everywhere apparent: for instance, the greater number of cars on the streets and the fact that the Japanese are now producing high-quality goods—transistor radios were thus an outstanding feature among other things on sale in the shops. I heard, too, that the Italian Government have acquired a Japanese fishing fleet, because they have found it difficult to supply as much tunny fish to the United States as their quota entitles them to. They have taken on a Japanese fleet which is fishing for them now in the Atlantic and delivering the fish to Italian ports where it is canned and sold to the U.S.A.

When I was in Japan, discussions were taking place in the Diet, regarding the proposed Mutual Defence Treaty with the U.S.A., and there was much opposition to it. Some appeared uneasy about this and said that there was a strong Communist element at work in the country, mainly to be found among trade unionists and the educated classes, but actually the figures show that the Communists have lost ground during the last few years. The fact is that anti-militarism is the fashion of the day and that there is a desire to restore relations with China so that trading can once again be carried on with the Chinese mainland. In my opinion, if there should be a swing of any kind towards extremes, it will be to Nationalism again and not to the Left, simply because Communism is too much identified with the U.S.S.R. in Japan and nobody wants it for that reason.

I visited the Prime Minister, Mr. N. Kishi, and talked of the possibilities of Greek trade with him. The Greek shipowners have lately built a considerable amount of ships, mainly tankers, in Japan. I visited the country, and went to Nikko and Ise, respectively the tombs of the *shoguns* and the shrine of the Sun Goddess from which the Japanese imperial dynasty descends. I went to Hiroshima, one of the two cities in the world, with Nagasaki, which has already been hit by an atom bomb. The town has been rebuilt on an American plan. I went to the hospital and saw some of the 300 patients there still suffering from radiation and burns, and I saw the depressing museum. The general impression was that the

monuments which have been put up are puny compared with what took place at Hiroshima. The most unpleasant impression, however, was at 9 o'clock at night when I suddenly heard the bells of an electric chime ringing out "Onward Christian Soldiers" all over the town. I asked the hotel clerk what it was and he said it was the gift of an American Methodist minister who wanted to atone for what the Americans had done to Hiroshima. I left feeling somewhat grim.

Korea

I went on to South Korea, invited by the President, Dr. Syngman Rhee. Although I tried to make it a private visit, because of this invitation, it eventually turned into a semi-official State visit. I was given a colossal reception at the Seoul airport, where representatives of the Korean Government met me, also Americans, Scandinavians, even the British Ambassador whom I had known in India in 1938 when he was the Commissioner of Delhi. The Apostolic Delegate also came to greet me; he said times were such that all Christians should stick together. The Koreans and Americans had a programme ready for me, as also had the Scandinavians.

The American Commander at U.N.O. headquarters received me and made me review some of the contingents under his orders, one being a small contingent of the British Commonwealth, made up of British, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand troops. Of all the other foreign contingents which took part in the war the only large force, apart from the Americans, is that of the Turks who have a whole division still left in Korea. It was arranged that I make a visit to them as part of the American programme and at my request. I went there the next day in the rain and it was very cold. The Turkish General briefed me on his position and on his participation at the front. I saw some of the Turkish units, soldiers paraded for me, and I was taken round to the villages where I noted, with interest, that many signs on shop windows were in Turkish. When I asked whether the people spoke Turkish then, I was told "Yes, especially the women." I understand that the Koreans learn the language easily because theirs is an Altai-Ural language. In fact, there was always a small Turkish colony in Seoul, and Korea can be looked upon as the furthest outpost east of the Turkish-speaking people; the furthest west is that of the Ottomans in Europe.

I had dinner with the American Commander and met all the American generals, and next day they flew me in an American helicopter to what they call the *D.M.Z.* ("Dee Em Zed," another American abbreviation for "Demilitarized Zone"). There I found an armistice line five miles wide with a tape down the middle of it from coast to coast, so that there are $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles on either side belonging to each of the opponents (these are allowed to patrol their half of the *D.M.Z.* with soldiers equipped only with a rifle and a wireless set). Once a month the two sides meet at Panmunjon, a Chinese General representing the Chinese "volunteers" and a North Korean General the North Koreans on the one side, and, on the other side, the United Nations Command, that is the American General with the Allied Liaison Officers. Separating the two is the United Nations Neutral

Commission made up of a Swedish admiral, a Swiss, a Pole and a Czech. The two sides cannot speak directly to each other; they have to speak through the Commission, in other words through its intermediary.

I heard that the Chinese General representing the "volunteers" had been away for some months and his return coincided with the visit to Peking of Mr. Khrushchev on his way back from the United States. Some people seemed to connect these two events, but the official explanation was that the General's wife was expecting a baby and he returned after the baby was born. I found the *D.M.Z.* ("Dee Em Zed") very desolate. On the mountain opposite the Observation Post there was an inscription in Chinese characters which said: "Yankee go home." The Allied Forces do not take the North Koreans very seriously, although they do the Chinese armies and the U.S.S.R. Army Corps massed north of the Yalu river. I heard that there are 600,000 Soviet citizens in Manchuria; 100,000 in Dairen—Port Arthur; 23,000 in Chiamuz, Mutankiang and at the Chingpo lake dam in the east; 90,000 in north-west Manchuria. Thus, North Korea is, to all practical purposes, the real dividing line between the two adversaries.

I went on to see the United States divisions and the special regiments. I also went to one of the Korean divisions, a ROK division in a dug-out where I was briefed again about the situation. I was told that the troops were on a 30-minute alert and it was obvious that this Army was very efficient, well-trained, and enjoyed a high morale. The Korean Generals were all under forty years of age, very keen and good at training their soldiers. There are 600,000 Korean troops in the South, the cost of their upkeep being considerable. What their future is I cannot say, especially when the position is as tense as it is. I finished by seeing the battlefields where the Greeks fought in the last war.

The Korean programme included dinner with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and a visit to the Defence Ministry where I met the Minister, General Kim Chung Yul, a former Japanese pilot who shot down a number of American 'planes during the war and for this reason is extremely popular with the Americans. I went to a dinner at Korea House where I met the greater part of the South Korean rulers and sat next to Mrs. Lee Ki Poong, the wife of the Vice-President, who died, with her, as you know, during recent troubles. Then I visited Dr. Synghman Rhee. It was just about his eighty-fifth birthday and he seemed very old. He told me that he did not know whether he was eighty-seven or seventy-eight; he did not know which way the figures went, he said. He stressed the Greek contribution to the struggle against Communism, and asked if he could not do as we had done in Greece: attack the North, get rid of the Communists throughout his country and put up an Iron Curtain along the Yalu river. His point was that Korea has not signed the armistice. I answered that if he did what he had asked me, he would be as bad as the North Koreans who attacked the South without provocation. He insisted, however, that he would like to attack the North and would do it one day; he said that every month he wrote to President Eisenhower asking him for permission to do this. I had the impression of an intensely patriotic, stubborn old man, used as a kind of national emblem by others. There has, as you

know, been trouble since I left. Dr. Syngman Rhee's adopted son shot his real father and mother, his brother and then himself. I think the trouble was caused by youth resenting that old men have been so long in control of the Government and are still hanging on, because Dr. Syngman Rhee had been head of the Free Korean Government since he was in Shanghai in 1920, which is a very long time.

I returned to Japan on March 21 feeling I had reached the end of the Front and that the journey had been well worth while. Korea is an all-important axis in the Far East, around which turn the affairs of China, the U.S.S.R. and Japan, and now of the U.S.A., and of its Western and Asian Allies in the Far East.

In conclusion, I should like to say that my narrative may have appeared somewhat sweeping at times, in view of the briefness of my visits to the various countries. But you must remember that I saw most of the top people in each area, and I had been previously in most of the countries visited. My knowledge of them helped me to judge better what was taking place now. Also what I have said may seem biased by my "Eternal Question" theory. I agree that this is so, but the object of my study was just exactly to see how this famous question was faring. It is, I think, one of the principal aspects of the present international situation; there are other aspects, of course, such as sitting on the fence, trying appeasement, not excluding, if possible, of course, coming to terms, as was attempted at the recent Summit meeting, now so tragically disrupted.

I found the Containment Front in Asia most impressive, especially the United States effort in the Far East and the progress they have made in understanding Far Eastern problems. Although the emphasis is mainly military, the political and economic aspects are being developed. The weakness of the Front is the high cost of its upkeep by the U.S.A. and possibly the excessive American preoccupation with democracy, because American press articles perpetually attack the various existing social orders and accuse them of being feudal. That only ends in weakening the Front. After all, our Allies have eyes of a different shape and skin of a different colour, but we do not try to change that. Why cannot we do the same in regard to their political systems, provided, of course, that they are not pro-Soviet? One of the main reasons for the friendly attitude of these people towards us is that they fear the U.S.S.R. and are very anti-Soviet, not that they particularly treasure liberalism and democracy.

Gaps at the Front are Laos and Cambodia but, as I have said, S.E.A.T.O. protection is available to them if needed. I regret I was not able to visit South Vietnam, but I have been there, too, before. I believe, however, the main gap to be India because of its neutrality, benevolent to the other side. I know the Indians prefer to call it "non-alignment" because they say that there is no war on. But "neutrality" is a better term, I think, because there is, after all, a Cold War on. Many of our Asian Allies seem sure that Indian neutrality favours the Communist bloc. Some to whom I spoke feared that many things were passed on to the Communists by India, especially intelligence, and for this reason there is considerable distrust of the Indians. The Communists certainly know these gaps in the

Front and, as you have seen by recent events, it is just for those points that they have been going.

I was astounded when I realized that it was possible to visit the entire Front so quickly by B.O.A.C. jet 'planes. It is somewhat frightening to realize how closer international tensions are now, tied up as they are with national, traditional, historical and cultural trends, with over-population in the Far East and, paradoxically, with the immense material progress which has taken place in these countries. I felt at times that it was unnatural that there should be no armed conflict, but, then, nobody wants an atomic war. Thus the dilemma continues.

It seems to me that there must be a way out through moderation and through reason. The greatest obstacle, of course, is the other side's persistence and intolerance in wanting to impose its avowed purpose of World Revolution on all of us. As long as this continues it seems there is only one alternative: to hope for the best and prepare for the worst even at the risk of nuclear conflict. This is precisely what I saw the West and its Asian Allies doing all around Central Asia, all along the Containment Front from Turkey to Korea.

The CHAIRMAN: I feel sure all present would like to ask questions upon the lecture but we have really had something better; we have heard from His Royal Highness a lecture which has taken us up to the close of our time in this room. Hence all I have to do now is to express your appreciation to Prince Peter for coming here today and to say how much we have enjoyed his lecture, what food for thought it has given us and how lucky we are to have had the opportunity of having a cross-section of this important area dealt with not in a superficial way but against a background of great knowledge. (*Applause.*)

CORRESPONDENCE

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Calver's letter, printed in the April *Journal*, raises interesting points, two of which can have an immediate reply.

Evening meetings were quite common and successful in 1957, but as they were mainly film shows, they were not reported in the *Journal*. There was one well-attended evening meeting in March this year, and there is to be another in August. It is hoped to have them more frequently later.

The activities abroad are at the discretion of the local Honorary Secretaries and the Society must leave it to their assessment of local conditions as to whether meetings and other activities would be welcomed.

Yours truly,
(sgd.) JOHN COOK,
Hon. Secretary.

May 14, 1960

