1. Introduction

In September 1954 the Seoul National University, while still suffering from the destruction of the Korean War, agreed to receive educational and technical supports from the University of Minnesota. The contract, called as “Minnesota Project” by Koreans and as “The Seoul National University Cooperative Project” by involved Americans, began as a part of America’s overall aid program for recovery of the post-war Korea in the context of cold-war situation. Late in 1945 the United States military government, which had occupied the South Korea after the World War II, began to provide Korea with economic and educational supports from the United States. The International Cooperation Administration under the State Department of the United States made a contract with the University of Minnesota to provide the Seoul National University with staff improvement and equipment aid in engineering, medicine, agriculture, and public administration. The contract was made to improve the educational and technical conditions in Korea after the war.

The Minnesota Project

- The Influence of American Medicine on the Development of Medical Education and Medical Research in Post-War Korea -

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1) For the description of the background of the “Minnesota Project”, see The Ministry of Education, Republic of Korea, and The United States Operation Mission to Korea (USOM) (1960), Report on Survey of National Higher Education in the Republic of Korea, pp. iv-v. Concerning the question why the University of Minnesota had been chosen by the U.S. Government for the educational aid program for Korea, Dr. NL Gault, Jr., an overall adviser to the Seoul National University College of Medicine, told an anecdote. One day a governmental officer came to the University of Minnesota to ask the faculty to take charge of the Project. He said that the University of Minnesota would be suitable to this Project, since Minnesota has almost the same altitude and area as Korea. Dr. NL Gault, Jr., personal interview, 4 December 1998.

2) The International Cooperation Administration (ICA) made contracts with other universities for educational assistance in Korea. George Peabody College assisted the Ministry of Education in developing teacher-training program. Washington University of St. Louis helped Korea and Yonsei Universities in business education and Syracuse University the office of public information in audiovisual program.
aid. After the break of Korean War in 1950, the United Nations command took the educational responsibilities, mobilizing resources for educational assistance including U.S. Army, and UNKRA (the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency), UNKRA and the U.S. Foreign Operations Administration (FOA), created in 1950 and in 1953 respectively, shared educational aid program, until 1955 when the International Cooperation Administration (ICA), successor to FOA, took the responsibilities of educational aid.

Through the Minnesota Project, health education and research in Korea underwent a significant transformation. Although Western medicine was introduced to Korea in the late nineteenth century, Koreans could not have initiatives to develop it fully under successive political turmoil and social instability such as several coups at the end of the Choson period, Japanese colonization, American military occupation, and the Korean War. In 1954 after the war the Seoul National University College of Medicine returned to its old buildings to find nothing had left in the building. The shortage of facilities and manpower prevented them from establishing proper caring for patients, and medical education and research. The Minnesota Project was one of the earliest attempts to recover from post-war damage and to develop health education and research in a systematic way.

In this paper, authors examine the health education section of the Minnesota Project, including its nature and characteristics, the way it was implemented, and its influence upon the Korean medicine. Based mainly upon reports that the American advisers from the University of Minnesota presented to the government of the United States, authors deal with following

3) ICA’s reports stressed the strategic importance of Korea, calling it “a historic testing ground of resistance to communist aggression.” One of the aims of the United States aid program for Korea was mutual security against communism. See United States ICA (1960). Korea: Fact Sheet; Mutual Security in Action, Washington, International Cooperation Administration, Department of State; United States Government Accounting Office (GAO) (1959), Review of Mutual Security Program presentation to the Congress for fiscal year 1959: economic assistance for China (Taiwan), Korea, and Vietnam, International Cooperation Administration, Department of State, Report to the Congress of the United States by the Comptroller General of the United States, Washington. For more information about the United States aid program for Korea, see United States GAO (1957), United States assistance program for Korea, International Cooperation Administration, Department of State, fiscal years, 1954-1956: report to the Congress of the United States by the Comptroller General of the United States, Washington, ICA, Department of State; United States GAO (1960). Review of Contracts dated May 13, 1955, and March 27, 1959, with McGraw-Hydrocarbon, a joint venture for the construction and operation of fertilizer plant in Korea, International Cooperation Administration Department of States; report to the Congress of the United States by the Comptroller General of the United States, Washington, ICA, Department of States; United States ICA (1960), Information relating to selected investment loan fund and industrial development projects, China (Taiwan), Korea, Panama, Philippines, Washington, technical aids branch, Office of Industrial Resources, International Cooperation Administration; United States GAO (1962), Examination of economic and technical assistance program for Korea, International Cooperation Administration (succeeded by Agency for International Development), Department of State, fiscal years, 1957-1961; report to the Congress of the United States by the Comptroller General of the United States, Washington, ICA, Department of State.
questions. What were the goals of the Minnesota Project? Who did participate in the project? Did the Project accomplish its goals? How did Korean participants in this project and their American partners interact with each other? What kinds of problems and challenges did newly coming American advisers meet, and how did they try to resolve them? What kinds of factors did promote or hinder the implement of the Project? How did American participants appraise the Minnesota Project? These questions will help to understand the critical period in Korean medical history: the early period of its reconstruction and development as a modern medicine.

2. An Overview

In 1952 during the Korean war, the WHO/UNKRA Health Planning Mission in Korea reported the World Health Organization (WHO) that a complete medical team as an integral group should be invited to Korea to cooperate with the Seoul National University College of Medicine. The other recommendations were the highest priority of rehabilitation program to be given to the Seoul National University College of Medicine and overseas fellowships to be granted to the medical teaching staffs. Two years later, the University of Minnesota College of Medical Sciences was to implement those suggestions. In early 1954, Dr. Gaylord Anderson, director of School of Public Health at the University of Minnesota observed situation in Korea to examine the feasibility of the proposed activity.

Why did the ICA’s decide to give the highest priority to the Seoul National University College of Medicine in assisting medical education? The successive United States agencies for aid recognized the College of Medicine as the leading medical center in Korea and as the principal source of competent physicians, researchers, and teachers. In adverse circumstances of post-war Korea, the aids from America for health education converged to assist the Seoul National University College of Medicine to ensure the ongoing development of medicine in Korea.

The period of the Minnesota Project covered from 28 September 1954 to 30 June 1961. In the beginning, it was established as a three-year program. Following the agreement between Minnesota and Seoul, Minnesota staff did not go to Korea until a majority of the Korean faculty scheduled for exchange returned to Seoul, or until the major rehabilitation and re-equipment steps had been taken. In April to July 1956, Dr. William Maloney, assistant dean of Medical

5) In their reports, Minnesota advisers appreciated the leadership and eminence of the faculty of the Seoul National University College of Medicine. Interview with Dr. NL Gault, Jr, also revealed that the ICA had chosen to aid the College of Medicine because of its eminent tradition and its high potential as a leading institution for medical education in Korea. Dr. NL Gault, Jr, personal interview, 4 December 1998.
6) Activities in this period were reported in Seoul National University of Korea, and Office of General Affairs, Republic of Korea, Semi-Annual Progress Reports to International Cooperation Administration in behalf of the Regents of the University of Minnesota 1955 to 1956.
Sciences in Minnesota, visited Korea to evaluate medical education and overall conditions of the College of Medicine. Based upon his observation and recommendations, the Minnesota Project was extended for another two years until September 1959. Final reports of several Minnesota advisers in 1959 led to another two-year extension until June 1961.

The Minnesota Project consisted of three parts, and each had separate budget. 7) (1) Advisory services and training under contract with United States universities had a budget of 3.5 million dollars from ICA, (2) Procurement of books, supplies, and laboratory and classroom equipment had a budget of 2 million dollars from ICA and 777 million Hwan from the Korean government, (3) Repair and rehabilitation of the Seoul National University plant had a budget of 3 million dollars from ICA and 304 million Hwan from the Korean government.

The ultimate goal of Minnesota Project was to enhance medical education and research in Korea. From the beginning the Minnesota advisers had no concrete blueprint concerning how to transform Korean medical education. The advisers first observed the state and situation of Korean medical education, and then tried to figure out what to be done while learning Korean value and culture. 8)

In spite of differences in opinion among advisers, they shared common perspectives about what was meant by enhancement of medical education and research and common principles as to how to do it. To their eyes the most serious problem of traditional medical education in Korea was the didactic teaching method using lectures. Under the strong influence of German and Japanese medicine, students were to accept and memorize teachers’ words, and discouraged to study in an independent and critical way. The goal of the Minnesota Project centered on the adoption of the “scientific method” of American medicine into Korean medical education and research. Employing laboratory experimentation and bedside observation, the student as well as the faculty were to be encouraged to learn principles in recently developed medical sciences, to established habits of independent and creative thinking, and to apply these principles with critical judgment to solve problems of health and diseases. The new medical education would require changes and improvement in many areas including updating new medical knowledge, providing equipment and facilities for laboratories and the hospital, and readjusting student-faculty,

7) The budget was for total expenditure for the whole Minnesota Project including medicine. United States GAO(1962). Examination of economic and technical assistance program for Korea, International Cooperation Administration fiscal years, 1957-1961, p. 140.

8) Dr. Gault addressed this approach by quoting Abraham Lincoln in his final report of the project: “If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do, and how to do it,” NL Gault, Jr.(associate professor, internal medicine, assistant dean of College of Medical Sciences, University of Minnesota)(1961), Observations and Comments on the College of Medicine, Attached Hospital, School of Nursing and School of Public Health, Seoul National University, Seoul, Korea, International Cooperation Administration Program, University of Minnesota Contract, p. 2.
3. The Training of the Staffs of the Seoul National University College of Medicine

As an important part of the Minnesota Project, 77 staffs went to the University of Minnesota to study their fields. These 62 physicians, 9 nurses, 1 hospital administrator, and 1 dietitian updated recently developed knowledge and technology. They also had chances to observe culture and techniques in teaching, and research, and medical practice at the University of Minnesota.

The program of staff training abroad was of significance in its scale and coverage. At the end point of the Project in April 1961, out of total 106 faculty members of the Seoul National University College of Medicine, 83 members (78%) had studied abroad. Out of these 83 members, 59 (71%) faculty members studied under the Minnesota Project. Supported by the program, 18 non-teaching staffs also studied abroad. Most departments in the medical college benefited from the training. All departments of clinical medicine and basic medical sciences, except those of medical history and physical training, sent a majority of their members to Minnesota. Some departments dispatched all their members to Minnesota such as departments of anatomy, physiology, biochemistry, parasitology, psychiatry, clinical pathology, and radioisotope clinic.

Among 77 people who trained in medicine, nursing, and hospital administration from three months to four years, all but 4 came back to Korea and contributed to the development of Korean medicine. Since the American advisers had high expectations of the younger generation to play important roles in the development of Korean medicine, long-term fellowships were granted to young faculty members in their thirties. Jae Nam Kim in anatomy and Ho Wang Lee in microbiology got Ph.D. degrees under the program. Several staffs finished master's program at the University of Minnesota including Sang

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9) NL Gault, Jr(1961), pp. 3-4; G Schimert(1959). Final report of observations, activities, and recommendations concerning the College of Medicine, Seoul National University, pp. 1-3.
10) Dr. NL Gault, Jr, personal interview, 4 December 1998.
11) Although the American government provided other Asian countries with similar health education assist programs, this kind of thing never happened in other program. After the World War II, University of California, San Francisco assisted health education in Indonesia, Indiana University in Pakistan, and Illinois University in Thailand. Many staffs trained in America remained in the United States and never returned to their countries, Dr. NL Gault, Jr. personal interview, 4 December 1998.
Don Lee in physiology, Jung Kyoo Lim in pharmacology, E Hyuk Kwon in public health, and Bo Sung Shim in neurosurgery. After returning to Korea, the staffs tried to apply what they had studied abroad to teaching, medical practice, and research. One of the prominent examples was the establishment of the Department of Thoracic Surgery by Young Kyoon Lee and Chan Bum Lee, who had studied heart surgery in Minnesota and developed fine cardiovascular surgery after returning to Korea.

4. Advisory Activities of the Faculty of the University of Minnesota

From 1956 to 1961, eleven members of the University of Minnesota faculty came to Korea to serve as advisers in medicine, nursing, and hospital administration. Among eleven advisers, four served as overall advisers in medicine, three in nursing, and four of each in pediatrics, physiology, internal medicine, and hospital administration. After working in Korea for various time periods from three months to two years, they presented reports on their observation, contributions, and recommendations. The first overall adviser was William Maloney whose observation from March to July 1956 led to the extension of the project. From May 1957 to June 1961 three overall advisers, James Mattews, George Schimert (who served also for surgery), and NL Gault, Jr, successively stayed in Korea to ensure continuance of advisory activities. From January 1957 to April 1961, three advisers in nursing also successively served to improve nursing education and practice. Glenn Mitchell, assistant director of University of Minnesota Hospital, concentrated his advisory work on hospital administration. EB Brown, professor of physiology at the University of Minnesota, served

12) Concerning how those staffs who had studied their fields in Minnesota contributed to each field in the context of the development of each department at the Seoul National University College of Medicine, see Seoul National University College of Medicine, History of Seoul National University College of Medicine: 1885-1978. (Seoul, 1978). pp. 167-367.
13) For the summary of the advisory services under the Minnesota Project, see Gault(1961), pp. 16-18.
14) WF Maloney(1956), Report of Observations as Adviser in Medicine to College of Medicine, Seoul, Seoul National University.
15) The overall advisers presented their reports respectively. JH Matthews(1958), Final Report of Observations and Recommendations Concerning the College of Medicine, Seoul National University; G Schimert(1959), Final report of observations, activities, and recommendations, concerning the College of Medicine, Seoul National University; NL Gault, Jr(1961).
16) The advisers in nursing were the professors in nursing at the University of Minnesota. Margery Low(1958), Interim Report on School of Nursing, Seoul National University; idem(1958), Final Report on Nursing, Seoul National University; Joan Williams(1959), Final report of observations, activities, and recommendations, concerning the Nursing Service, Seoul National University Hospital and the School of Nursing, Seoul National University; Florence Julian(1961), Final Report on Nursing Service and Nursing Education at Seoul National University.
17) Glenn R Mitchell(1958), Report on the Seoul National University Hospital, College of Medicine, Seoul National University.
to advise for improvement of research and education of the basic medical sciences. 18) E Berglund, assistant professor in pediatrics and EB Flink, professor of internal medicine assisted in clinical teaching at the bedside.19)

In principle the Minnesota advisers limited their role as passive and tried not to displace the Korean faculty’s responsibilities. Each adviser’s involvement in activities, however, varied depending upon their interests and understanding of situation. To function as technical advisers in a foreign country, they had to adjust themselves to the country’s tradition and culture for their parts. At the same time, they should be active in their advisory activities to accomplish the goal of their mission. The reports of the Minnesota advisers reveal that it was not easy for them to accept or understand culture and circumstances in Korea which were quite different from their own. Some experienced frustration to see that things were changed very slowly or things were hardly changed. Sometimes they also met resistance from older generations to changes that the Project intended to bring.

Although each adviser dealt with specific problems pertaining to his or her field, had different, they perceived problems pervasive in the College of Medicine in common. The didactic teaching method from the Japanese tradition was one of the most commonly mentioned and the one of the main targets to be changed. They also agreed that inbreeding of the faculty of the College of Medicine hampered it from further development by resulting in pride and prejudice, and factionalism among Colleges of Medicine in Korea. To the advisers’ eyes, the younger generation, in spite of their high potential, lacked room to grow under the authoritarian culture in which the older generation exerted their power upon young people based only upon their ages and positions. The inefficient organizations and arrangement of the hospital called for the need of reorganization of the hospital management, and re-arrangement of the building. Many times, the advisers criticized lack of scientific medical practice and teaching, such as insufficient post-mortem examination. Awful circumstances of the hospital made the advisers lament the situation. The hospital lacked heat and water, and the kitchen and laundry room were in a bad condition. The advisers had a hard time in changing patients and their families’ behavior to cook and wash at the bedside and to have their own medicine, and their unwillingness to pay registration fee. While some advisers regarded those as ignorance and lack of education, the others like Gault and Berglund perceived the problems rooted in economic situation. Most problems that the Minnesota advisers faced came either from cultural differences or from poor economic

18) EB Brown, Jr(1959). Report of observations and activities as adviser in Medicine to College of Medicine, Seoul National University, Seoul, Korea, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota.
19) EB Flink(1958). Report and recommendations on teaching and research in Internal Medicine, College of Medicine; E Berglund(1960). Final report and recommendations on teaching and research in pediatrics, Seoul, Korea, Seoul National University Cooperative Project(ICA-University of Minnesota Contract).
condition after the war, both of which required continuous work and patience.

5. Supply of Equipment and Rehabilitation of the Physical Facilities

One of the most urgent and important programs of the Minnesota Project was re-equipment and facility rehabilitation. After the Korean War the physical plant in College of Medicine and its hospital was largely destructed, and no equipment was left. Since the major source of electricity had been located in the North Korea, shortage of electricity and heat hindered full usage of hospital and school facilities. In winter, because of the lack of money for fuel, some wards had to close and teaching and research were interrupted by cold temperature.

For six years from 1955 to 1960 the Minnesota Project funded rehabilitation and re-equipment programs for the College of Medicine and the hospital.\(^\text{20}\)

Total amount of rehabilitation for six years was $695,356.61. The College of Medicine underwent reconstruction and repair including roofing repair, heating system and water supply system, auditorium, and school of public health. The University Hospital also greatly benefited from the rehabilitation by receiving heating system, water tank, hot water supply, electricity, operating room, roofing repair, and pavement. During the six-year period, the Project funded the construction of the nursing school building and nursing school dormitory. To supply equipment for teaching, research, and patient care, the Project allotted $231,684.68 to departments of basic medical sciences, and $381,660.02 to departments of clinical medicine. The fund from the Minnesota Project met most of urgent need after the War.

Although maintenance of the hospital improved through the project, the facility rehabilitation program was the most difficult part of the Minnesota Project.\(^\text{21}\) ICA found that project for the rehabilitation of health facilities most unsatisfactory. Lack of counterpart fund and the procurement of commodities delayed the achievement of the objective. In spite of ICA’s revision of the plan on several occasions, some equipments purchased for teaching and research were not in use in June 1961 at the point of the end of the project. While Korean budget was not prepared on time, the hospital suffered from the shortage of electricity, hot water, and heat. It

\(^\text{20}\) For the detailed contents of the received fund distributed to each department, see Seoul National University College of Medicine, History of Seoul National University College of Medicine: 1885-1978 (Seoul, 1978), pp. 114-120; Gault(1961), pp. 41-45, 82-85.

\(^\text{21}\) United States GAO(1962). Examination of economic and technical assistance program for Korea, International Cooperation Administration fiscal years, 1957-1961, pp. 139-141; Gault(1961), pp. 82-85. The overall advisers of medicine reported every week to USOM Korea, which belonged to ICA, Minnesota Project dealt with health education with its own budget, while USOM dealt with facilities and management with its own budget. The Minnesota Project advisers advised how USOM’s budget should be used. Sometimes they received some requests from Korean colleagues, but in many cases such as leaking roofs, there was no question about it.
frustrated Korean faculty who wanted to apply the new techniques obtained abroad to medical practice and research in Korea. It also limited activities of Minnesota advisers in assisting education and research. In general, however, the project upgraded the standard for patient care and hospital maintenance.

6. The Influence of the Minnesota Project

During the period of the Minnesota Project, significant changes took place in the health education system in Korea. Under the influence of American medicine largely brought by the Minnesota Project, clerkship for clinical teaching in 1957, internship in 1958, and residency in 1959 were established respectively. Along with these new institutions, new teaching methods such as seminar, conference, or grand round were introduced to medical education, stimulating students and young physicians toward creative thinking and active learning.

In April 1959, the 4-year collegiate level of nursing education started with foundation of the Department of Nursing at the College of Medicine. Before the Minnesota Project, the status of nurses was so low that the public regarded nurses as servants of doctors. When the project started, only three-year high-school level of technical education in nursing existed in the Seoul National University. As many faculty members of the College of Medicine observed nurses’ roles in the United States, their attitude toward nurses changed, and the status of nurses and the Nursing Section were improved. In April 1959, the School of Public Health also opened as graduate school level at the Seoul National University and began to receive students.

The influence of seventy-three staffs who returned to Korea after studying in Minnesota was incalculable and far-reaching. Young and intelligent, they were to lead their professional fields for several decades since then. Even in short period of several months, the advisers were able to observe progress in medical education and practice. With influx of new knowledge, new technology, new institution, and most of all, newly trained staffs, the Korean medicine underwent transformation from Japanese style to American one.

While nobody questioned that the Minnesota Project accomplished a great success in making progress in medicine in Korea, questions began to arise in 1980s as to whether the Korean staffs adopted American medical education without critical judgment. Beginning with the Minnesota Project, the influence of American medicine on Korean medicine resulted in an upgrade of medical education. In Educational Council for Foreign Medical Graduates (ECFMG), over 90% of senior medical students passed the examination on their first attempt. Korean physicians educated with highly-developed American medicine tended to go to America, rather than served Korean people in spite of the existence of large doctorless

area. In a symposium on the medical education in Asia, W Clarke Wescoe, the chairman of the China Medical Board, and Patrick A Ongley, the president, raised the same question.\(^{23}\) Examining their assisting program to medical education in Asia between 1950 and 1973, the China Medical Board trustees found that the board’s program had not been benefiting the people of Asia, but causing young doctors and nurses to leave their country to pursue more academically stimulating careers. The stronger the faculty, the better the students performed in ECFMG to be prepared to emigrate.

Retrospectively in 1987, Jong Hwee Jun, professor of internal medicine who studied one year in Minnesota, made some comments on the Minnesota Project.\(^ {24}\) While appreciating value of advanced techniques and knowledge of American medicine, he expressed regret that professors in 1960s adopted American medicine without discernment or due criticism. As a result, too-much enthusiastic professors studied and taught diseases prevailing in America rather than diseases of Korea. He also lamented that the adoption of American institutes for medical education to Korea without critical judgment had brought forth harm rather than good.

7. Epi logue

In an interview, Dr. Gault, Jr, the last overall adviser in medicine of the Minnesota Project, appraised the project as a success.\(^ {25}\) Compared to other fields of the Minnesota Project, he thought the health education part as the most successful in that all but four returned to Korea and have contributed to the development of Korean medicine thereafter. The main reason of its success, according to Dr. Gault, Jr, was that all American advisers came from the University of Minnesota, and that all Korean professors who came to study in the United States through this project came to the University of Minnesota.\(^ {25}\) It was the university-to-university spirit that led the project to succeed. It was greatly important for the implementation of the project to have friendship, comradeship, and fellowship between Korean professors and Minnesota professors. Dr. Gault, Jr, thought that the other critical factor of the success was that American advisers had not replaced Koreans’ activities and responsibilities. “Therefore,” said he, “all of the credit of the accomplishment of the Minnesota Project should go to the Koreans, who had excellent leadership.

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\(^{25}\) Dr, NL Gault, Jr, personal interview, 4 December 1998.

\(^{26}\) The other fields such as agriculture and engineering were not like health education section. Since the University of Minnesota did not have all specialties that Koreans needed in these area, Koreans went to other universities, and there were American advisers who went to Korea from universities other than the University of Minnesota, Dr, NL Gault, Jr, personal interview, 4 December 1998.
and who took initiatives to make the changes."

If the Minnesota Project was important to Korean staffs in learning advanced American medicine and developing Korean medicine, what did it mean to American participants? According to Dr. Gault, Jr, the Minnesota Project also exerted a great influence upon his career and life. Personally, it was one of the most wonderful times in his life to learn and experience a different culture and life. After returning to Minnesota, he was able to have better relationships with other faculty members and students, since he had learned in Korea how to understand and accept differences while working together for common goals. The Minnesota Project was also very important for his career, Known as a successful adviser in Korea after the Minnesota Project, Dr. Gault, Jr. was asked to serve as a consultant to the China Medical Board in 1963, and began to be involved in medical education in Asia including Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. His success in medical education program in Asia brought him an offer to be the dean of College of Medical Sciences at the University of Minnesota, which he performed with great success.

In June 1961 the Minnesota Project ended after finishing the six-year program. But its influence lasted far beyond the period, not only through the Korean professors who trained in Minnesota, but also through American staffs like Dr. Gault, Jr, who continued to assist medical education in Korea through various organizations.

Key Words: Minnesota Project, Korean War, American Medicine, Korean Medicine, Medical Education, Medical Research, Seoul National University College of Medicine

27) Dr, NL Gault, Jr, personal interview, 4 December 1998.
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