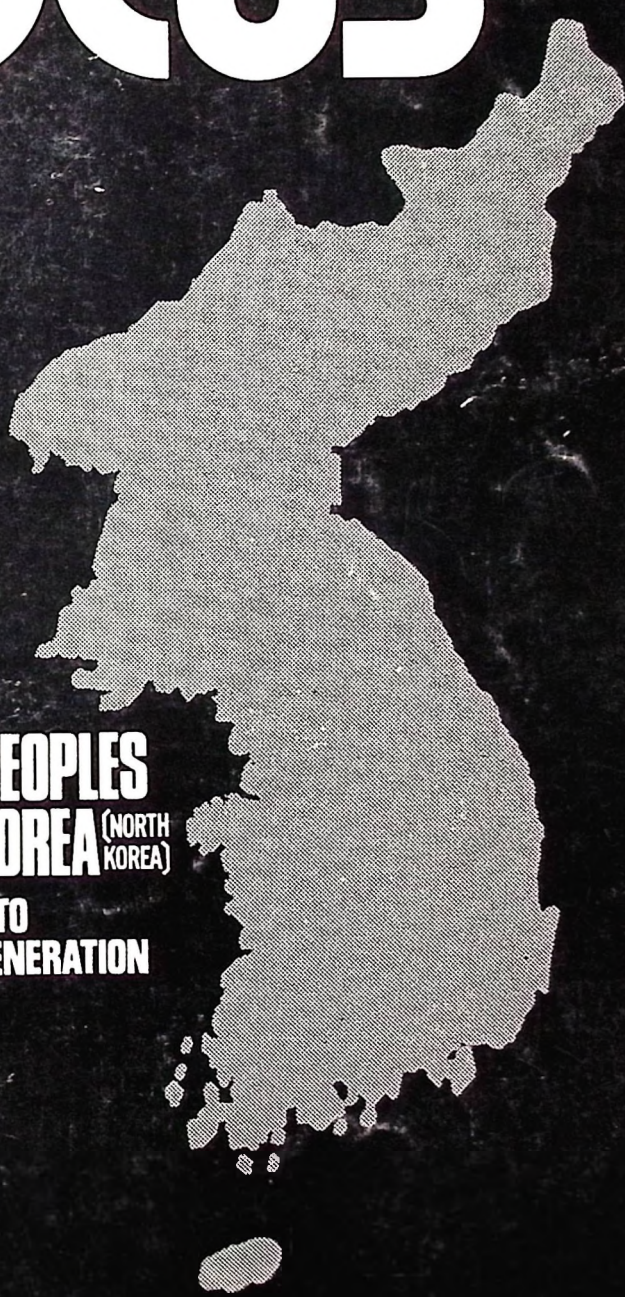


# KOREA FOCUS

**DEMOCRATIC PEOPLES  
REPUBLIC OF KOREA** (NORTH  
KOREA)

**FROM COLONIALISM TO  
SOCIALISM IN ONE GENERATION**

코리아의 초점





# KOREA FOCUS

Chollima originated as a famous Korean legend about a brave giant who crossed over mountain and sea on a winged steed hundreds of miles a day. This legendary symbol is now used by the people of the DPRK as an inspiration for socialist emulation and achievements in their endeavors to build and strengthen their socialist nation. It symbolically embraces the goal of the Korean Workers Party in socialist construction.

Chollima, according to this legend, is referred to as a winged horse capable of bearing those fortunate enough to mount it, at a rapid speed, towards the land of happiness.

*This issue of Korea Focus was prepared by an editorial task force headed by Professor Fred J. Carrier. Other members of the force were Gerald Cook, managing editor, Joseph Brandt, executive editor, Ruth C. Norrick, Professor Robert Ante, George B. Murphy, Jr. and Professor Howard L. Parsons.*

*Korea Focus is published periodically by the American-Korean Friendship and Information Center, 160 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., 10010. Manuscripts and other editorial material are solicited for Korea Focus. Likewise letters, clippings, editorial comments. Help us make this magazine a popular and useful publication.*

## EDITORIAL BOARD:

Joseph Brandt

Prof. Howard L. Parsons

George B. Murphy, Jr.

Prof. Fred J. Carrier

Prof. Robert Ante

# CONTENTS

- 3 . . . . The Democratic Republic of Korea—  
Socialism and Modernization in One Generation  
*By Professor Fred J. Carrier*
- 18 . . . . Korean Unification
- 20 . . . . The DPRK's Reunification Efforts
- 23 . . . . A Visit to the DPRK—Report of the AKFIC Delegation
- 31 . . . . A Transformation in Education  
*By Professor Howard L. Parsons*
- 37 . . . . Happy Children *By Ellen Perlo*
- 39 . . . . The People of Korea, a Poem
- 40 . . . . The Nixon Doctrine *By Joseph Brandt*
- 46 . . . . From the Source, Extracts of a Lecture by Kim Chol Sik
- 48 . . . . People's Friendship—Socialist Internationalism
- 50 . . . . A Salute to the DPRK Leadership
- 52 . . . . The Writings of Kim Il Sung, a Book Review
- 54 . . . . Brain Drain, a Book Review *By Tom Foley*
- 55 . . . . Juche *By Tyrone Monte*
- 56 . . . . Out of the Ashes of Hiroshima *By Takuo Matsumoto*
- 58 . . . . Readers' Comments
- 59 . . . . Operation Warshift Gets a Boost
- 62 . . . . Focusing on the Truth
- 63 . . . . The Program of AKFIC



# *Democratic Republic of Korea*

## **Socialism and Modernization in One Generation**

By FRED J. CARRIER

*"Let's bomb them back into the Stone Age"—Gen. Curtis Lemay, former  
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.*

One of the remarkable success stories of our times has taken place in Korea, as a revolution has unfolded by which a society technologically backward and agriculturally poor only two decades ago has become a showplace of socialism in one generation. Despite the sundering of the Korean nation due to United States imperialism, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), comprising some 14 million people, has built a socialist industrial base capable of supporting further economic growth; it has democratized land ownership and mechanized production; and even while carrying out this planned economic growth, the DPRK has not only lifted its people out of poverty<sup>1</sup> but has laid the cultural base for democracy by creating a literate youth and participatory democracy where workers and peasants help to shape the course of their own development. It is truly an inspirational story for anyone who believes in social democracy, a story that American youth needs to know in order to clear its own blurred vision of human potential.

The context of the Korean Revolution is also crucial, for it was more than a massive effort to overcome backwardness. Korea forms part of

the Third World struggle for national liberation in which the former colonial world is pitted against Western imperialism. That great struggle has marked the second half of the Twentieth Century, the battleline stretching across Korea and Indochina—two fronts in a prolonged war. While Communist victory in China in 1949 strengthened the hopes of indigenous revolutionary movements everywhere in Asia, the West sought to hold its empire against a revolution entailing national liberation by the liquidation of foreign capital. France fought to retain Indochina and the British to salvage their interests in Malaya, but it was the United States which emerged from World War II as the great capitalist power and was thus compelled to assume the lead role in counter-revolution. Already espousing a containment policy against the spread of Communism in Europe, the U.S. extended such a policy to Asia, dropping a Capitalist Curtain across East Asia. It was more than natural,

*Fred J. Carrier, who served as editor for this issue of Korea Focus, is a comparative social historian and an assistant professor at Villanova University. He is the author of a book to be published in 1972, The Third World Revolution. One of the initiating sponsors of the American-Korean Friendship & Information Center, he currently fills the post of education director.*

<sup>1</sup> Ben Page who visited the DPRK in 1968 commented: "In the country, as in the city, there is no evidence of poverty." (*Monthly Review*, January, 1969, 21) See also the eyewitness accounts following this article by visitors who toured the DPRK in 1971.

it was necessary for the U.S. government to adopt such a stand, for it had only recently fought a great war against Japan in order to defend its economic interests in Asia, and after emerging from that struggle with the largest air-naval force in the world's history, backed by the Atomic Bomb, the U.S. could only respond to Communism in Asia with the same harshness, the spirit of Hiroshima. What the Capitalist Curtain announced was that a "free world" (understood as the areas where Western capital was free to expand and dominate) was to be safeguarded from Communism whatever the needs of the indigenous people. It was a policy which condemned the Third World to enduring colonial status, and which sanctified the privilege of the rich white West. Of course such a policy is doomed to ultimate failure, but not without the sacrifice of millions of Asian lives which added a new page to the history of human barbarity in both the Korean and Indochina wars. What the Chinese Revolution had proven was that people count more than weapons in the outcome of such a struggle. True, the U.S. could send a seemingly endless stream of planes with millions of tons of bombs, but it could never serve the needs of the masses of Asian peasants as Communism does. In the end it was a struggle for the land, and in this the peasants cannot lie down to die; they must procreate and instill into the hearts of their children an even fiercer love of freedom, a willingness to die to rid themselves of foreigners and to control their land.

It was in June, 1950, that Korea became the focus of the struggle when the U.S. embarked on a war to create a unified capitalist Korea under Syngman Rhee. The U.S. was already providing military aid to help the French preserve colonial rule in Indochina and it was aiding the Chiang Kai-shek regime in Formosa; now it opened an aggressive war to save a tottering South Korean puppet state, the prelude to the long war in Indochina where American armies struggled to establish a Western satellite state. *Why Korea?*

To clarify what was at stake in Korea, it will be helpful to quickly scan the history of that area, especially in modern times. For about 2,000 years, since the days of the Han Empire in China and the first century of the Roman Empire, the Korean people have known a national history. Probably for some 2,000 years prior to

this recorded history, Koreans had inhabited the area, originally migrating across Manchuria to settle in the peninsula where they developed as a race with a national culture and language. Most of Korean history has been marked by political division or subjugation to more powerful neighbors. By modern times Korea was united under the Yi dynasty (1392-1910), a regime very akin to feudal China with a landlord-mandarin bureaucracy controlling the peasant society. During these centuries Korea was a vassal state of the Chinese Empire, absorbing much of Chinese culture including Confucian philosophy and civil service, a classical tradition of art and literature, Buddhism.<sup>2</sup>

At the time of the crumbling of Manchu China before Western imperialism, Korea was seized by a rapidly industrializing Japan which sought colonies to support its economic growth, in the Western manner. By defeating China and then Russia, Japan established its economic rights in Korea (1905) and then formally annexed the country in 1910. During the Japanese occupation (1910-1945) the necessary features of colonialism existed, for Japan was concerned with extracting from Korea its raw materials to supply a growing industry and rice to feed the Japanese urban workforce. Under a Japanese-dominated civil service, a puppet Korean government of landlords and *comprador bourgeoisie*<sup>3</sup> was created, allying wealthy Koreans to the colonial power. This government raised taxes on land, forcing many peasants to mortgage and then lose their land. A migration of Koreans into Manchuria occurred, so that about a million Koreans were living in Manchuria by the end

---

<sup>2</sup> There is not yet available in English a good history of Korea. For the origins of the nation and the Yi dynasty, the best source is Takashi Hatada: *A History of Korea* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1969).

<sup>3</sup> The term *comprador* is used to specify that part of the bourgeoisie whose profits and existence are tied to foreign control or colonialism. Thus, some Korean bourgeoisie were owners of large rice plantations profiting from exports to Japan; other bourgeoisie were allowed a share in mines or factories, again their profits coinciding with foreign capital investment; and some Koreans, of course, served in managerial roles for Japanese interests. Thus, the *comprador* class supports colonialism, as distinct from the *national bourgeoisie* which stands to benefit from national independence. Needless to say, the current regimes at Seoul and Saigon are dominated by *comprador bourgeoisie*.

of the Japanese occupation. While rice production increased, it did not benefit the Korean people, for by the 1930's as much as half the crop was going to Japan under controlled prices which amounted to theft. There was some industrial development but the industry was more than 95 per cent Japanese-owned. Much of the industry was characterized by mining of ores and coal; processing of iron, steel, copper, aluminum, and coal-products; textiles; and food-processing.<sup>4</sup> Only a small class of Korean comprador bourgeoisie profited from the industrial development, the workers being exploited at low wages. At the end of the occupation more than 70 per cent of all Koreans were still peasants with little or no land of their own.

A Korean nationalist movement arose in protest against the colonialist-racist regime. It was given encouragement by the March 1, 1919 demonstrations, the first mass protest against Japanese rule. More than a million people poured into the streets of Seoul and other cities, provoking hundreds of clashes with the police. The toll of 500 killed and 27,000 arrested<sup>5</sup> indicates the extent of the suppression but it left embittered nationalist resentments. When news of the protest reached Shanghai, a group of Koreans living in China formed the Korean Provisional Government in April, 1919, an organization which was to play a leading role among bourgeois nationalists whose program envisioned a capitalist republic along the lines Chiang Kai-shek eventually set up in China. It was headed by Syngman Rhee who was later to become the first president of the American-sponsored Republic of South Korea. Rhee was the perfect representative of the comprador bourgeoisie. A convert to the Methodist faith, he went to George Washington University under Methodist sponsorship, then to Harvard, then to Woodrow Wilson's Princeton where he received the Ph.D. in international law in 1910. After a short stay in Korea, from 1912 until the end of World War II he lived in Hawaii. For more than three

decades he had not even seen Korea when he became president of the southern part.

There was also a Communist-oriented nationalist movement which included a small underground organization in the cities and dispersed guerrilla bases in the northern mountains of Korea and in Manchuria where nearly a million Koreans were settled. Some of the Korean guerrillas joined the Chinese Communists at Yenai, while others fled to the Soviet Union, but the bulk remained in Manchuria. When the Japanese moved into Manchuria in 1931, Korean guerrillas began to strike deeper into Korean territory. By the mid-1930's Kim Il Sung was one of the important young leaders of the guerrilla movement in Manchuria. Born in 1912 in the village of Mangyongdae, about 12 miles from Pyongyang, Kim's roots fashioned him for nationalist leadership. He was raised amidst peasants which kept him close to the people and he was inspired by the nationalist activities of his family. His father was Kim Hyong Jik, founder of the underground Korean People's Association in 1917. For this the elder Kim was arrested and, after the suppressed March 1 uprising, he decided to move his family to safer quarters in Manchuria. Kim Il Sung followed in his father's footsteps, engaging in nationalist activities as a teenager while suffering arrest and torture. In 1931 he joined the Communist Party, and the following year he helped to organize a guerrilla unit of young peasant-workers centering at Mount Baekdu in the Korean-Manchurian border region. It was a favorable area to launch a war for national liberation since 80 per cent of the inhabitants were poor Korean peasants who had fled Japanese oppression and it was also protected by steep mountains spotted with thick forests. For the next three years the Baekdu guerrillas fought to liberate the surrounding area in a way strikingly similar to that which Mao and his followers were developing simultaneously in Kiangsi. In 1935 the guerrillas decided to move farther north into Manchuria where they organized the Korean People's Revolutionary Army. Though the Japanese sent a large army in 1938-1939 to encircle and destroy the People's Army, a flight to northeast Korea (a Long March, Korean style) preserved the revolutionary force. During World War II the People's Army continued raids on the Japanese and in August, 1941, collaborated with the Soviet

<sup>4</sup> See Shannon McCune: *Korea's Heritage* (Tokyo, 1956), Appendix G, for data in industrial development. Also, George M. McClune: *Korea Today* (Cambridge, 1950), 22-37, for a survey of Japanese occupation.

<sup>5</sup> Chong-Sik Lee: *The Politics of Korean Nationalism* (Berkeley, 1963), 114.

forces to defeat the Japanese.<sup>6</sup> Thus Kim Il Sung and his armed comrades were in a favorable position to capitalize on the Soviet liberation.

*The revolutionary forces, during those long years in the forests and mountains of the border areas, had been themselves the future state in embryo, developing policies and carrying out reforms wherever they operated. This was a key factor in the speed with which the government of Kim Il Sung was established and consolidated in Pyongyang, and a whole series of revolutionary measures introduced, accepted and supported by the overwhelming majority of Korean workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals and most of the urban middle class.*<sup>7</sup>

Dae-sook Suh, who has studied the origins of the Korean Communist movement, also cites the importance of the long patriotic struggle waged by the Communists by which they succeeded in wresting control of the revolution for national liberation:

*They planted a deep core of Communist influence among the Korean people, particularly the students, youth groups, laborers and peasants. Their fortitude and, at times, obstinate determination to succeed had a profound influence on Korean intellectuals and writers. To older Koreans, who had groveled so long before seemingly endless foreign suppression, communism seemed a new hope or a magic torch from which they hoped to gain revolutionary strength.*<sup>8</sup>

During the Allied conferences of World War II no specific agreements had been made regarding Korea. The most relevant settlement, as it turned out, was the Yalta provision that the Soviet Union would enter the war against Japan three months after the end of fighting in Europe. Fulfilling this commitment, the Russian army entered Korea on August 8, 1945 and, aided by the Korean People's Army, by mid-August had accomplished the liberation of Korea. The American army was at Okinawa, but on August 14 President Truman issued General

Order Number 1 which proclaimed the 38th parallel as a dividing line in Korea, American troops to occupy the area south of that line. It was sheer power politics, an attempt "to re-define the distribution of power throughout the entire Far East . . . to avoid political defeat in the wake of war and to counter the Resistance in Asia." Not only did the U.S. oppose Russian liberation of the peninsula, but the General Order forbade the Japanese to surrender to Korean resistance groups.<sup>9</sup> The Russians, however, welcomed Korean revolutionaries who were ready to assume authority. People's committees were formed throughout the country, and by the end of August there were 145 of them both north and south of the 38th parallel. On September 6 at Seoul a national congress of these committees proclaimed a Korean People's Republic, electing a Central People's Committee as the new government.

When American soldiers landed on September 8, the commanding General Hodge refused to have anything to do with the People's Republic. Instead, Hodge restored the Japanese administration, rearmed the Japanese soldiers and used them under American officers to repress nationalist efforts for independence.<sup>10</sup> Soviet armies had withdrawn north of the parallel, and so the U.S. was left in command of the southern half. It was only at the Moscow Conference of December, 1945, that the U.S. and the Soviet Union agreed to a five-year joint trusteeship over Korea, the 38th parallel to be the dividing point. By 1946 the Japanese officials had been replaced by Americans in the southern zone, but the U.S. declared illegal the People's Republic and the People's Committees which had been created throughout Korea, seeking instead a bourgeois alternative which would certainly favor a capitalist republic. "It was no secret that the U.S. favored the right,"—that is, politicians who were conservative, pro-capitalist, and generally former collaborators with the Japanese.<sup>11</sup> The U.S. created what was called the Representative Democratic Council with Syngman Rhee as chairman and "dominated by former Provisional Government members and

<sup>6</sup> Details are provided in the *Brief History of the Revolutionary Activities of Comrade Kim Il Sung* (Pyongyang, 1969). A short account is also provided in the chapter titled "Kim Il Sung" in Wilfred Burchett: *Again Korea* (New York, 1968).

<sup>7</sup> Burchett, *Again Korea*, 99-100.

<sup>8</sup> Dae-sook Suh: *The Korean Communist Movement, 1918-1948* (Princeton, 1967), 132.

<sup>9</sup> Gabriel Kolko: *The Politics of War* (London, 1969), 600-602.

<sup>10</sup> Bertram D. Sarafan, "Military Government: Korea," *Far Eastern Survey*, November, 1946, 350.

<sup>11</sup> Sarafan, *ibid.*



extreme conservatives.”<sup>12</sup> Thus, U.S. policy had deliberately repressed popular desires for a unified Korea in favor of a satellite which could serve as a base for continued war operations. “The division of Korea was an American putsch,”<sup>13</sup> and the American army has remained in Korea from 1945 until 1972.

Korea became divided into two states as each of the occupying powers fostered a state in its own image. In North Korea a People’s Committee was elected by the local people’s committees in February, 1946, and it named Kim Il Sung as president. Kim was thus rewarded for his revolutionary role up to 1945 and for his tireless effort to unify the Communist groups from Yanan, Manchuria and Korea.<sup>14</sup> With Soviet support the People’s Committee laid the basis for a socialist country. Industry (more than 90 percent of which had been Japanese-owned) was nationalized and in 1947 the first of a series of economic plans was begun, aided by a long-term loan from the Soviet Union of 212 million rubles at interest of about one percent. By 1949 industrial production was more than four times greater than it had been in 1946, surpassing the 1944 wartime production.<sup>15</sup> Land reform was carried out in 1946 by the expropriation of land belonging to the Japanese and to Korean absentee landlords; landlords who owned more than five chongbos (a chongbo is 2.45 acres) had the excess confiscated. Prior to the reform, according to government reports, 56.7 percent of North Korea’s poor peasants had owned only 5.4 percent of the land. By the distribution of 37 percent of all cultivated land, about one-third of the north’s population of nine million was raised out of dire poverty into near equality with the most prosperous peasants.<sup>16</sup> The following distribution of land was made:

*Disposition of Expropriated Land in North Korea, 1946*

Recipients	Number of families	Area in chongbos
Peasants without land (tenants)	442,973	603,407
Peasants with little land	260,501	345,974
Peasants employed by landlords	17,137	22,387
TOTAL	720,611	971,768

Source: Chong-sik Lee, “Land Reform, Collectivization and the Peasants in North Korea,” in Robert A. Scalapino: *North Korea Today* (New York, 1963), 68.

Not only was the basis for peasant democracy laid, but agricultural production showed rapid progress up to 1950.<sup>17</sup>

That land reform was badly needed in South Korea as well is suggested by the following figures which show that more than half of the southern peasants owned no land, while another third were forced to rent some land in order to survive economically:

*Land Ownership and Tenancy in South Korea, 1943*

	Number	Percent of Total
Owned land	284,837	14
Small peasants who owned some land, rented some	675,271	33
Peasants who rented land	1,044,490	51
Peasant-laborers	35,816	2

Source: Adopted from George McCune, *Korea Today*, 59.

It was this exploitative condition of the peasantry which was maintained by U.S. occupation, for landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie continued to share power with foreign capital. To preserve this bourgeois state, it was necessary for the U.S. to suppress national and revolutionary tendencies. Toward this end, those Koreans who had collaborated with the Japanese were elevated to power. According to the American head of the police:

*What we did after sending the Japs home, was to push the Koreans up, and then build up the force by incorporating all the young men who had been helping the police. Many people question the wisdom of keeping men trained by the Japanese. But many men are born policemen. We felt that if they did a*

<sup>12</sup> George McCune: *Korea Today*, 75.

<sup>13</sup> See Jon Halliday’s excellent article, “The Korean Revolution,” 95-133 in *Socialist Revolution*, Vol. I, No. 6, Nov.-Dec., 1970.

<sup>14</sup> Jon Halliday pointedly comments: “The Western picture of Kim catapulted into power by the Russians is false.” *Ibid.*, 106. Also see Suh, *op. cit.*, 321.

<sup>15</sup> Yoon T. Kuark, “North Korea’s Industrial Development during the Post-War Period,” in Robert A. Scalapino: *North Korea Today* (New York, 1963), 52, 61.

<sup>16</sup> According to A. Grajdancev, “Korea Divided,” *Far Eastern Survey*, October, 1945, North Korea had 2,629,000 chongbos of cultivable land. The 971,768 chongbos distributed represents approximately 37 percent of the total.

<sup>17</sup> Kuark, 83.

good job for the Japanese, they would do a good job for us.<sup>18</sup>

The same practice was followed in the army, which was made to serve U.S. ends. Even in 1972, more than two decades after Soviet troops have withdrawn from an independent DPRK, the South Korean army is under the control of the United States, in the guise of a United Nations mandate! While an American general retains command, many of the Koreans who hold top posts are those who served the Japanese: Lee Hyung Koon, a former colonel in the Japanese army, was the chief advisor in 1946; Kim Sok-won who commanded the army at the time of the Korean War was formerly the head of a Korean regiment in the Japanese army used to pursue the Kim Il Sung guerrilla force in the 1930's; and Park Chung Hee who is presently the dictator of South Korea also served in the Japanese army before coming to the U.S. for further training.<sup>19</sup>

To provide a democratic facade for the class dictatorship it was establishing, in 1948 the U.S. insisted on elections which brought the Syngman Rhee government to power. Though the elections were not a free expression of the Korean people's will—aside from the fighting during the campaign, there was coercion at the polls, more than 500 people being killed; and a whole mass of "illiterates" were denied the vote<sup>20</sup>—the U.S. and the United Nations confirmed the results which led to the establishment of the Republic of (South) Korea, a government of "landlords and members of the old aristocracy."<sup>21</sup> The United Nations was used by the U.S. to legitimize its creation of a puppet state. Under urging from John Foster Dulles, a United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea had been established with representatives from El Salvador, the Philippines, Syria, India and of course the U.S. It was a commission hardly interested in political democracy, much less in the land needs of the Korean peasantry; yet it was members of this commission who served as scattered observers and deemed the election a fair one, even though "every single

important politician active in the South, with the sole exception of Rhee, opposed the decision to call an election in the South alone."<sup>22</sup>

Simultaneous with the electoral campaign in the south, a pan-Korean conference was held at Pyongyang in April, 1948, with 240 delegates from the south representing every important organization. "The South Korean delegates included nearly every man of eminence in the country except Dr. Rhee."<sup>23</sup> The great majority of Koreans wanted a unified country, independent of foreign domination, and not the establishment of a southern puppet state which would serve as an instrument of the U.S. in a cold war. The Pyongyang Conference denounced the separate election planned in the south and called for its boycott, supporting instead the idea of a single election for all of Korea. With virtually all the nationalist forces in the country in attendance, "The conference in Pyongyang shows irrefutably the links between the Communist and Nationalist movements . . . thirty-one months after the arrival of United States imperialism, Communist policy had the support of the mass of Koreans."<sup>24</sup> A few months later, after the Republic of Korea had been established in the south, at Pyongyang in September, 1948, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was proclaimed as the legitimate representative of all the Korean people.

While the North had created a popular regime backed by the peasants and workers—distributing land, increasing production, legalizing the equality of women, and creating a literate citizenry<sup>25</sup> in the South—the Rhee government "was so unpopular as to make its ability to survive doubtful."<sup>26</sup> Two rebellions occurred in South Korea in 1948, one at Cheju Do in April and a larger one in October when army units seized the cities of Yosu and Suchon where revolutionary people's committees were set up. When the Rhee government suppressed these uprisings, according to a report by the United Nations

<sup>22</sup> Halliday, 110.

<sup>23</sup> John Gunther: *The Riddle of MacArthur* (New York, 1951), 170. See also George McCune, 263.

<sup>24</sup> Halliday, 111.

<sup>25</sup> Key P. Yang & Chang-boh Chee, "North Korean Educational System," in Scalapino, 127. "Within a few years after the Second World War, North Korea successfully eradicated illiteracy."

<sup>26</sup> David Horowitz: *The Free World Colossus* (New York, 1965), 118.

<sup>18</sup> Mark Gayn: *Japan Diary* (New York, 1948), 391. Cited in Halliday, 108.

<sup>19</sup> Halliday, 108-109.

<sup>20</sup> George McCune, 229-230.

<sup>21</sup> W. D. Reeve: *The Republic of Korea* (London, 1963), 31.

Commission, more than 23,000 people were arrested, 80 percent of whom were imprisoned or executed.<sup>27</sup> Police brutality, arrests, and political purges marked the next two years, and when elections were held for the Assembly in May, 1950, despite the arrest of many candidates, Rhee's supporters took a decisive beating with only 12 elected to the 210-seat house. "The regime was left tottering by lack of confidence, both in Korea and abroad."<sup>28</sup> It was this contrast—an orderly, progressive, popular regime in the North; an unstable, repressive, floundering regime in the South—which precipitated the Korean War that began in June, 1950. The government of South Korea was near its demise, in a condition strikingly similar to that of the South Vietnamese government in 1964 when the U.S. unleashed a massive air war against the Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam. In both cases the U.S. opted for war as a desperate means of choking social revolution.

### *The Korean War, 1950-1953*

Syngman Rhee ushered in 1950 with a New Year's greeting to the Korean people, published in all South Korean newspapers: "In the New Year we shall strive as one man to regain the lost territory . . . in accordance with the changed international situation, it is our duty to unify Southern and Northern Korea by our own strength."<sup>29</sup> Less than a month later South Korea signed a mutual defense pact with the U.S. and six months later the Korean War began. The changed situation which Rhee cited was that China had been "lost" to the Free World, and U.S. policy was switching toward containment in Asia, strengthening its ties to South Korea, the Philippines, Cambodia, Laos, South Vietnam (still a French colony), and an independent Taiwan. One of the instigators of the more aggressive U.S. policy was John Foster Dulles, the official Republican advisor to the Secretary of State, a delegate to the United Nations, an ardent spokesman for Chiang Kai-shek, and from 1953-1959 Secretary of State. Early in May, 1950, Dulles called for "better techniques" to thwart Russian gains. "They can win everything

by the cold war they could win by a hot war." A few weeks later Dulles pointed out that future "disasters" like China could be prevented "if at some doubtful point we quickly take a dramatic and strong stand that shows our confidence and resolution," even to "risk war."<sup>30</sup>

Dulles had played the leading role in the creation of South Korea, and so it is not surprising that he was Truman's choice to visit South Korea in June of 1950. From June 18-20 Dulles inspected South Korea military units at the 38th parallel,<sup>31</sup> held discussions with Rhee, and promised U.S. support. On June 22 Dulles was in Tokyo for a top-level meeting which included General MacArthur, commander of American forces in Japan; Louis Johnson, Secretary of Defense; and General Omar Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Following the meeting, Dulles met the press and predicted "positive action" by the U.S. to preserve security and peace. Three days later the Korean War began.<sup>32</sup>

According to Cold War mythology, which has been uncritically embraced by American liberal historiography, the war resulted from an unprovoked North Korean invasion across the 38th parallel on June 25, a flagrant instance of worldwide Communist aggression masterminded by the Kremlin. The basis for this view (aside from the Cold Warrior mentality) is that the U.S. government said this was so,<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> John Foster Dulles, Memorandum of May 18, 1950. Cited in Gabriel Kolko: *The Roots of American Foreign Policy* (Boston, 1969), 96.

<sup>31</sup> Dulles was photographed with South Korean officers looking over "a map of actual operational plans for the attack to the North, and at a sandpit model of the heights north of Kaesong to be taken in the first hours of the attack" (Burchett, 127). The Seoul press reported Dulles' comment to one front-line unit: "No adversary, not even the strongest, can resist you. The time is not far off when you will be able to display your prowess." Dulles also addressed the South Korean Assembly: "Compromise with communism would be to take the road to disaster."

<sup>32</sup> See I. F. Stone: *The Hidden History of the Korean War* (New York, 1970), 26-27.

<sup>33</sup> Dulles was quick to cable Washington on June 25 advising: "It is possible that the South Koreans may themselves contain and repulse the attack. . . . If, however, it appears that they cannot do so, then we believe the U.S. forces should be used (and not) sit by while Korea is overrun by unprovoked armed attack. . . ." Cited in Glenn D. Paige: *The Korean Decision* (New York, 1968), 111-112. Paige also says that despite the dearth of information, there

<sup>27</sup> Reeve, 32.

<sup>28</sup> *U.S. News and World Report*, July 7, 1950. Cited in Horowitz, 120. See also Reeve, 32.

<sup>29</sup> Burchett, 125.

and the Security Council of the United Nations following the American lead condemned North Korea for aggression. The Security Council met on June 25 to consider the U.S. case that North Korea was guilty of unprovoked aggression. What the Council had as evidence, aside from U.S. charges, was a cablegram from the UN Commission in Korea which reported that a full-scale war was in progress, that the South Korean government charged the North with aggression, and that North Korea by radio broadcast accused the South of having been first to violate the frontier. The Commission had inspected the 38th parallel two days before the fighting began and on the basis of those observations, coupled with the obvious retreat of the South Korean army, it cabled:

*Commission's present view on basis of this evidence is, first, that judging from actual progress of operations Northern regime is carrying out well-planned, concerted, and full-scale invasion of South Korea; second, that South Korea forces are deployed on wholly defensive basis in all sectors of the Parallel; and, third, that they were taken completely by surprise as they had no reason to believe from intelligence sources that invasion was imminent.*<sup>34</sup>

No evidence available to either the Commission or the Security Council proved that North Korea had attacked without provocation, yet the Security Council acted precipitately, without seeking to examine North Korean charges of border violations. Part of the reason for this partiality was due to the predominance of U.S. influence. When Trygve Lie, secretary general of the United Nations, first learned of the fighting, it was by telephone call from John Hickerson, an American state department official. Lie told Hickerson that he considered the attack a violation of the United Nations Charter.<sup>35</sup> Lie opened the June 2 meeting by telling the Security Council that he believed the North Koreans had violated the Charter. The South Korean government also had a spokesman at the meeting who appealed for UN aid. By a vote of 9-0 the Coun-

---

was little doubt in the minds of American officials that the North Koreans had launched a "calculated act of aggression." (p. 97)

<sup>34</sup> Stone, 50.

<sup>35</sup> Faige, *The Korean Decision*, 95.

cil called for the cessation of fighting, the withdrawal of North Korean forces north of the 38th parallel, and the cooperation of "all Members to render every assistance in the execution of this resolution and to refrain from giving assistance to the North Korean authorities."<sup>36</sup>

On the next day, June 26, the U.S. decided to use its naval and air forces to assist South Korea, seemingly under the banner of the United Nations. Actually, what the U.S. was doing was using the United Nations as a sanction for its containment policy, for on the same day, the decision was made to increase military aid to the French colonialists in Indochina, to the Philippines, and to Chiang's forces on Taiwan. By intervening once again in the civil war in China—for Taiwan was a recognized part of China, subject to the only legitimate government of China, the People's Republic—the U.S. was opposing a government that many members of the United Nations already recognized as the legitimate government of the Chinese people. Thus the U.S. was violating United Nations principles of national sovereignty even as it claimed to be defending them in Korea. Needless to add, the U.S. was also simultaneously claiming self-determination for the Korean people while supporting a colonial regime's war against the Vietnamese people. What motivated the U.S. was made clear by Truman in a statement on June 27:

*The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that Communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war.*

For Truman and the U.S. government all Communism stood condemned and what remained was to enlist United Nations support for a war to restore Korea, Indochina, possibly even China to the "Free World."

When the Security Council met on June 27 with American B-26 bombers and F-80 fighters striking in Korea, the U.S. ambassador asked that North Korean action be considered "an attack upon the United Nations." The U.S. accused the Soviet Union of complicity but produced no evidence to prove this charge or any

---

<sup>36</sup> For the text of the resolution, Leland M. Goodrich: *Korea: a Study of U.S. Policy in the United Nations* (New York, 1956), Appendix, 221-222.

other.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, a more recent communication from the UN Commission in Korea suggested mediation between North and South Korea, and Yugoslavia proposed that North Korea be invited to send a representative for such discussions at the United Nations. Yet the Security Council complied with U.S. proposals by a 7-1 resolution, approving the U.S. war in Korea:

*The Security Council having determined that the armed attack on the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea constitutes a breach of the peace . . . recommends that the members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area.*<sup>38</sup>

While this decision was taken by an international organization, it was far from a body sympathetic to the Third World. On the contrary, the Western powers had a built-in majority which is evidenced by the vote. Voting for the resolution were the U.S., England, France, Nationalist China (Chiang Kai-shek's Taiwan), Cuba (Batista's Cuba, not Fidel's!), Ecuador and Norway. All of these nations were dependent on the U.S. for economic aid and were military allies of the U.S. in NATO or receiving military aid from the U.S. Trygve Lie says that "diplomatic consultations before the issuance of the order (Truman's order to use American armies in Korea) had made it plain that there were seven votes—the required majority—in the Council for authorizing armed assistance to the Republic of Korea."<sup>39</sup> The only Third World countries on the Council, India and Egypt, abstained, while Yugoslavia voted against the resolution, favoring an examination of the North Korean case. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union was not present at the meeting or it would have been able to veto the decision. It should also be noted that the vote cast by Nationalist China properly belonged to the People's Re-

<sup>37</sup> Nearly two years later the U.S. produced some captured "North Korean" documents as proof. These documents were obviously fraudulent, using American terms such as "North Korean Army" instead of the Korean People's Army, or Japanese place names rather than current Korean ones. It was a poor case of incrimination, later to be tried again in the U.S. war against Vietnam. Burchett, 130 and Goodrich, 106.

<sup>38</sup> Goodrich, Appendix, 222.

<sup>39</sup> Trygve Lie: *In the Cause of Peace* (New York, 1954), 331-332.

public of China, which also should have possessed veto power. Not only was the West in command of the Security Council, but it dominated the General Assembly. In 1950 there were practically no independent nations from Africa and few from Asia with seats in the Assembly, while the Latin American countries were too dependent on the U.S. to act freely. Thus, the United Nations entered into a war to further the aims of the U.S. and Western imperialism. This fact is confirmed by a look at the countries which rendered military assistance to the UN-US cause, fifteen in all. They were almost all part of the NATO alliance or British Empire partners: Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Canada, France, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Greece and Turkey. Ethiopia was the only other state from Africa, while three U.S. satellites—Colombia, Thailand and the Philippines completed the roll. It was not an international lineup either interested in or capable of furthering national liberation or social revolution.

There are many unanswered questions about the outbreak of the Korean War,<sup>40</sup> but as the passage of time adds to greater understanding of the stakes of the Cold War, the nature of the Third World Revolution, and the ruthless use of power by the U.S. to preserve imperial interests in Asia and Latin America, it becomes clear that Korea was an American attempt to contain or roll back Communism. What was critical to the start of the war was the imminent collapse of South Korea as a U.S. dependency, another imminent "loss" to the Free (Capitalist) World like China, the spread of peasant revolution coupled with national liberation. From the standpoint of the Korean people, it was a Korean Revolution that was at stake. Bourgeois historians and cold war apologists have failed to ask the most obvious questions, just as they failed for a long time regarding Vietnam. Is the right of revolution the supreme right of any people? Was Korea really two nations or one? What right, except the right of force, did the U.S. have to shape the society of Korea? Was the United Nations in 1950 a world body or a Western instrument of diplomacy? No disguise of international action under the United

<sup>40</sup> See Appendix for some of these questions.

Nations or pretext of bourgeois legality<sup>41</sup> should obscure the fact that was clearly understood by the U.S. government: Korea and Indochina are two fronts in the same war.

While the war was waged under the banner of the United Nations, it was an American war fought by American soldiers. General MacArthur was named commander of the UN forces, but he remained under direct orders from the president of the U.S. The North Korean army had gained control of most of the peninsula when a large American force landed at Inchon in mid-September, forcing the North Korean army to withdraw north of the 38th parallel. The United Nations' objective was thus achieved, but on October 1 MacArthur ordered UN forces, largely South Koreans accompanied by American officers, across the parallel. MacArthur was pursuing a course of "liberating" North Korea from Communism, even if this meant war with China. Without any authorization from the UN, MacArthur demanded unconditional surrender while the U.S. air force devastated North Korea. China warned that it would intervene to preserve North Korea, but the U.S. pushed through a United Nations resolution authorizing the invasion. With American armies rushing northward, China was invited to send a representative to the United Nations for peace talks. The very date of that meeting, November 24, MacArthur launched a 100,000-man offensive toward the Yalu, a move aimed at preventing peace and provoking China to enter the

---

<sup>41</sup> Jon Halliday has sensibly criticized bourgeois legalism concerned with the question of who fired the first shot. Korea must be understood as "a revolutionary war of national liberation" and a counter-revolution led by the U.S., not as an invasion of one country by another. To pose the question in the legalistic way of who began the invasion is to subscribe to U.S. cold war claims that there was a free South Korea or a free South Vietnam, and that the U.S. is a disinterested defender of this freedom. What should be asked is whether the Korean people have the right to liberate themselves from a dictatorship foisted upon them by foreign imperialism? In his reports on the war in late 1950, MacArthur stated that "at present, nearly 30 percent of the U.N. troops in Korea are employed against (guerrillas). . . . From 1 to 21 November . . . there were nearly 200 guerrilla raids and attacks . . . led by professional leaders, many of whom had extensive prewar guerrilla experience. Guerrilla forces now total 30,000 to 35,000 in strength." Samuel B. Griffith: *The Chinese People's Liberation Army* (London, 1968), 154-155.

war.<sup>42</sup> Two days later, large Chinese armies entered the fighting, driving the Americans back below the parallel by the end of 1950.

Chinese entrance into the war created a stalemate, but peace negotiations which began in July, 1951, dragged on for two years until the armistice was signed July 27, 1953. Three years of fighting had resulted in more than 2,500,000 combat casualties.<sup>43</sup> An equally terrible toll of more than 1,000,000 civilians resulted from the massive air raids by U.S. bombers. North Korea was "a country totally devastated—the prototype of devastation in North Vietnam by the terrifying, indiscriminate and unrestricted use of U.S. air power. Not a city, village, factory, school, hospital or pagoda was left intact."<sup>44</sup> Bombs and napalm were dropped on Koreans by the hundreds of thousands of tons, all in the name of the United Nations! In view of the later atrocity committed by the U.S. against Vietnam, it is important to clarify that the Korean precedent was deliberate barbarity, the attempt to crush a people's movement by saturation bombing. General Emmett O'Donnell, commander of the U.S. bomber command during the first six months of the Korean War, testified before a Congressional committee that it was his early hope to "go to work on burning five major cities in North Korea to the ground," but that his O'Donnell Plan was postponed. "We did it all later, anyhow. . . . I would say that the entire, almost the entire Korean Peninsula is just a terrible mess. Everything is destroyed. There is nothing standing worthy of the name. . . . Just before the Chinese came in we were grounded. There were no more targets in Korea."<sup>45</sup> For these heroic deeds O'Donnell was praised by Senator Russell: "I think you

---

<sup>42</sup> See Horowitz, 133. Also D. F. Fleming: *The Cold War and Its Origins* (London, 1961), 622. Even McGeorge Bundy, writing in *The Reporter*, called MacArthur's move deliberate "provocation." A decade later Bundy was one of the strong supporters of Johnsonian provocation of North Vietnam.

<sup>43</sup> American casualties were 141,000 (more than 35,000 dead); South Korea suffered 320,000 casualties; all the other United Nations casualties were 14,000. Chinese and North Korean casualties account for the remainder.

<sup>44</sup> Burchett, 7.

<sup>45</sup> Cited in Stone, 312.

have demonstrated soldierly qualities that endeared you to the American people."

One of the reasons for the drawn-out negotiations was that Rhee and the South Korean government were opposed to any peace settlement which failed to give them control of all Korea. Even after the armistice of 1953, Rhee pressed the U.S. for a preventive war against North Korea and China. On a visit in July, 1954, Rhee spoke to the U.S. Congress. He called for an invasion of China, "a monster with clay feet." Rhee proposed that Asians (South Koreans and Nationalist Chinese) kill Asians in ground fighting, while the U.S. provide naval support, the air force, and atomic bombs. For Rhee a Free World ally of the U.S., the enormous death and destruction that would result were warranted by the goal:

*The return of the China mainland to the side of the Free World would automatically produce a victorious end to the wars in Korea and Indochina, and would swing the balance of power so strongly against the Soviet Union that it would not dare to risk war with the U.S.*<sup>46</sup>

#### North Korea under Socialism

To repair the almost totally destroyed industrial sector, the DPRK embarked on a series of economic plans in 1954. During the first decade great emphasis was placed on heavy industry, especially machine building, metallurgy, chemicals and electric power. The Soviet Union and China provided substantial economic aid, about two billion rubles each, while another half billion rubles came from East Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia. This initial aid was crucial, the Soviet Union alone equipping 40 plants and sending technical advisors, but by the end of 1963 the DPRK had achieved "substantial economic independence," able to continue industrial growth through its own technical and capital resources.<sup>47</sup> The remarkable industrial growth is illustrated by the following table:

#### North Korean (DPRK) Industrial Production, 1949-1970

	1949	1953	1968	1970 <sup>o</sup>
Electric power (million kwh)				
Coal (thousands of metric tons)	5,924	1,017	11,766	16,500
Steel ingots (thousands of metric tons)	4,000	708	14,040	27,500
Cement (thousands of metric tons)	144	4	1,167	2,200
Chemical fertilizer (thousands of metric tons)	537	27	2,780	4,000
Textiles (million meters)	401	..	950	1,500
Total industrial production (1949 = 100)	100	33	350	

Source Glenn D. Paige: *The Korean People's Democratic Republic* (Stanford, 1966), 39, 44.

<sup>o</sup> Figures for 1970 are derived from Kim Il Sung's report to the Fifth Congress of the Workers Party of Korea.

The basis for sustained industrial growth was laid, so that by 1967 industrial production was 11 times greater than it had been in 1949,<sup>48</sup> and North Korea had become a showplace for Asian Communism. Today, the DPRK produces tractors, trucks, buses, automobiles, electric and diesel locomotives; it refines oil; it produces its steel, chemicals and construction materials; its machine-tool plants have produced more than 95 percent of its own industrial equipment; it even produces its own aspirin.<sup>49</sup>

As industry grew North Korean society became less characterized by the peasantry. Probably about 60 percent of the work force is no longer engaged in agricultural activity. To release the manpower from its fields and to increase agricultural productivity, collectivization of all land was carried out between 1954-1958. There are now 3,843 cooperative farms, the usual size about 300 families working 1,250 acres of land. All of the cooperatives are fully irrigated, use tractors and chemical fertilizer, and nearly all of them have electric power to operate machinery. The first years of the col-

<sup>46</sup> *New York Times*, July 29, 1954.

<sup>47</sup> Glenn R. Paige: *The Korean People's Democratic Republic* (Stanford, 1966), 40. Also see Kuark, "North Korea's Industrial Development During the Postwar Period," in Scalapino, 51-64.

<sup>48</sup> Burchett, 82.

<sup>49</sup> See Kim Byong Sik: *Modern Korea* (New York, 1970); Ben Page, "North Korea," *Monthly Review*, January, 1969; Wilfred Burchett: *Again Korea* (New York, 1968).

lective movement produced impressive results, as the following table shows:

*Food Production in the DPRK*  
(thousands of tons)

	1949	1953	1957
Food grain	2,654	2,327	3,201
Vegetables	797	466	1,249
Potatoes	616	344	965

Source: Yoon T. Kuark, 88.

Continuing improvement in production was very quickly translated into a higher living standard for the peasants, suggested by the following table:

*Growth in Income of DPRK Peasant Families, 1955-1961*

Family income for personal use	1955	1961	% increase
Grains (Kg)	1,097	2,700	146
Tubers (Kg)	193	540	280
Cash (won)	56	300	400

Source: Joseph S. Chung: *Patterns of Economic Development*, Korea Research & Publication, Inc. (Detroit, 1966), 73.

While the absolute figures demonstrate significant improvement, it is even more striking to compare industrial North Korea with agricultural South Korea. In 1957 per capita production of rice in the North was about 330 pounds compared to 244 in the South.<sup>50</sup> By the late 1960's the DPRK was producing annually more than 5 million tons of grains which meant that it was able to afford its growing population an improving standard of living even as manpower was shifted to the cities.

There are many reasons why the DPRK impresses visitors. With a population of 14,000,000 it has become one of the few small industrialized nations in the world. To make the story more remarkable all of this has been accomplished in less than 20 years, since Korea was devastated by American bombing. "No country in history has moved so far and so fast in all fields of development as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea," according to Burchett. Everyone is working, everyone is studying, everyone is participating in a social revolution which points toward continuing material improvement and human dignity for all. Throughout North Korea attractive villages have been rebuilt with houses of brick, roofs of tile, surrounded by fruit trees. At one cooperative farm which Burchett visited in 1967 there were 55 children of peasants who were university graduates, while 98 others were engaged in ad-

<sup>50</sup> Yoon T. Kuark, 89.

vanced studies.<sup>51</sup> An enormous sense of pride in their accomplishment, based on hard work and sacrifice, pervades the people of the North for they have built every town, factory and school in their own time. As Burchett writes:

*People's faces in the factories, farms and streets are more important indices than reams of statistics and percentages. Chosen, "land of morning calm," as the Koreans call their land, is a happy country of well-fed, decently clad people in its northern half. For Asia this is almost a miracle. For an Asian country totally destroyed 14 years ago it is an absolute miracle.*<sup>52</sup>

And what about South Korea? Under the Rhee dictatorship until 1960 and a military regime since 1961,<sup>53</sup> the South remains dominated by the bourgeoisie, the landowners and the army. From 1953-1960 the U.S. provided about two billion dollars in aid, not counting military assistance, and yet the index of per capita production had only risen to 118 as compared to the 1953 base of 100. The per capita income was below \$100, which meant that South Korea was on a par with India. Another estimate of South Korean development is contained in the following table where it is contrasted with North Korea.

	<i>North Korean and South Korean Economic Growth Compared 1953-1962 (1958 = 100)</i>	
	South Korea	North Korea, DPRK
*1953	94.2	33
1954	94.5	43
1955	97.3	51
1956	95.5	62
1957	99.7	81
1958	100.0	100
1959	98.7	119
1960	97.9	126
1961	102.5	130
**1962	100.5	133
*Population:	20,500,000	8,491,000
** Population:	26,400,000	11,380,000

Source: Yoon T. Kuark, "Economic Development Contrast Between South and North Korea," in Chung: *Patterns of Economic Development*.

In 1961 a military junta seized power, Park Chung Hee emerging as leader. One of Park's first moves was to place the South Korean army under the control of the commander of the U.S. forces in Korea, thus assuring continued Ameri-

<sup>51</sup> Burchett, 87.

<sup>52</sup> Burchett, 175.

<sup>53</sup> Reeve, 151.



can support. Though South Korea has an army of 600,000, the fourth largest in the world, the U.S. has kept more than 60,000 soldiers in Korea, as well as air and naval bases. With one of the world's largest armies and a population more than twice as large as the North (30 million compared to 14), why are American soldiers needed?

The answer, of course, lies in the social characteristics of the South Korean regime which perpetuates a small plutocracy allied to a foreign colonial power, the conditions of neo-colonialism. While there has been some industrial development, much of it is foreign-owned—about 2.5 billion dollars worth, the bulk of it American and nearly a fourth Japanese. Within these foreign-owned plants the working day is generally 10 hours and yet the South Korean worker is one of the lowest-paid in Asia. The South Korean government promises more of the same exploitation to its people, hence needs American soldiers to survive. In a 24-page advertising supplement to the *New York Times* of April 18, 1971, South Korea entices new capital thus: "There is abundant cheap labor at costs less than half those of Hong Kong and less than a third those of Japan." The fact that unemployment in South Korea's cities runs about 25 percent explains why such low wages can exist. Also, the government promises potential investors that "government arbitration will prevent strikes and unreasonable union demands." With cheap and abundant labor to be exploited, South Korean law also permits investors to withdraw annual profits amounting to as much as 20 percent of the capital base. For American capitalists the U.S. government insures their capital and even advances capital under terms of the Investment Guaranty Agreement of 1960. Foreign companies are permitted to employ foreign managers and technicians; thus many thousands of South Korean students remain abroad because they cannot find suitable work in their own country, while thousands of others have gone to the North, at least 70,000 leaving Japan.<sup>54</sup>

Of course some South Koreans have gained from this neo-colonial partnership, for the government works closely with the Federation of

<sup>54</sup> "Korean Miracle," *Monthly Review*, January 1965.

South Korean Manufacturers numbering 145 large companies and 31 business associations. By holding down wages, the government not only protects the large profits of foreign capitalists but it guarantees the profits of the comprador bourgeoisie. Much of this profit comes from military subsidies by the U.S. which have been closely tied to the Vietnam war, more than a billion dollars being expended in the past decade. South Korea has thus become a U.S. base for aggression in Asia, providing supplies and even manpower. Beginning in 1964 the South has had soldiers fighting against the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam, and by 1966 the number was 50,000. The U.S. has paid the costs of this operation, amounting to over one billion dollars by 1971.<sup>55</sup> Much of the capital entering South Korea is the result of these military subsidies, and so the South Korean government is opposed to peace in Vietnam, withdrawal of its soldiers, and the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea. A comprador bourgeoisie fattens on its ties to U.S. imperialism while proclaiming its regard for a Free World!

An equally exploitative situation prevails among the peasants, with some 73 percent in poverty, either tenants or with holdings one acre or less in size. More than half of the peasants are subjected to landlords, paying rents that range from 50 to 60 percent of the harvest. While about 100,000 landlords fare well under the system, owning 40 percent of the land and living off rents, there are 15 times that number of families who would gain from a land program such as was carried out in the North.<sup>56</sup> Needless to add, these poor peasants would be very receptive to Communism, but the Park Chung Hee regime ruthlessly suppresses not only Communists but all those who call for national unity, independence from the U.S., or the end of economic ties with Japan.

It is this plutocrat regime, dominated by a comprador bourgeoisie, which the U.S. has cre-

<sup>55</sup> See the document issued by the Committee of Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate entitled "United States Security Agreements & Commitments Abroad, Republic of Korea: Hearings of Feb. 24-26, 1970."

<sup>56</sup> Jim Peck, editor of the *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, reporting in *American Report*, March 12, 1971.

ated and seeks to preserve in South Korea. While South Korea experiences the concentration of land holdings in the hands of wealthy landlords and the flight of poor peasants to the city to work as laborers, North Korea has created the highest living standard ever known by its peasants, including free education, free medical care, and security on the land. While Seoul is a city overrun with unemployed, "a source for some of the cheapest labor in East Asia," where "easily controllable diseases, such as cholera and tuberculosis, remain rampant," Pyongyang is a city where everyone works, where all children attend school and receive medical care, and where the streets are both safe and clean. While no foreign soldiers have been stationed in the DPRK since 1958, the South is both militarily and economically dependent on the U.S., justifying the presence of foreign soldiers by citing a Communist danger. But if the needs of peasants and workers are remembered, then it is evident "the Communist threat to South Korea today is the threat of subversion by invidious comparison. In the long run South Koreans will . . . choose between Seoul and Pyongyang."<sup>57</sup> For the time being the military power of the U.S. can thwart a choice, but the limits of that military power and the willingness of the American people to sacrifice their youth to perpetuate imperialism are being tested in Indochina. Who can doubt the Third World Revolution will be furthered by the outcome of that struggle?

---

<sup>57</sup> E. W. Wagner, "Failure in Korea," *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1961, 133.

## APPENDIX

Why did Syngman Rhee himself state: "We started the fight in the first place in the hope that Communism would be destroyed"? (*U.S. News and World Report*, August 13, 1954) Why did Kim Hyo Sok, minister of home affairs in the Rhee government in 1950, admit to participating in plans to attack the North? (D. N. Pritt: *More Light on Korea*, 1951. Cited in *Korea Focus*, Vol. 1, No. 1) Why did an American officer tell John Gunther on June 25 that "a big story has just broken. The South Koreans have attacked North Korea"? (Gunther: *The Riddle of MacArthur*, 166) Why did the U.S. claim to the UN that North Korea launched a "surprise" attack, when Major General Charles Willoughby, chief of intelligence for MacArthur, revealed later: "The entire South Korean army had been alerted for weeks and was in position along the 38th parallel"? ("The Truth about Korea," *Cosmopolitan*, December, 1951) Why did North Korea allegedly initiate a planned war when according to American intelligence reports on July 30, 1950, "The North Korean army had not carried out its mobilization plan at the time the war began June 25"? (Cited in Stone, 66) Also, North Korea had "chosen" to launch a war at the time when "a rainy season just beginning" makes a "major attack this time not in North's favor." (According to a United Press dispatch by correspondent Jack James, cited in Paige, 96-97.) Why were the Russians boycotting Security Council meetings, where they could have used the veto, if they were plotting to unleash a war? Why did Secretary of State Acheson reveal that he was "never quite sure that Rhee did not provoke the Red attack of 1950"? (Cited in Fleming, 594) What is suggested by the attitude of the United Nations commander, MacArthur, who espoused the goals of Chiang Kai-shek, which were clearly to "liberate" China from Communism? Chiang's "indomitable determination to resist Communist domination . . . parallels the common interests and purpose of Americans," MacArthur told the press in August, 1950. (Cited in Horowitz, 125) Why did MacArthur provoke China to enter the war?

According to General Matthew Ridgway, MacArthur favored an air-naval war against China under United Nations' sanction which would serve the purposes of "destroying the air bases and industrial complexes in Manchuria; blockading Communist China's seacoast; demolishing its industrial centers; providing all necessary support to Chiang's invasion of the mainland." MacArthur was even ready to extend the war to the Soviet Union because his ultimate aim was "the destruction of Communism throughout the world by the use of armed force." (Matthew B. Ridgway: *The Korean War*, 145)

# Sources for Further Study of Korea

## *Early History*

Takashi Hatada: A History of Korea (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1969)

## *Japanese Occupation*

Andrew J. Grajdanzev: Modern Korea (N.Y. 1944)

George M. McCune. Korea Today (Cambridge, 1950)

Shannon McCune: Korea's Heritage (Tokyo, 1956)

## *Recent History*

Kim Byong Sik: Modern Korea (International Pub., 1970)

Wilfred Burchett: Again Korea (International Pub., 1968)

Kim Il Sung: Revolution & Socialist Construction in Korea (International Pub. 1971)

Glenn R. Paige: The Korean People's Democratic Republic (Stanford, 1966)

Chong-sik Lee: The Politics of Korean Nationalism (Berkeley, 1963)

I. F. Stone: The Hidden History of the Korean War (N.Y. 1970)

W. D. Reeve: The Republic of Korea (London, 1963)

Thus Wars Are Made! by Albert Norden, Zeit im Bild Verlag, 807 Dresden, Julian-Grimau Allee. German Democratic Republic.

## *The Role of the United States*

*Korea Focus*, Vol. I, No. 1, "The United Nations Role in the U.S. War Against Korea"  
Soon Sung Cho: Korea in World Politics (Berkeley, 1967)

David Horowitz: The Free World Colossus (N.Y. 1965)

D. F. Fleming: The Cold War and Its Origins (N.Y. 1961)

Herbert Aptheker: American Foreign Policy & the Cold War (N.Y. 1962)

Gabriel Kolko: The Roots of American Foreign Policy (Boston, 1969)

William A. Williams: The Tragedy of American Diplomacy (N.Y. 1962)

Harry Magdoff: The Age of Imperialism (N.Y. 1969)

The Press and the Cold War, by James Aronson (N.Y. 1970)

United States Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad, Part 6—Republic of Korea (U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1970).

## *Materials from AKFIC Education*

### *Information Department*

Operation Warshift, the program of AKFIC South of the 38th Parallel—the South Korean Colony

Kim Il Sung Report to the Fifth Congress, Worker's Party of Korea

We've Nothing to Envy in the World, a musical in color available in 35 mm. and 16 mm.

Write to AKFIC for details.

# Korean Unification

The need in Korea is for re-unification. The danger is that, as was done in 1950, those who have an interest in keeping Korea divided will make another try to hold on to the south, though the odds are so greatly against them.

In the January 21 issue of the *Daily Yomiuri*, an English language newspaper published in Tokyo, there appears an interview with Premier Kim Il Sung of the DPRK. In answers to questions put to him by that journal, the premier makes the following proposals on the all-important question of the reunification of Korea.

*First*, the two governments—the Republic of Korea (South) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North) should conclude a peace treaty.

*Second*, they should sign a non-aggression pact.

*Third*, they should reach agreement on mutual reduction of armaments.

Those steps should lead to a conference of all political parties, North and South, to pave the way for the *peaceful* re-unification of their country.

Time and time again the Premier's emphasis is on "peaceful," belying the contention of the present South Korean government that it is threatened from the north. Throughout the interview he expressed confidence in the South Koreans' ability to achieve that desired unity by themselves, and without outside interference.

He was particularly scornful of the United States' military presence there, under the "sign-board" of the United Nations, and placed withdrawal of all those forces and materiel as a first demand of the Korean people.

The climate for that desired re-unification, the Premier said, grows ever more favorable. He cited both internal and external reasons for his confidence.

Those struggling against the military dictatorship in the south take hope from the successes of socialist construction in the north, and

strength is gathering behind moves there for re-unification. As evidence of that strength, the premier cited the coming together at Panmunjon of Red Cross representatives from both the north and the south for the purpose of re-establishing contact, people to people. Since the "wall" along the 38th parallel was made the dividing line, under the truce agreement of 1953, communication, even to the extent of a postcard, has been cut off.

Even the South Korean authorities, the premier pointed out, had to come out in favor of the Red Cross overtures. They did so reluctantly. All the while, in their fright, they are raising the threat of an invasion from the north. That "threat" has since been used for proclaiming a state of emergency to repress the move for unity.

The situation, though, is very different from what it was in the 1950's when the United States' imperialists could divide the country and "rule the roost." Now, said Kim Il Sung, "they can hardly attend to their own affairs." That nobody can deny!

The question that now needs to be asked by the American people of their government is: "Will it let go in Korea?"

*Will it bring its more than 40,000 troops home?*

*And dismantle its nuclear equipped military installations there?*

*Will it withdraw its support of the unpopular Park regime and let events take their course, even if it should mean his overthrow?*

*Will it further block action in the United Nations, as it has done for 20 years, to remove the prestige of that world organization from the United States' military occupation of south Korea?*

*Above all, what will it do if a change in government should threaten the security of United States' investments there?*

Ah, there's the rub—and the danger.

Desperate men do desperate things, and for the American and Japanese investors in Korea, the stakes are high. The stakes are even higher than they were in 1950 when the American imperialists drew this nation into a war to head off their ouster from the Korean peninsula and the re-unification of that country. Then, the industrial and commercial exploitation of Korea was little more than an inviting possibility. Today, South Korea is a profitable reality, and there are a dwindling number of such bases left for the neo-colonialists.

They will hold on if they can, and if it can be done by military might they are well equipped for the task. There, as in Indo-China, they will consent to the withdrawal of American troops to assuage opinion at home, but, against such an eventuality they are stepping up preparation for a new kind of war—the kind now being waged over Indo-China from the air. And, the use of nuclear weapons cannot be ruled out.°

But, 1972 is 1972, not 1945, 1950, or 1953.°° And 1972 may very well be Korea's year.

As far as Americans are concerned, what is happening there is out of sight and out of mind, but events are building up to the place where they must soon become known to the world community. One does not declare a national emergency, as President Park has done, unless one knows one's tenure is threatened.

#### *Why the unrest?*

The *New York Times* (Jan. 24), in its year-end round-up of Asian economic developments, provides at least a look into what is behind that unrest. Although living standards in South Korea, the *Times* reports, have been rising slowly but steadily, *per capita* income last year still amounted to the equivalent of only \$200. Less than \$20 a month; \$5 a week! Inflation continues; the balance of payments is worsening; and the shortage of domestically produced food grains is growing in what was a self-sufficient agricultural area!

° See the first issue of *Korea Focus* for an account of Senate hearings in which it was established that the American-occupied part of Korea is a nuclear weapons base.

°° 1945, when the country was first divided at the 38th parallel to facilitate the Japanese surrender to the Soviet and American officials, respectively; 1950, the start of the Korean war; and 1953, the truce agreement.

"Problems that were aggravated last year," the *Times* goes on, "were the increasing number of debt-ridden, unprofitable industrial concerns and the collapse of many smaller companies from excessive investments, shortages of operating funds, exorbitantly high interest rates and poor management." Free enterprise run rampant except for the American and Japanese enterprises that can take advantage of the situation! In contrast, under the heading, NORTH KOREA SAID TO DO WELL, in the *New York Times*, Henry Scott-Stokes, from Tokyo, reports on the DPRK's successes. He concludes:

"Such declarations are hard to test, and yet the North Korean performance is making a favorable impression on one powerful economic neighbor—Japan."

Japanese business men, he reports, have begun to show interest, and "were perceiving that they should see Korean development as a whole rather than concentrating on South Korea." He might have added that they are only now discovering what many other trading countries have long known. (See the article on the DPRK by Fred J. Carrier in this issue).

*Back now to Kim Il Sung for an appraisal of the situation in terms of the struggle between a socialism everywhere on the rise and an imperialism being driven back.*

The hard fact, says the Premier, is that under the aegis of U.S. imperialism, militarism has been revived in Japan, and that militarism, with the backing of U.S. imperialism, is taking dangerous forms. Korea, he says, is the first target of Japanese militarism in its overseas aggression program. Premier Sato, he states, has gone so far as to clamor for a "forestalling attack." The recent U.S.-Japanese summit meeting, the Premier continued, "showed that such collusion and conspiracy between the United States and Japanese forces for Asian aggression has not changed."

Against that collusion, Kim Il Sung places the struggle of the Japanese people, just as elsewhere in the *Yomiuri* report he gives great importance to the American people's anti-war movement.

"U.S. imperialists," he says, "are now facing a grave crisis internally and externally. In the United States the anti-war movement is going on with great force, and antagonisms among the ruling circles are being aggravated."

Their "nuclear blackmail" no longer works, and the dollars in their pockets have run out. Few countries now "toe their line." In order to get out of the scrape they have come out with the Nixon doctrine aimed at making Asians fight Asians, but nobody supports that doctrine, he added, except "such stupid persons as Sato."

### *Two Koreas? Or One?*

Kim Il Sung, it is clear from his further elucidation, does not consider that U.S. imperialism has been "completely ruined," or that its true colors have changed. On the contrary it is at such times that the imperialists usually perpetrate "crafty acts of aggression and war under that signboard of peace."

One has only to remember how it was done in Korea in 1950 and in Vietnam in 1956, to cite just two of the more blatant examples of how the signboard of peace has been used.

The tactic left, in the face of that deteriorating situation, is to concede what must be conceded, but to hold on to what one can as long as one can. Examples are numerous: the fighting in Ireland today and in Bangladesh yesterday had and have their basis in British attempts to divide and rule. The American take-over of that tactic, for the imperialists, has its own examples; the two Germanys; the two Chinas; the two

Vietnams; the two Koreas.

Only Korea is left to the strategists. So, one may expect to hear more and more talk of the two Koreas. They have grown so far apart, the arguments runs, that they can never be one again. What is meant is that if the imperialists can win sanction for the "two Koreas" policy in and out of the United Nations, they can hold on to their military industrial bastion in the south, and continue to use it not only for their own profit, but as a base for their "come-back" operations in the Pacific.

Only an excuse is needed. That excuse might be a "Communist" overthrow of the Park regime—that is what it will be called whenever it takes place. Re-unification of their country by the Koreans would then be the frightening prospect. Precisely such a situation had to be met in May-June 1950: the American-sponsored government of Syngman Rhee was decisively defeated in a U.N. observed election, at the same time that negotiations were going forward for a conference in Seoul to affect re-unification. Just such a conference as Kim Il Sung is proposing now.

The American people need to be on guard, as they were not on guard that other time when they were taken into a war under the "signboard of peace."

## The DPRK'S Reunification Efforts

Following the armistice in Korea (1953) the government of the DPRK has made numerous efforts to remove the artificial barrier erected by the U.S. imperialist troops between the North and the South.

These efforts are summarized in the following acts:

I. In October, 1954, the Supreme People's Assembly, at its 8th session, proposed the holding of a joint meeting of representatives from political parties and social organizations from both parts of Korea. Or, to convene a joint session of the governing bodies of North and South in order to initiate discussions on economic and cultural interchanges, commerce, travel and post-al exchanges between North and South.

II. In August, 1955, on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary celebration of the liberation of

Korea from Japanese rule, Premier Kim Il Sung proposed that measures be taken for the withdrawal of all foreign troops now on the soil of Korea and that North and South Korean authorities obligate themselves publicly to refrain from resorting to force of arms against each other.

III. April, 1956, the 3rd Congress of the Korean Workers Party, in session, demanded the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and proposed the formation of a standing committee representing the governments, the supreme legislative bodies and/or the political parties to discuss and take practical measures on the unification of North and South through the elimination of barriers of political, economic and cultural context, mutual visitation of members of families, postal exchanges and for the general promotion of intercourse between each other.

IV. September, 1957, speaking at the 1st session of the 2nd Supreme People's Assembly, the premier once more advanced a program of peaceful unification of the country, proposing a peace agreement between North and South for the drastic reduction of armed forces, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops, for the establishment of trade, family visits, postal and cultural exchanges and to eliminate the existing segregation between relatives and friends now residing in the North and South.

V. February, 1958, the government of the DPRK demanded that all countries contributing troops to any part of Korea take immediate action for the withdrawal of such troops and proposed immediate steps for the peaceful reunification of Korea through the holding of all-Korea free elections within a definite period following the withdrawal of all foreign troops. In support of this proposal the DPRK government and the Chinese People's Republic government agreed to and instantly withdrew all Chinese People's volunteers from the soil of the DPRK.

VI. April, 1960, when the students and the people of South Korea rid themselves of the tyrannical Syngman Rhee puppet regime and when the people of South Korea raised the slogan for peaceful reunification the people of the DPRK expressed full support to this demand.

VII. August, 1960, Premier Kim Il Sung, speaking on the occasion of the 15th Anniversary of the liberation of Korea from Japanese rule, advanced an epochal proposal that a confederation of North and South Korea be established as a transitional step pending complete unification and he repeated again the previous proposals for cultural exchanges, personal correspondence, family visits, etc. apart from political issues.

VIII. November, 1960, the 8th session of the 2nd Supreme Peoples Assembly, proposed concrete measures for economic and cultural exchanges, for the independent development of the national economy in South Korea which would guarantee over-all measure for rehabilitating and developing agriculture and fishery, a program for large-scale housing construction, increasing and enhancing the people's livelihood in South Korea for which the DPRK government was ready to bear a major financial and economical responsibility.

To counteract and destroy this movement for unification in the South the U.S. imperialist engineered the Park Chung Hee puppet military coup d'etat which arrested, imprisoned and slaughtered all advocates of peaceful unification and unleashed the repression against unification in South Korea which continues to this day. They dissolved over 260 party and public organizations, closed down the press and publishing organs, arresting 1200 representatives of the media, imprisoned and killed over 100,000 South Korean patriots. Despite that, the DPRK government continued its efforts in the struggle for the peaceful unification.

IX. June, 1962, the 11th session of the 2nd Supreme People's Assembly proposed that both sides meet at Panmunjom, Pyongyang or Seoul to negotiate the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from South Korea and the conclusion of a peace agreement between North and South on the reduction of their respective armed forces.

X. October, 1962, at the 1st session of the 3rd Supreme People's Assembly, the DPRK government advanced once again specific plans for attaining unification through a series of intermediary steps which included that upon the withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces from South Korea, North and South should conclude a peace agreement to refrain from attacking each other; that the respective armed forces on each side should be reduced to 100,000 or less; that following such acts steps should be taken to organize economic and cultural exchanges leading to cooperation between them.

XI. December, 1963, at a joint conference of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly, the Democratic Front for the unification of the country and Committee for the Peaceful Unification of Korea, the conference proposed that representatives from North and South meet for the purpose of consultation on practical steps to be taken for bringing about complete unification through economic and cultural exchanges and the establishment of the confederation of North and South Korea.

XII. March, 1964, the 3rd SPA, at its 3rd session, suggested to either convene a meeting of North and South Korean political parties and social organizations or through contacts and exchanges of views between representatives of various sections of North and South and further proposed that the DPRK is prepared to provide

South Korea, every year, with 100,000 tons of structural steel, 1,000 million kwh. of electricity, 10,000 tons of chemical fiber, as well as large amounts of cement, lumber and machinery in order to help the people of South Korea repair their ruined economy, guarantee the people's living standard, and finally the conference agreed to receive thousands of Korean unemployed into the DPRK, insuring them jobs and a stable livelihood.

XIII. April, 1971, at the 5th session of the 4th SPA, the DPRK government put forth its *8-point Program* as the basis for negotiations for the unification of North and South. In summary these 8 points are:

1. the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from South Korea;
2. the reduction of the North and South armed forces to 100,000 respectively, following the withdrawal of U.S. troops;
3. declare invalid the "South Korea-U.S. mutual defense pact," the "South Korea-Japan treaty," and all other subordinate treaties and agreements concluded by the South Korean regime with foreign countries which are against the interests of the nation;
4. the establishment of a unified central government by holding free North-South general elections independently and on a democratic basis;
5. to insure all political parties, public organizations and individual personages complete freedom of political activity, the unconditional release of all political prisoners and patriots in the South who fought in the cause for unification, all citizens to be entitled to exercise the right to elect and to be elected, irrespective of party affiliations, political views, prosperity and educational status and to guarantee freedom of speech, press, assembly and association;

6. to establish a confederation of North and South as a transitional step while leaving the present different social systems in the North and South intact, prior to complete unification, should the South Korean authorities find this unacceptable, that a Supreme National Committee be organized to promote mutual cooperation and interchange between both sides while retaining the existing social systems;
7. to organize trade and economic cooperation, mutual interchange and cooperation in such spheres as science, culture, arts, sports, exchange of letters and travel between North and South; should the South Korean authorities find this impossible to accept, an Economic Committee be organized between North and South to start economic intercourse and cooperation independent of political problems for the time being;
8. to convene a political consultative meeting of North and South attended by all political parties, public organizations and popular leaders from both sides to negotiate the above-mentioned points;

XIV. Finally, August 6th, 1971, Kim Il Sung, while reiterating the program of the DPRK government for realizing independent peaceful reunification, declared that the government of the North is ready to meet at any time with representatives of all political parties including the ruling Democratic Republican Parties of the South, social organizations and prominent individual leaders of the South to discuss any steps leading to unification.

As a result of the many years of activities and struggles by the DPRK in the interest of unification, and with mounting pressure from the people of South Korea, and growing support from the people in the world, the Park Chung Hee regime was finally forced to concede and approve the proposal of the DPRK for representatives of the Korean Red Cross Society of the South to meet with respective representatives of the Red Cross in the North.





Members of AKFIC delegation visit with schoolchildren in the DPRK. Left to right are Joseph Brandt, Professor Howard L. Parson and Joe Walker.

## A Visit to the DPRK

*A report from the delegation of the American-Korean Friendship and Information Center to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.*

AS OUR plane approaches the city of Khabarovsk, we can see eastward the silver threads of the Amur River under the morning sun, parting and rejoining. Khabarovsk lies in the far east of the Soviet Union, 200 miles from the Pacific Ocean. It is some 200 miles east and north of Peking.

When we land in Khabarovsk, we are in the Far East for sure: the Russian language comes from Mongoloid faces. We halt for the usual hassle with customs. Soon we are aboard a new plane, bound for Pyongyang, the capital of the

Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Three of us are in the party: Joseph Brandt, Executive Director of the American-Korean Friendship and Information Center (AKFIC), formed in New York City early in 1971; Joseph Walker, a Vice-Chairman of the Center, journalist and New York editor of *Muhammad Speaks*; and Howard L. Parsons, Chairman of AKFIC. We have been invited to visit the DPRK from August 9 to August 25, as guests of the Korean Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

As our plane flies southward along the coast of the Sea of Japan (Koreans call it East Sea) toward Pyongyang, we know we are nearing a critical region in human geography and history. The peninsula of Korea—now divided into two countries—lies between capitalist Japan and the great land mass of socialist China. The DPRK borders on both the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. We are flying to a country impoverished and degraded for decades by Japanese and Western colonizers. It lost one million people in the U.S. war of aggression in 1950-1953. Since then few Americans have visited the DPRK and not many have kept pace with developments there. But we know that during that time the people of the DPRK have created their own socialist society which we would soon see for ourselves.

Our plane moves in low over North Korea in sight of dark blue-green mountains tossed like waves in a turbulent sea. We can make out orchards and cornfields and some "people of the white dress" following their bullock-drawn plows and carts or riding bicycles. Our plane touches down at the small airport, and people stop work to watch. A large poster of Kim Il Sung meets our gaze as we walk to the terminal to be met genially by two of our many hosts, Zi Chang Ik, Vice-Rector of Kim Il Sung University, and Kim Ung, Vice-President of the Korean Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

Soon we are driving to the city, and a great greenness of fields, grass, and trees greets us everywhere. Flowers line the road. Bicycles and trucks move busily around us—but no automobiles. Our own cars (Soviet-made), and others for special governmental use, are the only ones we see during our visit.

Kim Ung is quick to recall the destruction of Pyongyang by U.S. imperialist forces. In the war, when the city had 400,000 inhabitants, 420,000 bombs were dropped on it, levelling everything. The people remaining there lived underground. Now, after much labor by all citizens, the city has risen from ashes and is a thriving metropolis of more than a million. We pass the stadium (the football team has played in London), the big complex of buildings comprising Kim Il Sung University (built by voluntary contributions of peasants from their sales of rice), and a school whose playground is

filled with happy, romping children.

I tell my host we look forward to the day when we can welcome our Korean friends in the U.S. as cordially as they have welcomed us here. He smiles broadly and shakes my hand.

We walk in the streets of Pyongyang and see crowds of people seriously and quietly going about their business, waiting in long queues for crowded buses or trolley buses, going to or coming from work, shopping, taking their children by the hand to or from nursery school, lugging their sleeping babies on their backs. Most women wear dark skirts and white blouses; men wear dark pants and white overhanging shirts. We later learn that much of the clothing is made of vinylon, a synthetic invented by a Korean. The children are in uniform, some wearing the red or green kerchiefs of young Pioneers and related groups. A few sandals appear; plastic shoes are the rule. The people are calm and purposeful. We draw a few inquisitive looks.

From time to time the children march briskly in columns along the street or sidewalk, lustily singing patriotic songs. By the National Theater, in a park decorated with gladioli, cannas, geraniums, and other flowers and shrubs, the children gather in clusters, play hopscotch, joke, and giggle. They go by groups into the theater to see performances and to practice their own music and drama.

The shops are filled with goods—hardware, medicine, fish, fruits, vegetables. Here and there we catch the strong smell of fish. (The DPRK has the third largest maritime industry in the world; hence one reason for its vigilance about invasion of its waters.) A yeasty fragrance tells us fresh bread is nearby. We see an abundance of large peaches, apples, oranges, and melons in the shops. They are open till 10 p.m. for late-shift workers returning home, among them women with babies on their backs. Students and office workers are carrying the inevitable briefcases.

Early in the morning shirtless workers in formation walk or run along the broad and autoless streets, chanting and singing in unison. The spirit of revolutionary fervor is everywhere. Huge, vivid, militant posters call for loyalty and denounce U.S. imperialism. The point is not lost on us. Aside from a few Western guests in our hotel, we are the only Caucasians in a sea of Asians, and probably the only Americans

in the country. This is a different world from Western Europe and the U.S.—more populous, optimistic, and more revolutionary.

One evening, several on our hotel floor are gathered around the TV looking at the recent musical performances by visiting Cambodians at the National Theater. The artists perform a drama of the victory of the national liberation forces in Cambodia, who have liberated seventy per cent of the country. The TV audience's applause is like a sudden thunderstorm. People here speak of their solidarity with other Asian forces fighting U.S. imperialism. No one considers victory to be anything but inevitable. Being here where the first major battle against postwar U.S. imperialism was fought, we feel keenly the issues, and the high morale of the resisters.

### *A Land of Youth*

**M**OST of the people on the streets do not seem to be older than forty. The war took a heavy toll among the elderly. These are industrious people, devoted to their country's reconstruction. They *must* be hard-working to have rebuilt their bombed-out cities and created a new agriculture. For years many worked around the clock, taking time out only to eat and sleep.

Why would they do it? One reason is the children. At our request we are taken to a school—the Si Nan Dong Baby Nursery and Kindergarten. Indoors and outdoors, the babies are being breast-fed. Colored plastic toys dangle from their playpens, some moving, some moved by nurses. The babies are alert, crawling toward us, going eagerly into the arms of entering nurses.

We are led into some ten classrooms. Children raise the roof with din as we enter. "Here come the Americans! Welcome!" In one room the children are reciting the story of Kim Il Sung's life, guided by colored pictures of significant episodes in his life. Everyone speaks reverently of "our beloved and respected leader." That devotion is natural: he and the Korean Communists (he leads the Workers Party) were principal leaders of the guerrillas against the Japanese, the resistance against the U.S. aggression, and the activity of the socialist reconstruction after the war. He and the other

party leaders have visited hundreds of factories, farms, schools, hospitals, and other places to provide "on-the-spot guidance" on problems ranging from the harvesting of rice to the development of national music.

The children are learning addition. The teacher holds up pictures, each showing a tank, and groups them in various combinations. The children, individually and collectively, add up the number of tanks and shout out the answers.

As we enter one class the children with crayons are drawing pictures of a tank firing and running over two enemies. When they finish they present their work to us and ask us to give it to our children at home. There is no doubt in this country about who the enemy is. The southern border and coasts must be fortified against repeated provocations from the U.S.-supported Park Chung Hee government.

But militant defense of the socialist fatherland is not the only virtue inculcated in this school. For an hour we are entertained by children performing an elaborate singing and dancing drama. In colorful costumes and careful make-up, and with piano accompaniment, the players portray the story of a young boy playing in a meadow. Heedlessly he kicks a rabbit; the flowers and the other rabbits reproach and reject him. But in time he grows contrite, and soon all are dancing and singing harmoniously and happily.

As we depart, the children clutch our hands and shout, "Good-bye! Come back!"

The wealth which the DPRK possesses in its children has its base in the material improvement of the society. So we are taken to the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibit. Here, we are told, is an exhibit of the effort to embody the principle of *Juche* (pronounced, Choo-chay), or independence, described to us later by Kim Chol Hee of the Institute of Philosophy as "the most correct Marxist-Leninist principle" leading to revolutionary success.

The exhibit is extensive and impressive. We see turret lathes, procedure machines, all-purpose lathes, program turning lathes, a gear-making machine, a program turret automatic lathe with high precision, an internal processing machine, a radial drill press, high-speed tungsten tools, projectors, calculators, models of hydroelectric dams, transistors, radios, television

sets, a great variety of ores, and a model of the process for making phosphate and nitrogen fertilizers. The fertilizer is indispensable, especially since the northern part of the country, cut off from the agricultural south, has been forced to intensify the cultivation of the scarce arable land—where 80 per cent of the land is forests and mountains.

We are shown a model of a plant for making the textile vinylon from limestone and anthracite and another model demonstrating how rayon is made from reeds. We see a synthetic made from timber, insulating material, and a synthetic resin. In the absence of cotton, grown in the warmer and wetter south, synthetic fibers are vital.

The revolution brought land reform, the distribution of land to the peasants, the formation of cooperative farms, and the abolition of farm taxes. The DPRK now claims to have the most intensive irrigation in the world. Electric lights are now in all farm houses. While chemicalization and mechanization have advanced, they remain uncompleted tasks for agriculture.

“Chollima”—the name of the Pegasus-like horse of Korean mythology—describes the speedy progress of North Koreans in every aspect of their life. Displays of the rising production of chickens, eggs, fruits, silkworms, polyvinyl shoes, porcelain, and musical instruments (every child must learn to play one) show this. Progress in medicine is depicted. In 1969 there were 155 times as many doctors as in 1944, and preventive disease facilities have increased by a factor of 337.

The exhibit includes a machine for strip-mining coal, tractors for paddy fields, a rice-planter, a rice-harvester, a thresher, a fodder-crusher, a refrigerator box, a vinyl sewer pipe, a 25-ton truck, an excavator, a bulldozer, an electrical generator, a transformer. It all proves that necessity here has been the mother of invention. While the 13,000,000 people of the DPRK did have help from other countries, chiefly the Soviet Union, they stress their own independence and patriotic fervor. Figures in industrial and agricultural production are evidence that the DPRK's goals are being achieved—the development of an all-round economy with an integration of heavy industry, light industry, and agriculture; the establishment of a basis of

raw materials; the use of modern techniques; and the development of cadres.

### *Progress in Cooperative Farming*

**WE GO NEXT** to the Chong San Ri Cooperative Farm not far from Pyongyang. The Farm has 650 households and 1,100 living in individual apartments. For 3,000 acres there are 102 tractors, seven trucks, and 1,000 trailers. The Farm produces mainly grain—rice, corn—and also vegetables, fruits, and pigs. The land is fully fertilized and irrigated. Everywhere are green fields, and drouth does not now affect the crops.

The director, Byon Chang Bok, a lively and attractive woman, guides us. She recounts the arduous struggles of the peasants under the oppression of Japanese landlords and U.S. imperialism. She sketches the trials of learning cooperative methods. “The first cooperative consisted of sixteen persons,” she says, “mainly women bereaved of their families by the U.S. war. We united all our means of production and distributed according to the amount of labor. The state provided food, fertilizers, funds, irrigation, and workers. Veteran cadres came from the city to help the inexperienced women. In one or two years production increased 2.5 times. Thus the farmers could see how cooperation is the best way to improve production. So all the farmers began to join cooperatives, and in five years all the farms had become cooperatives.” She also relates how Kim Il Sung, visiting the farm, had made concrete suggestions about how to improve both production and education in communist ideas and morale.

There is a nine-year school here, one higher technical school, four clinics, eighteen doctors, and a new hospital about to open. There are radio and television sets in all the houses. We are shown one of the new apartments—four rooms (each about 12 by 8 feet) for a four-member family, plus a toilet and a small kitchen. Ten years ago each family had only two rooms. A central heating system runs under the floors. Production has increased many times since 1960; this farm produces five times as much as it needs and accumulates wealth to start new cooperatives. The ideological revolution has been a success. “So,” says the director proudly, “we don't envy the people in Pyongyang.”

Once more we are entertained by nursery school children—singing, playing the piano and accordion, and reciting verses about their leader's childhood. A four-year old sings cheerfully: "Socialism in our country is the best in the world." For these children and their parents, socialism is the best thing that has happened to their country in its 4,000-year history.

Scientific farms depend on factories. So we are taken through the Chollima June 4 Freight Car Factory in Pyongyang. In 1920 the Japanese had built a small factory here to exploit the natural resources, but it was destroyed when the Japanese retreated. The factory rebuilt by the Koreans was also destroyed by a million tons of U.S. bombs, and in 1956 the present factory was constructed. It covers 500,000 square meters (123 acres) and has 4,000 workers on two shifts, with an average age of thirty. More than one-third of the workers are women; we see young women operating cranes and other machines. Eighty per cent of the women workers are housewives, and the factory has its own nurseries and kindergartens. The mothers with three children or more work only six hours a day and are paid for eight. Thirty per cent of the women are in positions of leadership. Three thousand freight cars will be produced in 1971, and more than one hundred refrigerator cars. Some passenger cars are made, and locomotives are repaired. Cars are exported to Cuba, the Soviet Union, Mongolia, and other countries. We are shown a 1,050-ton hydro-pressure press, and a 200-ton four-wheel milling machine being built. An automated method for assembling freight cars is being installed. Whereas at one time a single manager was responsible for the factory, now a Party Committee of the factory is responsible. The factory has its own hospital, holiday homes, and recreation places. Professional artists perform at the factory, and the workers have their own acting groups and their own cultural halls in each workshop.

As we pass through the enormous noisy factory, workers stop to smile and wave warmly. Others are too intent hammering red-hot metal or milling steel to notice us.

Ryem Sung Ho, the vice-director of the factory, takes note of our journey "from the center of imperialism," and of our opposition to it. "The American-Korean Friendship and In-

formation Center," he declares, "is precious support." He expresses thanks for the international militant support and solidarity of the people and progressive working class of the U.S. And he appeals for our help in unifying the Korean nation.

As Americans we must visit the Sinchon County Museum, a place of record of the crimes of U.S. imperialism in Korea and of the Korean people's resistance to it. During their 52 days of occupation in this country, in 1950, the U.S. armed forces killed more than 35,000 people, one-fourth of the county population. Here we are told story after story of merciless massacres, plunder, rapes, beatings, burnings, burials of people alive, drownings, violations, tortures, and other atrocities. In one case hundreds of people, including old persons and unweaned babies, were herded into an air raid shelter and stripped naked; then gasoline was poured into the shelter through an overhead hole and set fire. That shelter is preserved today. We are taken down into it. The walls and ceiling are black, covered with the burnt blood and fat of the victims. Many vertical lines mark the walls, grooves of the people's fingernails as they strove to claw their way out of the inferno. Such is only one of many grim memorials of our government's ghastly depravity in Korea.

But the museum preserves the record of numerous noble heroes and heroines. In one instance, the U.S. troops, seeking information from a woman leader, Pak Yung Kyo, pulled out her nails, gouged out her eyeballs, and cut off her breasts. She did not yield. At one point she tried to cut her tongue with her teeth. Before her mutilated body was finally shot, she proclaimed: "The Workers' Party of Korea shall be eternal. I die by evil enemies, but my life shall be eternal in the Workers' Party of Korea. On my side I have the members of the Party and the people. My fatherland and comrades will take revenge. Long live the Workers' Party of Korea! Long live Kim Il Sung!"

People with whom we talked do not hate the American people for these crimes or for their country's continuing partition. But they do beseech us to get our troops out of South Korea. During our stay the news came that the Red Cross Society of the South had responded to the initiative of the Red Cross Society of the

North to exchange personnel in order to locate relatives and develop correspondence. We have been encouraged by subsequent talks between the two sides.

The resilience of these Koreans in the DPRK is remarkable. During the two decades of back-breaking labor for all adults they have somehow managed to make opportunities for children and young people. Two-thirds of the children under five are now raised at state expense; 129 institutes and universities have been established since liberation.

Near Pyongyang we visit the Chollima Junghwa Middle School (ages 11-15). Nine years of basic schooling are now compulsory. Here 1,000 children receive uniforms and textbooks free. They study twenty subjects, including physics, geology, chemistry, and biology. We observe the students in their laboratories. Some sit in tractors and trucks, learning to drive; others study the mechanisms. There are classes in wireless, ideology, national revolutionary history, hospital care, art, music, and physical culture. All-round development, practice, arming the students with the revolutionary tradition, and service to society and the people are the keynotes. At the end we are entertained with a beautiful concert and are given a touching farewell in which the whole school participates.

We also go through the Pyongyang Children's and Students' Palace, a recreational hall where 10,000 students come daily to participate in one or more of the 200 study groups. Two hundred permanent teachers work here. Children are instructed in the nature and history of imperialism, particularly Japanese and American, and in the exploitation of landlords and capitalists. There is instruction in military knowledge and skills. We watch a team of girls mount an anti-aircraft weapon and fire it, and another group assemble rifles and fire them at moving targets. We see classes in ballet, embroidery, sculpture, acrobatics, instrumental music, wireless, radio assemblage, the use of various machines, the study of trucks and automobiles, hydroelectric power, tanks, and tractors. Kim Il Sung is quoted: "We do not have a king in our country, but children are king, and so we have a palace for them."

Our visit to the DPRK was enriched by excursions to Mangyangdae, the birthplace of Kim Il Sung and now a national shrine; Bonghwa-Ri, the home of Kim Hyong Jik, the father of

Kim Il Sung who had organized resistance against the Japanese; the Pyongyang Music College, with moving demonstrations by young people; a performance of "Sea of Blood," a large-scale musical dramatization of the liberation movement which on the capacious stage of the National Theater so stirred the people that the drama often seemed indistinguishable from the cheering and weeping audience; the Fatherland Liberation War Memorial, which accented the fighting qualities and long struggle of the Korean people for liberation, as well as the gravity of the *Pueblo* and DC-121 incidents; the People's Hospital of South Pyongyang Province, a marvelously humane institution; the new Kim Il Sung University, with its fine laboratories and serious students; the beautiful Diamond Mountains (Kumgang-san); and the wide harbor and generous hosts of Wonsan. Significant also was our meeting with Kim Il, the First Deputy Prime Minister—a seasoned revolutionary, charming, incisive, and unswerving in his determination to secure the removal of the foreign U.S. troops from Korea. Kang Ryang Uk, president of our host Society and Vice-President of the Supreme People's Assembly, and many others made our stay instructive, uplifting, and delightful.

Leaders underlined the urgency of the 8-point program adopted by the Fourth Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK in April, 1971, calling for peaceful unification of the country: withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea and application of the principles of self-determination; reduction of the armed forces of North and South Korea to 100,000 or less; abolition of the South Korea-U.S. Mutual Defense Pact and similar treaties; free and independent North and South general elections to establish a unified central government; political freedom for all persons and groups and release of political prisoners; establishment of a transitional Confederation of North and South Korea, leaving the present social systems intact; exchange and cooperation in trade, economics, science, culture, the arts, physical culture, correspondence, and travel; and political consultative meetings of North and South Korea by all political parties and public organizations to negotiate the above.

To see these Korean people and their works was inspiring—these people who, crushed and

exploited for so long in their distant and recent history by conquerors and imperialists, have won for themselves a place in the sun and are pressing on, with devotion and dignity, to lay down the foundations of a prosperous and truly human society. So it was, when we distributed buttons and literature calling for the freeing of Angela Davis, that all understood and all supported her cause.

But as we left the Land of the Fresh Morning, our feeling of friendship with these people was tempered by the recognition that we were leaving a land still wounded and divided by U.S. imperialism. For two decades now a burden has lain on the American record and the American conscience—which many Americans have

not known or would like to forget. Our government launched an unwarranted, barbarous war against the Korean people, left (through the U.N.) a peace treaty unsigned, and nurtured the evil seeds of a parasitic and despotic South Korean government.

It is time to awaken the American conscience to a divided Korea. It is time to withdraw all U.S. and other foreign troops and equipment still in South Korea under the flag of the UN. It is time for the UN itself to dissolve its Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. It is time to leave Korea to the Koreans, once and for all, now and forever, so that they may frame and fulfill their future as they see fit.



Delegation is honored at mass meeting at Chullima Cultural Center in Pyongyang. With North Korean host Pastor Kang Ryang Uk (second front left), President of the Korean Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries are Professor Parsons, left, Joseph Brandt, third from left, and Joe Walker, right.



# Education to build a nation





# A Transformation in Education

By PROF. HOWARD L. PARSONS

A profound transformation has been wrought in education among the people of the DPRK. During the days of the Japanese occupation, the country travailed under the slavery of the imperialists. Professor George M. McCune in *Korea Today* (Harvard University Press, 1945, pp. 26-27) describes the Japanese "police power which penetrated into the life of the entire community and was supplemented by the military power of the army."

This force "extended into the field of politics, economic activity, education, religion, morals, health, public welfare, and fire control." Police brutality employed search without warrant, arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, third-degree, torture, and informers. However, the dialectics of oppression are such as such that the will to resist and the spirit of revolutionary nationalism among the Koreans were aroused and strengthened, and the Japanese control of education and economy failed in its purpose of subjugation.

The revolutionary movement worked simultaneously at both economic and ideological levels, and the story of the revolution is the story of both. Today that spirit is at the heart of the country's energetic efforts at improvement.

Our guide at the Children's and Students' Palace said: "It is important for young children to understand our revolutionary tradition. Otherwise, they would fall away. The children who were five years old at the time of liberation are now over thirty. They have not experienced exploitation. For example, my son who is 25 and is a student at the University, does not know what it means to wear straw shoes. Thus our education must be revolutionary education and class education." One of our guides told me, with the evident pain of recall, how as a child

he had been forced to attend a Japanese school and was ridiculed and sent home if he did not speak Japanese.

Ideological revolution is interwoven with technical and cultural revolution: as children study the books and understand the revolutionary tradition of their motherland they also master technical skills and learn how to bear arms. At 10 many children can repair radios, and later many learn how to repair and operate machines, tractors, trucks, and the like.

The principal of the Chollima Junghwa Middle School puts this philosophy of education as follows: "Our aim is the communist principle, 'One for all and all for one.' This means we are opposed to all exploiters and oppressors and we strive to serve society and the people. Therefore we give priority to ideological education in order to arm children with our revolutionary tradition. Kim Il Sung has said it is important to educate children in this way since they have not suffered the trials of revolution. So we stress this, exposing and fighting U.S. imperialism, aggression, and plunder in South Korea.

"All that we teach is for Korea and the construction of communism and socialism. For the students we organize a tour around the country, combining education with productive labor and theory with practice. We must educate the rising generation, making them active social and revolutionary workers. We organize mobile groups of students propagating party policy, with a unit for art and a unit for the dissemination of scientific knowledge to factories. Through such action students are educated to serve society and the people. All students are enlisted in the Pioneer Organization and Youth League. Thus the revolutionary and working class tradition is continued. We also advance all-round development through physical and mental training. In this way our workers become model fighters. Our children can proudly

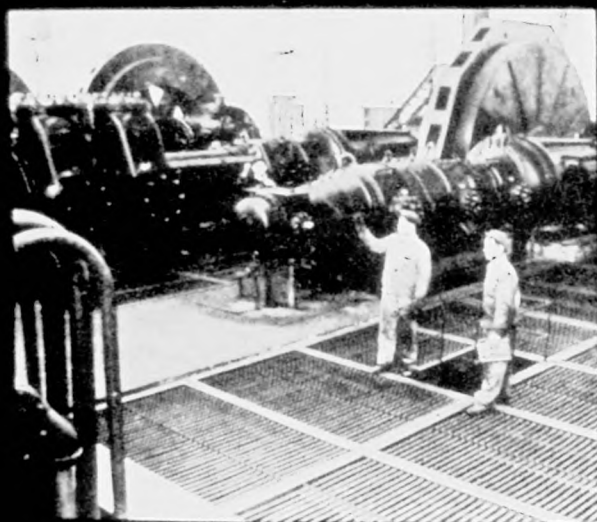
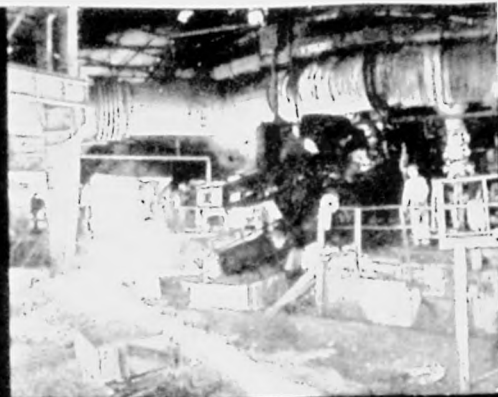
(Continued on page 34)

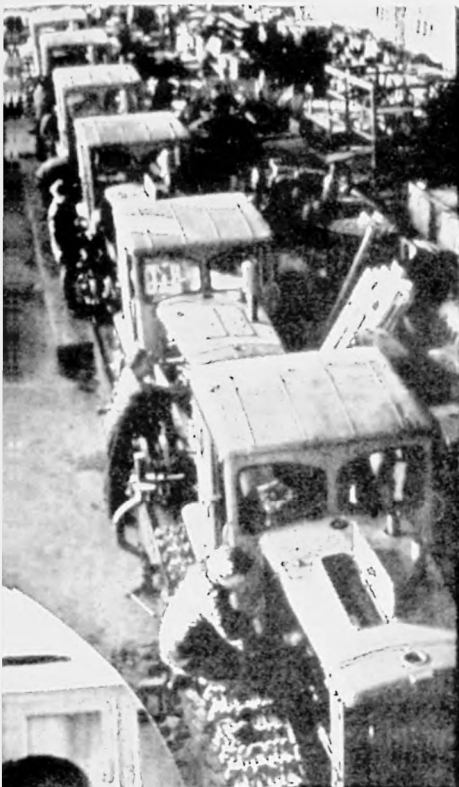
---

*Prof. Parsons is chairman of the Department of Philosophy, University of Bridgeport, Bridgeport, Conn., and chairman of the American-Korean Friendship and Information Center.*

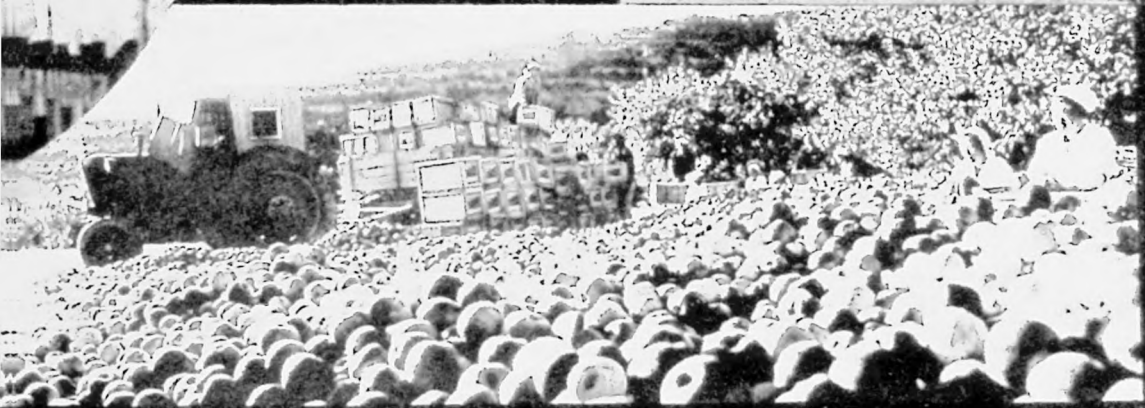
# SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY

## WORKING TOGETHER...





**...REAPS  
A BEAUTIFUL  
HARVEST!**



# *Transformation in Education*

*(Continued from page 31)*

say, 'We have nothing to envy in the world.' They are happier than the children in South Korea, who wander the streets, polish shoes, and sell chewing gum. We are doing our best to bring the day when children north and south will be unified in one nation."

Under Japanese occupation the Korean people suffered a deculturalization similar to that imposed by western nations on Africans in Africa and Afro-Americans in the United States. Two out of three could not read nor write, and few attended schools. But after liberation, illiteracy was eliminated in three years, and in 1956 the people of the DPRK organized a free, compulsory, primary educational system (4 years), followed, in 1958, by a secondary system (7 years) —"the first in the Orient." In 1967 the present 9-year system was instituted. One out of four persons is a student. All education is free and all students receive stipends from the state, with supplementary aid (in the case of university students) to their families if needed.

After nursery school, kindergarten, and the 9-year school, ending at age 15 or 16, students may go on to higher technical schools, colleges, universities, schools for workers, and various specialized institutions. All large factories and cooperative farms have their own educational facilities, for both vocational and cultural purposes, and adult education is widespread. Large numbers are trained for technical work: in 1970 there were 497,000 engineers and assistant engineers in the country (in 1945 there were only 900). Now the doctor-patient ratio is 1:280, the lowest in the world (before liberation the ratio was 1:10,000). Sixty per cent of the doctors are women. There are nine medical colleges, one in each provincial capital, and next year there will be three more.

Before liberation the Koreans had no higher

educational institutes. Now there are 129 universities and institutes. Admission to these is determined by competitive examinations. Of the four advanced five-year universities, Kim Il Sung University is the largest, with a degree equivalent to our B.A. or B.S. A student can, if able, go on for a three-year degree in a research institute. Later, after a period of working, he may undertake doctoral study.

Through the Vice-Rector of Kim Il Sung University, Zi Change Ik, who guided us through the University, we learned about its history and achievements. On October 1, 1946, the University was founded at the personal initiative of Kim Il Sung. But the shortage of lecturers made things difficult, so cadres were sent to help. In 1948 the faculties of medicine, engineering, and agriculture were separated and higher education was expanded. But when the war of aggression came in 1950, the physical plant of the University was destroyed. All lecturers and students volunteered to fight at the front, but Kim Il Sung insisted that their study was important, and the whole University was evacuated to the mountains. At this time also, we may add, students were sent to the Soviet Union for training.

This center of higher education in the DPRK is now 25 years old. Its many new buildings, large and ample, are situated in a spacious and pleasantly landscaped area of 1,560,000 square meters (more than three-fourths of a mile square). It has a teaching staff—academicians, doctors, and professors—of 3000 persons, 10,000 regular students, 45,000 evening and correspondence students, and several hundred foreign students. More than 20,000 students have been graduated. The University has 12 faculties, 6 in the natural sciences, 6 in the social sciences, with 80 chairs, 12 research institutes, and 56 research groups. In addition it provides preparation for soldiers and offers work in post-graduate and doctoral studies. It embraces experimental factories, a publishing and printing house, and a science library. One-half a million engineers have been graduated here. This is truly "the mother of higher education in the DPRK."

Vice-Rector Ik points out that many students wanted to study here but had no money, but the state provides stipends for those admitted. The state, moreover, is responsible for the total life of children in the country whose parents died

during the war, and it provides for all of their needs. In addition, it takes care of the essential needs of all students in residence—food, dormitories, books, medical care, etc. The campus is a self-sufficient community, with its own places to eat, hospitals, laundries, recreational facilities, and the like.

The aims of our education, the Vice-Rector explains, are these: (1) to bring up national cadres for the construction of the country; (2) to plan curricula and texts and other materials to facilitate this end; and (3) to bring together theories and practice, education and productive work. Thus, he asserts, we give priority to ideological education and to science and technology, so that the student is revolutionized. A student can be graduated with a purpose of serving society rather than serving himself. The revolutionary theory and history of Kim II Sung is the general subject for all faculties. The student is prepared to be a revolutionist as well as a specialist. In 25 years a large number of cadres have been trained here. We contrast this, he says, with the suffering of students in South Korea.

The main building, erected in 1948, was built on rice, because under the Patriotic Rice Movement farmers contributed rice to the state and the proceeds from its sale provided the capital for this building. We are shown a scale model of the finished campus; it includes a new building for the Faculty of Social Sciences (to be completed in April, 1972), new laboratories and dormitories, an athletic field, and a gymnasium. Our hosts reminded us that U.S. imperialism prevented this completion earlier. We visit the library, an attractive building completed in 1970. It has floor space of 12,000 square meters, and 1000 seats. Ten studies are provided for academicians, professors, and doctors, with five using each study. The library, maintaining exchanges with 100 other libraries, has holdings of two million volumes. The reading room is crowded with students (this is late August) as we pass through. They are solemnly at work and unbelievably quiet. Few look up to notice us. Michael Eisenscher (*Daily World*, September 24, 1969) has reported that the average University student here spends 35-40 hours in class per week, besides his other assignments. He must participate 25 days each year in "social

labor," and gets a three-week vacation in the summer. Quite a few of the students whom we see are in uniform. In one of the many studies a student is translating a document from Russian. We find some works on Marxism in English. The head librarian, Un Yung Chu, a woman, is cordial.

We are taken to a laboratory in the Faculty of Physics. There students are engaged in analyzing substances and conducting experiments related to production. They are building radar equipment. In a factory belonging to the University they do work in atomic energy and spectral analysis, and here they have constructed their own 20-line spectral machine. We see equipment for the optical analysis of iron, a Soviet-made spectroscope, and X-ray equipment.

In the laboratory of magnetic substances, students are gathering data for a thesis while at the same time they are analyzing materials sent to them by electrical factories. The surface properties of steel are under investigation. We pass through laboratories on invertebrates, biochemistry, plant physiology, geology, and paleontology. At the end we sit down for a brief chat with Li Ji Su, Chief of the Faculty of Philosophy, and Li Kyu Rin, Chief of the Chair of Philosophy.

During this trip through the University, we are impressed by the amount and diversity of the scientific equipment, the seriousness of the students, and the close integration of education with the work of social institutions in building a better world for people. As an educator I can testify that the critical problem for universities in a capitalist country like our own is that, because society lacks a cohesive and human purpose, students likewise lack such purpose and do not know what their education is for or how they will make a living or develop a significant life when they leave the university. This is not the case in the DPRK. Every student in the DPRK knows that he belongs to society, that he is needed, that when he equips himself with knowledge and skills he can contribute to fulfilling society's needs, and that when he does so he will be appreciated.



# “Our Flower Buds”



# Happy Children

## *Asia's Future is in Their Hands*

By ELLEN PERLO

"Palaces are for kings, and our children are the kings in our country," Premier Kim Il Sung has been quoted as saying about the youth in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. After visiting the Children's Palace in Pyongyang, as well as kindergartens and nurseries in factories and on farms, we were convinced.

If American parents could visit the DPRK and see the result of 18 years of total concern for the welfare of children, instead of minimum welfare *for children!* In this formerly occupied, oppressed colony of Japan, freed after World War II only to be almost totally devastated by U.S. bombers during the Korean War in the '50s, there is unanimity on one point—the future of the country rests on its children, and everything must be done to prepare them for their role.

We were impressed by the statistics on child care facilities—from pre-natal care through college, the state provides for its young people. As of our visit in October 1970, there were 8,600 nurseries which cared for 1,200,000 infants from three months' to four years; 6,800 kindergartens with 950,000 children from four to seven years; and schools for three million pupils. One-fourth of the population, including adults, were studying. This, in a country where, before 1945, there was one secondary school—in Pyongyang. Now there are 110 colleges and universities, over 20 in the capital alone.

Neat school uniforms are supplied by the government, as is special clothing required for extra-curricular activities—dancing, sports, dramatics, etc. Sports equipment and musical instruments are also provided free, along with instruction and supervision. Every child learns to play at least one musical instrument, and lessons start in nursery school.

We heard a group of four-year olds perform in a farm nursery and immediately forgot all

about irrigation, fertilizer, crops and tractors. The tot who played the piano had such superb aplomb and performed with much vigor, if not accuracy, that her bright hair-ribbon bow bobbed and her dangling feet bounced. Then there was the very small boy with very pink cheeks who sang a solo and we all fell in love with him.

In the locomotive factory, there were several nursery groups: we were sung to, danced to, recited to and, finally played to. Five small violinists performed very adequately, but the very young leader showed exceptional talent, drawing a beautiful tone from his small-sized instrument.

We were completely captivated by the children—obviously, and we saw and met hundreds of them. Beautiful, happy kids with sleek black hair and merry brown liquid eyes, they surrounded us whenever we appeared in one of their bailiwicks, jostling for the privilege of being one of our escorts.

Their well being is visible even to a casual passer-by on a Pyongyang street. Whenever we saw a class—and we saw them several times each day, stepping in formation to the stadium to rehearse for the upcoming Party Congress—we noted the high spirits of the youngsters. They sang as they semi-marched and, although the omnipresent regimentation bothered us, discipline seemed lax. For example, in one group of girls, a couple held hands, one skipped and hopped, while others played a cautious game of tag. A few lagged behind. All wore the dark grey jumper, white blouse and red tie of the school uniform.

But what was most startling, and indicative of what only half a generation of proper food and good environment can do—these youth, 10 or 11 years old, were taller than their teachers and most of the adults they passed on the

streets. We saw this over and over again—today's young Koreans are well built, well developed, energetic, outgoing and purposeful, beautiful people.

At the Children's Palace in Pyongyang there is a huge central building with two wings, one a full-sized theater (1,300 seats) and the other a large gymnasium.

Over 10,000 children daily can use the facilities in the 500 specialized rooms, after school, under the supervision of several hundred teachers and specialists who volunteer their spare time. It's fantastic.

Think of any art or craft, science, skill, or hobby—there it is. In the short while we were there, we visited rooms devoted to puppetry, ping-pong, ballet, Korean dancing, gymnastics, traditional instruments, piano lessons, Morse code, truck and tractor repair, picture embroidery, fine and poster art, dressmaking, scientific gardening, chemistry, the teachings of Premier Kim Il Sung, gunnery practice, electronics, use

of machine tools. We spent a little time watching a star show in the small but complete observatory.

We thought often of our children in America's slums as we visited factories and farms where complete facilities are available free to children of every working mother, for as long as required—day and night.

For example, there is the Pyongyang Silk Factory. The director, Paek Ui Myong, is a deputy to the Supreme People's Assembly and a member of its central committee as well as a member of the Democratic Women's Union. All of the main officers of the factory are women, as are all of the workers except for electricians and mechanics, the maintenance men.

After the Korean War, when the location for the factory was chosen on the fringes of the city, it was decided that apartment houses for the workers should also be built there, that since the workers were mostly women—and young women with small children, at that—buses would be provided to take the men to their jobs, instead of vice versa. So there are blocks of apartment dwellings directly across the street from the mill.

Further, each dwelling has its own nursery so that parents do not have any travelling to do to drop off their small children on their way to work. The nurseries take care of their charges until they are called for.

However, the factory itself has a special nursery for nursing babies and three times a day the mothers are relieved to go to their infants.

Women get 77 days maternity leave and if, after that period they are not ready to return, they get an additional month. Vacations, with family, at the factory's sanatorium are available at very small cost, and all medical care is, of course, entirely free.

A mother of three or more children works six, instead of eight, hours a day without any reduction in salary. New workers undergo a year of training, at the starting wage; later, after being on the job, additional training is available, including higher technical training and college.

This is the pattern, we were told, all over the country. It is any wonder that we constantly made comparison between the lot of women workers, and of their children, in the USA and the DPRK?

### **COMING IN FUTURE ISSUES OF KOREA FOCUS**

- *The DPRK—Economic and Geographic Transformation as viewed from both the Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, by Prof. Robert Ante.*
- *Asian-Americans and U.S. Racism, a series of articles covering Korean-Americans, Japanese-Americans and Chinese-Americans.*
- *U.S. Racism—Polluter of Mankind, by John Pittman.*
- *600,000 Koreans Under "House Detention" in Japan, by Joseph Brandt.*
- *Plus other articles dealing in depth with Korean and Asian developments.*



*The*  
*People*  
*of*  
*Korea*

The Daedong patriots with fires of righteous fury  
wrecked the rude gunboat that raped their still  
waters.

From Namsan Hill Kim Byong Jik's pine  
exploded small seeds through the hills and  
valleys,

and peasants for miles like forests of spears  
quivered to their roots with the quickening of  
freedom.

Then swift guerrillas, quiet, subtle as lightning,  
flashed across the Amnok and stabbed sucking  
bat sentries.

Even after the liberation valor could not sleep:  
when the brute troops for loot and Dulles for  
dollars

slashed open and seared the motherland's body  
till her rivers bled red and her peach hills  
shrank charred,

millions of the modest country of the east  
rose up like blood cells to close up the wounds.  
The heroes buried in the land of morning calm  
are more numerous and bright than the stars  
in the sky.

Woe fell on the cities, the heights, and the  
harbors,

Pyeongyang, Kumgang-san, Wonsan, and  
elsewhere,

but the people resisted, striking chains from  
black skies—

till their dawn of white rice beams smiled over  
the land,

schools sprouted like daisies, steel mills glowed  
like roses,

and soft dancers sang, to the delicate strings.  
Go home, you gunboats and Pandora-box  
missiles!

Go home, you Americans! Leave these people  
at peace,

let the people of the white dress be free to  
be one,

let the children of Choson sing their beautiful  
songs.

Howard L. Parsons

# The Nixon Doctrine

By JOSEPH BRANDT

*"Let Asians Fight Asians . . . Asian  
Hands Must Shape The Asian Future."*

—Nixon

"The Nixon Doctrine is not the formula for peace in China or stability in Asia."

" . . . the Nixon Doctrine neither reduces our potential involvement in Asian conflicts nor resolves the resulting dilemma by providing convincingly for a defense that will obviate reliance on nuclear weapons."

(Earl C. Ravenal: *Former Director Asian Division Office of Secretary of Defense, in the book "Peace with China?" Pages 21, 23, Liveright Publishers*)

The doctrine which was formally sprung on the public at an "informal" press conference in Guam, July, 1969, has been in the works for quite a while.

It has been fashioning "operations war shifts" in East Asia and other parts of the globe.

Nixon was the first major U.S. official to propose sending troops to Indochina (1954) and was hell-bent on risking nuclear war over the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu (1958).

Despite the "Pentagon Papers" exposures of lies, deceit and perfidy used to cover up U.S. imperialist crimes in Vietnam and all of Indochina, the Pentagon war criminals headed by its commander-in-chief continue to fill in the pages of the next "Pentagon Papers" volume with new lies and deceit.

While the diplomatic public relations prevaricators of the State and Defense Departments keep telling the U.S. public fairy tales about "removal of troops from South Korea" the Pen-

tagon architects of criminal war continue to arm its puppets in South Korea.

Secretary of State Rogers, while testifying before a subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Sept. 11, 1970, lets the cat out of the bag and declares: ". . . the Nixon Doctrine, however, is not a program for U.S. withdrawal from Asia, it is a program of readjustment which may well mean increased military supplies and increased economic relationship."

*What Is the Essence of the Nixon Doctrine?*

Nixon's rhetoric about "Asian hands must shape the Asian future" covers up the real meaning of his doctrine and at the same time, once again gives us the measure of the old well-known "tricky Dick."

Which "Asian hands" is he referring to? Not the South Vietnamese partisans, certainly not the workers and peasants of North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia—nor the Korean people.

No. The "Asian hands" Nixon wants to "shape the Asian future" are his puppets, like Park Chung Hee of South Korea, the gangster stooge, Nguyen Van Thieu of South Vietnam, his CIA agent Nol in Cambodia, the native reactionary flunkies who represent and defend the U.S. imperialist investments in Asia, the generals, sons of the plantation and landowners, trained in the USA-CIA, and military academies. In short, the scum of the earth whom the Asian people despise.

*Joseph Brandt is Public Relations Director of the Daily World and Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission, Communist Party U.S.A.*

These are the "Asian hands" the Nixon Doctrine advances as the architects to "shape the Asian future."

Anyone not yet acquainted with such a future should take a good look and learn the operations of Park Chung Hee in South Korea or Chiang Kai-Shek in Taiwan.

The N.Y. Times in an editorial titled "The Cambodian Model" (March 15, 1972) quotes Nixon telling a news conference that "Cambodia is the Nixon Doctrine in its purest form." It then proceeds to detail its purity:

"An estimated one third of the population has been made homeless by allied . . . military action. Precious art objects apparently have been pillered from the national treasure, the historic ruins of Angkor are now . . . threatened with combat damage. Corruption is said to be rife in Pnompenh and throughout the inflated army. The rich are fleeing the country, taking their fortunes with them. If this is the Nixon Doctrine in action, Cambodians and others who observe what is happening in that miserable South East Asian land may well decide they want none of it. Some Model."

That's the future Nixon's Doctrine wants to fashion for Asia and the world.

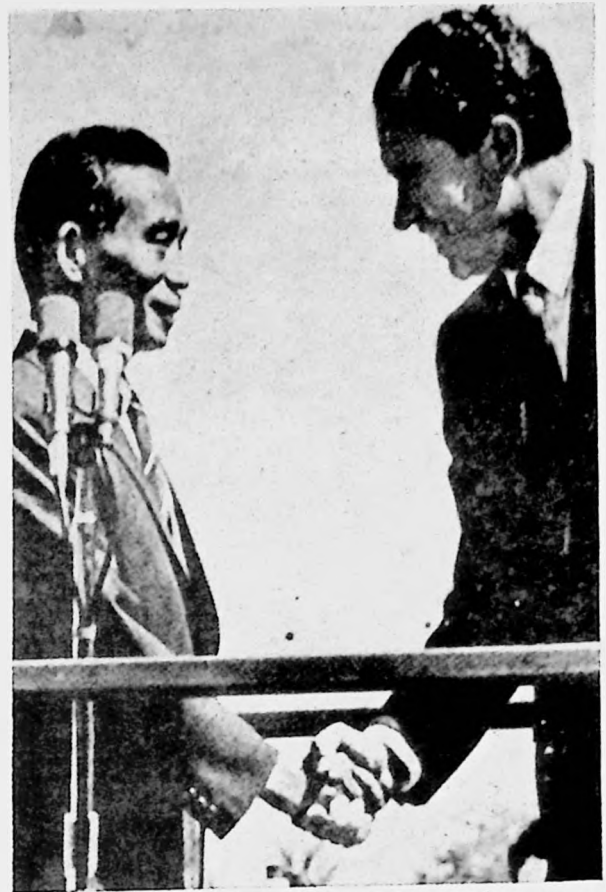
In more concrete terms, the Doctrine is projected to reduce U.S. military manpower abroad, to arm, modernize and strengthen mercenary armies in countries fighting for national liberation. It is a continuation and extension under new conditions of previously discredited policies to subvert, divide and defeat socialist countries.

The Doctrine is the new U.S. global strategy for the organization and provoking of counter-revolution, relying on military arms in the hands of traitorous, reactionary exploiters and oppressors of the native people, conducting such warfare under the U.S. imperialist atomic umbrella.

"More specifically pro-American Asian regimes are to be strengthened militarily so that in the suppression of future 'insurgencies' they can shoulder a major part of the burden borne up to now by the U.S. At the same time the *United States will stand by with its nuclear and tactical support honoring its commitments and vigilant against external aggression.*"

(John W. Dower: *In the book "Peace with China?"* 63.)

The Nixon Doctrine requires a vast increase



**Puppet Park Chung Hee with his master, Richard Nixon.**

in the Military Assistance Program. For the next few years the plan is to spend 6 billion dollars for "Vietnamization" in South Vietnam and close to 2 billion dollars for the continued "Koreanization" in South Korea.

Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird in describing the financing of the administration defense strategy (the Nixon Doctrine) to Congress, March 10, 1970, said:

"The basic policy of decreasing direct U.S. military involvement cannot be successful unless we provide our friends and allies, whether through grant aid or credit sales, with the material assistance necessary to assure the most effective possible contribution by the manpower they are willing and able to commit to their own and the common defense. Many of them simply do not command the resources or technical capabilities to assume greater responsibility for

their own defense without such assistance. The challenging aspect of our new policy can, therefore, best be achieved when each partner does its share and contributes what it best can to the common effort. In the majority of cases, *this means indigenous manpower organized into properly equipped and well-trained armed forces with the help of material, training, technology and specialized skills furnished by the United States through the Military Assistance Program or as Foreign Military Sales.*" (Emphasis added) (Foreign Assistance 1971, p. 307)

Laird insists further that such military assistance is most essential, "if we are to honor our obligations, support our allies, and yet reduce the likelihood of having to commit American ground combat units. *When looked at in these terms, a Military Assistance Program (MAP) dollar is of far greater value than a dollar spent directly on U.S. forces.*" (Fiscal Year 1971 Defense Program and Budget, Washington, D.C. 1970). (Emphasis added)

Defense Secretary Clark Clifford dangles the benefits accruing from the financing of the Nixon Doctrine when selling it to Congress Jan. 15, 1969. He said:

"Clearly, the overriding goal of our collective defense efforts in Asia must be to assist our allies in building a capability to defend themselves. *Besides costing substantially less (an Asian soldier costs about one-fifteenth as much as his American counterpart) there are compelling political and psychological advantages on both sides of the Pacific for such a policy.*" (emphasis added)

(U.S. Department of Defense, 1970. *Defense Budget and Defense Program for Fiscal Years 1970-74*, Washington D.C. 1969.)

To make the Nixon Doctrine operational, the administration, via the CIA and its subsidiary agencies, corrupts, buys, intimidates and seeks alliances with internal counter-revolutionary forces in each region.

The emissaries of the imperialist establishment led by the architect of the Doctrine, Nixon, are winging their way to forbidden cities, tombs and great walls in every hook, nook and corner of the globe. Eating crow mixed with Chinese delicacies, they seek to divide and exacerbate existing differences between socialist countries to win one section and pit it against another with

the aim of checking the unification and solidification of the socialist world.

### *The Racism of the Nixon Doctrine*

The Nixon Doctrine extends to Asia the U.S. imperialist, racist policy of genocide as practiced at home against Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and American Indians.

This racism is expressed most vividly by the cynical, contemptible and calous Nixon's racist Ambassador in South Vietnam, Bunker, that Vietnamization simply means "changing the color of the corpses." The ambassador was only echoing in his typical crude mannerism what the more careful suave Secretaries of Defense, Clark Clifford and Laird said before Congress. (see quote above about cheaper costs of Asian soldiers and the greater value of the MAP dollar)

### *Why the Doctrine Now?*

The Nixon Doctrine was conceived following the bankrupt policies in Asia, Africa and Middle East of previous administrations.

(It was) hatched as a military strategy to make up for a series of U.S. imperialist set-backs in Indochina.

It was concocted as a tactic of organized retreat hoping to avert a catastrophic rout of U.S. imperialist militarism.

The Nixon Doctrine is a product of the changing world balance of class forces which have tilted in favor of the revolutionary forces of the world. These are:

*The growing might of the socialist world.*

*The continued growing unity, militancy and organization of the working class and the anti-imperialist peace forces in capitalist countries.*

*The mighty upsurge of the national liberation movement, its growing political and military strength.*

*These changing class relationships operate in conditions of a "crumbling" weakened U.S. and world imperialism which is in the throes of a major crisis.*

In his report to the recent 20th Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S., Gus Hall, general secretary, declared:

*"The drive of U.S. imperialism to dominate*

and exploit the world launched after the second world war has ignominiously bogged down.

*"There has taken place a qualitative deterioration of the structure of world capitalism and there is a new level of consolidation, growth and stability in the socialist world. There is a new upswing in the struggles and victories of the people fighting against imperialism and against reactionary governments subservient to imperialism. There is a new upsurge in working class struggles in the capitalist world."*

For over 50 years, world imperialism has tried many doctrines to stop its inevitable doom and save its skin, but no go. The people march on to victory—imperialism to doom.

The Churchill Doctrine, calling for the strangulation of the newly born socialist system in its Russian cradle, failed. Instead of destroying the USSR, the British Empire became dismembered and in the process lost its main ramming rod against socialism—the anti-Communist Hitler—Mussolini—Tojo fascist Axis, and the Churchill Doctrine lies buried in the dust and ashes of the fascist Axis.

The Truman anti-Communist "roll 'em back and contain 'em" Cold War Doctrine (March 1947) supported by the then Congressman Nixon, which fashioned U.S. imperialism's global expansion in the late forties and spiced with a hot-plate (1950-53 Korean War) was already hatched by Truman when as a U.S. Senator, he gave the world this infamous cynical statement: "If we see that Germany is winning we ought to help Russia, and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany and that way let them kill as many as possible . . ." N.Y. Times, June 24, 1941.

This doctrine, too, is now pushing up daisies while 14 socialist nations continue to prosper and grow ever more powerful over the grave of Harry's Doctrine.

The Dulles Doctrine of "liberating" socialist countries via internal ideological subversion and economic strangulation ushering in atomic brinkmanship and global interventionism did not have time enough to mature as a full-fledged doctrine before it was deposited in the dust bin of history by the quick, determined and powerful might of socialist vigilance, despite the fact that

Nixon still includes the main thesis of that doctrine in his own doctrine.

With each failure of its doctrines, imperialism becomes weakened, disarrayed and more desperate.

Can the Nixon Doctrine look forward to a different verdict from history?

The Nixon Doctrine is an anachronism and as such, it, too, is doomed to failure. But despite that, the class in power never gives up willingly.

When the Nixon Doctrine is shorn of its rhetoric about "Asian hands must shape the Asian future," then the doctrine becomes fully and totally exposed as an ugly reality.

On this point, Hall, in his report quoted above, declared:

*"United States imperialism will continue its policies of aggression. It will continue to seek for a new world capitalist structure. It will continue to be the arsenal of world reaction. What is important is that the struggle against its policies will take place in the context of the new balance of relationships, in the new stage of the crisis."*

It is obvious that the Nixon Doctrine is not a "S.O.P." (Standard Operating Procedures) to the Pentagon war-hawks on how to play marbles. It is a calculated blueprint of U.S. imperialist monopoly of how to stop the struggle of the people for national liberation and how to make war against socialism.

Here are some of the facts as they relate specifically to the Korean peninsula:

1. On March 15, 1971, the U.S. imperialist brought into South Korea the 475 Tactical Combat Air Corps, comprising 3 wings of 54 planes each of the 5th U.S. Air Force and composed of "F-4 Phantom" fighter bombers, formerly of the 3rd Tactical Combat Air Corps stationed at Mizawa airbase in Japan. In addition, an air corps of "EC-121" reconnaissance planes stationed at the Itazake air base in Japan was to be transferred to the Qwangju air base in South Korea.

2. By 1970 the U.S. had 500 atomic guided weapons on South Korean soil which was further strengthened with the shipping to South Korea from the U.S. mainland of the 8th Guided Missiles Battalion.

3. New and experienced military commanders of aggression in Korea and Vietnam have re-

placed the less experienced commanders in South Korea, further reinforcing their military strength with 200 communications service men transferred from South Vietnam.

4. A new system of emergency transport operation was introduced for the purpose of bringing troops and supplies from the U.S. and Japan more efficiently.

5. Recently a new "Emergency Task Force Fleet" composed of warships and a cruiser belonging to the U.S. 7th Fleet as the flagship was organized and deployed in the seas surrounding Korea.

6. The 18th Combat Air Wing of the U.S. 31st Air Division stationed in Okinawa had their operations extended to include Korea.

7. The U.S. imperialists have built and expanded large scale harbors, airfields and landing and take-off grounds to insure the landing and take-off of new model large transport ships, cargo planes and helicopters.

8. In 1969 and again, in 1971, the U.S. armed forces conducted "ROK-US joint anti-air maneuvers" under the names of "Focus Retina" and "Freedom Vault" directed against the D.P.R.K.

9. As part of beefing up the armed might of its own army and that of its puppet Park Chung Hee, scores of members of the U.S. Congress, the commander of the U.S. Marine Corps, the former commander of the U.S. troops occupying South Korea, the commander of the Army of the U.S. Pacific Command, Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Air Force, Commander of the U.S. Strike Force Headquarters and the commander of the Air Transport of the U.S. Air Force, have all been visiting South Korea, inspecting the fronts and military bases.

10. The ground forces of the South Korean puppet army have been increased since the truce from 16 divisions to 29 divisions and 4 brigades. Its total military strength increased from 600,000 to 700,000 troops.

11. In addition to the two and a half-million strong "homeland reserve force" they are now discussing and planning the inclusion into the "homeland reserve force" "anti-aircraft battalions" and "combat battalions."

12. The Park Chung Hee regime received in addition to its annual "aid," 100 million dollars in military aid and an agreement handing over to the South Korean puppet troops 100 million dollars worth of military equipment owned by

the U.S. military forces stationed in South Korea.

13. Since the takeover by the Park Chung Hee clique, an additional 15,000 agents were added to the Central Intelligence Department, political agents increased to 370,000 and the number of policemen doubled compared to the period prior to the "seizure of power" of the Park Chung Hee clique.

14. Recently the U.S. Military Command in Seoul announced that 10 new airfields are being built in South Korea, and Osan Airbase, the largest U.S. airfield in South Korea is being expanded.

15. The newspaper "Hankook Ilbo" according to its April 4, 1971 edition states that some "surplus military equipment and vehicles" have been sent to South Korea from Vietnam by the South Korean military command there "during the past two years."

16. According to the Sept. 30, 1971 issue of "Korea Week" an American Air Defense Artillery Battalion equipped with Chaparral missiles and Vulcan guns arrived in South Korea this month for permanent assignment with the 2nd Infantry Division.

The same paper reports that the Department of Defense has asked Congress for authorization to spend 478,000 dollars in military construction work at "various" air force installations in South Korea in July 1971-June 1972. *Korea Week* finishes with quoting Nixon as stating "we are providing South Korea with equipment to improve and modernize its defenses."

17. On June 8-10, 1971 the then U.S. ambassador to South Korea, William J. Porter, while testifying before a House sub-committee, declared that the U.S. provided the Park Chung Hee "Homeland Reserves" "an initial contribution of 870,000 light weapons." Speaking about long-term objectives of the U.S. in the Far East, Porter said, "I know that we plan to maintain a U.S. presence in Korea," (following a security deletion in the printed proceedings): "I just cannot estimate how this will end up."

18. By 1975, the U.S. will have built an armament industry in South Korea able to produce tanks, heavy trucks, small caliber guns and small coast defense vessels. The South Korean defense budget includes 150 million dollars a year by 1976 for local armaments production.

All the present major U.S. naval vessels, destroyers, destroyer escorts will continue to

“The size of the lie is a definite factor in causing it to be believed. The primitive simplicity of their minds renders them a more easy prey to a big lie than a small one.”  
 Hitler



“Listen, if you think any American official is going to tell you the truth, then you’re stupid! Did you hear that? Stupid!” — Arthur Sylvester (Asst. Sec. of Defense and chief of military public relations in Vietnam) spoken to Morley Safer (CBS newsman) in Saigon, July 15, 1965.

remain in South Korea under an extension of the lease agreement.

The Japanese imperialists looking out for their own interests are also aiding, supporting, and strengthening militarily the Park Chung Hee regime. According to *Korea Week* Japan is now considered as the major potential competitor to the U.S., once Seoul decides to import hardware. Although it is hoped that all or almost all weapons will be imported from the U.S., the temptation of a vast armament market in Korea will be too much for the Japanese heavy industries to ignore.

They also note, however, that Pohang’s combined steel mill—which is expected to provide raw materials for Korea’s munitions industry—was largely financed by loans given by Japan.

*Korean Week* goes on: “The Washington Post recently speculated that Japan has shown a variety of ways in which indirect military assistance might be given to a friendly country.

“First, economic aid would be provided in

order to free other funds for defense spending. *The Post* said Korea’s request for a new \$300 million loan over and above \$160 million already promised and \$80 million in commercial credits for a new Seoul subway system (reportedly made to Mr. Sato when he was in Seoul on July 1) may be considered as an ‘indirect military aid’ under this category.”

2. “The *second* method will be selling trucks and small boats on easy credit for normally civilian use without asking whether the trucks and boats are intended for transfer to the armed forces, or whether the boats will be turned into naval ships with guns purchased elsewhere.”

3. “The *third* method is to provide communications equipment, vehicles and helicopters to police forces in the name of internal security or social stabilization. *The Post* said this form of indirect military assistance is viewed as a realistic political possibility (for Japan) within the next year or two.”

4. “The *fourth* method is to provide some

materials as 'parts.' Steel plate which can be used for tank production may be interpreted as 'parts' because it can be used to build bridges. Japan will not export tank engines or jet plane engines because they are vital 'components' for weapons."

Senator William Proxmire (Dem., Wis.) and chairman of the Foreign Operation Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriation Committee said that the Republic of Korea will receive \$294,400,000 in military and economic assistance from July 1, 1971 to June 30, 1972. He said that this includes \$239 million in military assistance, \$15 million in foreign credit and \$40 million in excess defense articles.

Lt. General Robert Warren, chief of Military Assistance Program of the Defense Department was telling another Congressional committee that the U.S. provided \$378 million in military assistance to South Korea between July 1970 to June 1971 including \$290 million in military equipment and \$45 million in defense loans, primarily to build a Colt M-16 rifle plant. The general insisted that the new fiscal year military assistance to Korea will remain substantially unchanged and continues to be the largest given to any single nation besides aid to Vietnam which comes from the Vietnam war budget rather than the assistance program.

It is estimated that the armed forces of South Korea now rank sixth among the world military powers, according to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

According to the *N. Y. Times* of June 17, 1971, the Defense and State Departments jointly recommended that the *White House transfer part of the tactical atomic weapons from Okinawa to South Korea*. Tactical nuclear weapons have been on South Korean soil for a long time. This was confirmed by the revelation that the only American planes ready for instant take-off in South Korea at the time of the "Pueblo" seizure January 1968, happened to be armed only with tactical nuclear weapons.

This is the Nixon Doctrine in all its glory. These are some of the ingredients that make up the Nixon Doctrine. No imperialist doctrines, least of all Nixon's, can save a "crumbling" system of capitalist exploitation, oppression and colonialism.

## *From the Source*

*Extracts from a lecture by Kim Chol Sik, DPRK Academy of Sciences, given to the AKFIC delegation, Pyongyang—Aug. 1971.*

Historical experience shows that for a country to achieve political independence it must have an independent national economy. Thus our party has had a consistent policy of *juche*, of building a Socialist economy which will be linked together organically and be nationally independent. Our construction of a Socialist industrial state is a furthering of the world revolution. Socialist revolution can eradicate the contradictions within the nation, but it can only help to eliminate inequality among nations by creating an independent national economy.

Building an independent economy posed special problems because of the peculiarity of our revolution:

- (1) *We inherited a very backward colonial economy.*
- (2) *Our country was divided into two.*
- (3) *We had to restore an economy destroyed by two wars.*

In building the economy it was most important to construct heavy industry. We did not build heavy industry for its own sake, but for the sake of effective service to the development of light industry and agriculture, thus to the people's livelihood. It meant we would have factories to produce agricultural machines, fertilizers, looms, etc. The machine-building industry was at the heart of our heavy industry, and by 1967 our production of machines was 100 times greater than it had been in 1948. We are now able to produce not only machines for factories, but we can equip whole factories. More than 98 percent of the machinery we need, we produce ourselves, including 6,000 ton presses, diesel locomotives, tractors, excavators, bulldozers, electronic equipment. In 1970, we produced more than 2,200,000 tons of steel. Our policy is to develop large-scale central



industry, and to equip our own medium-scale local industry.

In the past, our country relied on foreign countries for consumer goods, but now we are fully able to meet the demands of our people for consumer goods. In the textile industry we produce more than 400 million meters of fabric of all kinds; before liberation our textile production was less than 2 million.

The quality of many of our consumer goods is not so high, but we are proud because we produce all necessary goods for the people with our own efforts and our own raw materials. Now we have the task of improving the quality of our consumer goods to compare with world standards.

About the building of modern agriculture, it was not easy because technically our farming was very backward and our soil has many limitations because of weather and mountains. In Korea the southern part was originally the heart of our agriculture, so it was hard for us to become self-sufficient in food. But we pushed the technical revolution in the countryside, including mechanization, irrigation, fertilizers and electrification. Irrigation has been completed, and electricity has reached every farm in our country. Now we are fully self-sufficient in food production.

While we have attained self-sufficiency in food, in 1970 industry accounted for 74 percent of our total national income, and so we are also a socialist industrial state. Moreover, we have built our development upon a firm raw material basis. Imperialist countries exploit others for their raw materials and then develop their own industries. To end this exploitation, we actively developed our own sources of raw materials and we use them in our industry. For example, our land is limited and cotton does not grow well in our country, but we do have plenty of limestone and anthracite. Our scientists and workers struggled together to learn to make synthetic fibers out of limestone, and we now have factories making textiles out of chemical fibers. Thus we have developed a reliable raw material base for our chemical and textile industries—strong and reliable industries not subject to imperialist control or crises.

One of our problems was to learn how to make parts and to train engineers. At first we

imported tractors which were disassembled and workers tried to duplicate the parts. It was an arduous course but during the trial the technical level of our workers was raised so that finally they could produce tractors completely by their own efforts. Now, of course, we have not only universities but also factory colleges, industrial centers, and higher technical schools. The factory colleges are educational centers attached to factories or enterprises which enlist the workers from their own plants as students. They study at night and become technicians. Today we have more than 200,000 students learning to become technicians, and we have 500,000 trained engineers. For all of our children we have a nine-year compulsory technical education, and more than one-fourth of all our people are studying at schools of all levels.

Our national economy was developed at a rapid rate, unprecedented in history. During the period from 1957-1970 industry averaged a 19.6 percent annual growth, a total increase of 11.6 times. We are presently able to trade with 80 countries of the world, including all the socialist countries. We have laid the foundation for a national economy which, after unification, will contribute to the development of South Korea, too.

As for the future, our current Six Year Plan (1971-1976) has set the following goals:

- (1) *Industrial production will grow 2.2 times.*
- (2) *Steel will be 3.8 to 4 million tons.*
- (3) *Coal will be 52 million tons.*
- (4) *Electric power will be 28 to 30 billion kilowatt hours.*
- (5) *Chemical fertilizer will be 2.8 to 3 million tons.*
- (6) *Grain production will be 7 to 7.5 million tons.*
- (7) *Fishing catch will be 1.6 to 1.8 million tons.*
- (8) *Rice production will reach 5.3 tons per hectare.*

We also plan to improve the living conditions of our people by increasing social welfare funds 150 percent; reducing the prices of consumer goods by 50 percent; extending television and transportation everywhere in the country; increasing compulsory education. Every person from birth to 18 years of age will be looked after entirely by the state's expenses.

# People's Friendship— Socialist Internationalism

September 1948, when the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea was established it marked the end of the country's colonial past and the beginning of its Socialist future.

August 1945 the Soviet army routed the Kwantung Japanese colonial army, thereby helping the Korean people wrest political power and gain independence.

The Korean patriots led by Kim Il Sung who had begun the armed struggle for freedom from Japanese militarism way back in the 1930s joined with and supported the Red Army in delivering the final blows to Japanese colonial occupation.

Radical democratic reforms were carried out; factories, transport, communications and banks became national property. Land was handed over to the peasants, who united in agricultural cooperatives soon afterwards.

Less than two years after the inauguration of the DPRK, the young republic had to beat off attacks from the U.S. interventionists and their satellites. This war lasted for three and a half years. The people withstood the grimmest of battles in the knowledge that they were defending their Socialist achievements. In this noble struggle they were helped by the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other Socialist countries, who have always been true friends of Korea.

The aggression unleashed by U.S. imperialism damaged the DPRK's economy to the extent of several billion won. Thousands of factories and industrial installations were destroyed. Yet under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea and with assistance from the Socialist countries, the country was raised up out of the ruins.

An American general, after organizing the devastation of the capital city of Pyongyang, pronounced his verdict that it would take 100 years to rebuild the city. Today, 22 years later, Pyongyang is among the most beautiful cities in Asia, with a population of 800,000. Altogether a total of 1,300,000 people live in the city and its environs.

Today, Socialist Korea is a developed industrial-agrarian country.

These economic achievements are the fruits of the determined efforts, hard labor and all out support by the people to the Korean Workers Party and its leaders who following the path of Marxism-Leninism successfully rallied the people in defense of their country's socialist gains and achievements.

In their struggle for a prosperous Socialist Korea the people had the mutually advantageous cooperation of the DPRK with the U.S.S.R. and all the other Socialist countries whose help is the expression of socialist internationalism and is highly valued by the Korean People and their leaders.

Following the war of 1950-53 the country's wealth was ravaged and destroyed by U.S. imperialism and its puppets of the South.

*"Friendship in Need is Friendship Indeed"*

The Soviet people, while in the progress of restoring the ravages of fascist Germany's destruction in their land, pursued a policy of socialist solidarity.

Korea's postwar economic restoration and development received a gift of over 1,000 million rubles in credits on favorable terms from the Soviet people.

With the aid of Soviet technical help, the Korean people, by their ingenious and hard labor were able to restore more than 50 large enterprises including the Suphung Hydroelectric Power Station, the largest in Asia, metallurgical works in Sonhim, Chogsin and Kamsong; the Pyongyang Textile Factory whose present output is many times larger than that of all Korea's pre-1948 production.

Soviet people's assistance helped to build many chemical, machine-tool plants which today have become the backbone of the DPRK's industrial and agricultural economy.

The people of the DPRK have on numerous occasions gratefully acknowledged the Soviet people's supply of raw materials such as oil, cotton, wool and non-ferrous metals to their industries.

The Soviet people's technicians and planners assisted in new construction projects such as the Pukchang Thermoelectric Power Station, the largest in Korea, and an entirely new oil refining industry. They also assisted in expanding the Chak Metallurgical Works to include hot and cold rolling mills.

On July 6th, 1971 a great public rally attended by thousands of Koreans took place in Pyongyang to mark the 10th anniversary of signing the USSR-DPRK Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance.

The Soviet delegation headed by K. T. Mazurov, a Soviet party and government leader, and a Deputy Premier, was enthusiastically greeted by the Korean people and their leaders.

In his speech Mazurov declared: "The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance is a logical continuation of the traditional ties connecting our peoples, of their joint struggle against imperialist invaders. Concluded in a new historical epoch, the treaty expresses new, socialist principles of international relations, mutual assistance and cooperation between peoples."

The Soviet people, their Party and government, have always in the past and continue today to support fully the struggle of the DPRK and the Korean people's struggle in South Korea for the peaceful and independent reunification of their motherland and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea.

In detailing the significance of the treaty Mazurov stated: "The treaty is most instrumental in guaranteeing the security of the Soviet Union and People's Korea. It reliably guards the peaceful labor of our peoples, and is a resolute warning to people fond of playing with fire that aggressive encroachment on the socialist gains and sovereign rights of our peoples will fittingly be repulsed."

"The Soviet Government and all Soviet people unanimously join their voice to the demand of our Korean friends that U.S. troops be withdrawn from South Korea, that the Korean people be given the right to decide their national affairs by themselves, without any external interference. The Soviet people and Government vehemently denounce the harsh anti-national regime of Park Chung Hee and his sell-out policy."

"The Soviet Government is following attentively the situation in the Far East, where the forces of U.S. and Japanese imperialism are becoming increasingly active in direct proximity of socialist states' borders."

The support for the Korean people by the Soviet people and the entire world of socialism was given special emphasis in the report of Leonid Brezhnev at the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union when he declared:

"We want the world socialist system to be a close-knit family of nations, building and defending the new society together, and mutually enriching each other with experience and knowledge, a family, strong and united, which the people of the world would regard as the prototype of the future world community of free nations."

Mazurov in concluding his speech pledged to the Korean people that: "The relations that have taken shape and are developing between our socialist states may serve as an example of this. The Korean people may rest assured that the Soviet Union is their reliable friend, ally and associate in the struggle for the lofty ideals of communism."

"Soviet-Korean friendship and cooperation is our great common gain. The Soviet-Korean alliance is firm and unbreakable."

J.B.

# *A Salute to Kim Il Sung at 60*

Sixty years ago, on April 15, 1912, Kim Il Sung was born in the village of Mangyongdae, not far from the city of Pyongyang. In honor of his approaching birthday, *Korea Focus* takes this occasion to recognize one of the important leaders of national liberation of our time.

Kim Il Sung's life symbolizes the long and continuing struggle of the Korean people for independence. His sacrifices are an individual expression of their sacrifices, and their successes are his.

The family background of Kim Il Sung tells the history of modern Korea. His great grandfather fought the "opening" of Korea to Western imperialism, joining a group of patriots in burning a United States warship, the *General Sherman*, which had intruded into Korea waters in



Kim Il Sung



Leaders of the DPRK pictured above are, from the left, Pak Sung Chul, 2nd vice-premier of the Council of Ministers and vice-chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly; Choi Yong Kun, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly (President), a secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party, member of the Political Committee and Secretariat, and a deputy of the Supreme People's Assembly; Kim Il, 1st vice-premier of the Council of Ministers, a secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party, member of the Political Committee and Secretariat, and a deputy of the Supreme People's Assembly. All are veteran associates of Kim Il Sung in the Anti-Japanese Partisan Campaigns of the 1930s.

1866. His grandparents resisted Japanese occupation, and his father, Kim Hyong Jik, organized an underground revolutionary group in 1917, the Korean National Association.

Nurtured in such a family and ranking under foreign rule, while still a teenager Kim joined the patriot guerrillas operating out of Southern Manchuria. When the Japanese invaded Manchuria in October, 1931, Kim led in the founding of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, the first revolutionary armed force of the Korean people.

That guerrilla army fought heroically from that day forward, through the years of the Japanese take-over of more and more of the Asian mainland and into the second World War. The guerrilla army gathered strength in the mountains of northern Korea and Manchuria, winning the confidence of the Korean people. Its goal was national and revolutionary, to drive the Japanese out and to build a new socialist nation.

With the Japanese defeat in August, 1945 the Soviet army moved into the northern part of Korea and U.S. forces landed in the south. A united People's Republic representing all Korea had been formed by nationalist groups. A first act of the U.S. was to suppress it. A next act was to bring back Syngman Rhee from his haven in Hawaii and make him head of the Republic of Korea which claimed to rule all of Korea. In the north, meanwhile, the Soviet authority turned over authority to the Korean people and Kim, who not only commanded the Korean People's Army, successor to the guerrilla armies he had long led, but had helped to unify the diverse revolutionary forces. With the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1948, the Soviet army withdrew. The U.S. forces, 27 years later, still occupy South Korea.

Kim Il Sung and the other leaders of the People's Republic confronted the task of building a new society based on social ownership and social responsibility. The people were declared owners of the land, of the factories and mines, of all the national resources. A society had to be

rebuilt entire, a people's democratic state in the vanguard. The task was carried out with such support from the people that the DPRK was able to withstand the onslaught of American armed forces in a war that left the country in ruins, and to enlist the energy and spirit of the people in rebuilding even greater than before.

Today the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is an independent, stable and prosperous nation with worldwide respect. Kim Il Sung as the leader of the Korean people symbolizes both the struggle and the accomplishment.

Long live the victory of the Korean people and Kim Il Sung!

## Collective Leadership

In addition to the leaders of the Democratic Republic of Korea pictured on the facing page there are 117 members and 55 alternates of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party who were elected at the Party's 5th Congress in November 1970 .

Members of the Political Committee of the Central Committee, in addition to those pictured, are:

Choe Hyon, Defense Minister; Kim Yong Ju, a secretary of the Party's Central Committee; General O Sing U, Chief of General Staff of Korean People's Army and a Central Committee secretary; Kim Dong Gyu, a Central Committee secretary in charge of the party's Foreign Affairs Department; Han Ik Su, a secretary of the Central Committee; So Chol a vice-president of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly; Ho Dam, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Kim Jung Rin.

Alternate members of the Political Committee are: Hyon Mu Gwang, a Central Committee secretary; Chong Jun Taek, a vice-premier of the Council of Ministers; Yang Hyong Sop, a Central Committee secretary and Kim Man Gum.

# Writings of Kim Il Sung

*Revolution and Socialist Construction in Korea*

*Selected Writings of Kim Il Sung*

International Publishers, 224 pp., 1971

\$7.50 cloth, \$2.95 paper

A review by Prof. Fred J. Carrier,

Villanova University

A new book from International Publishers, *Selected Writings of Kim Il Sung*, helps to fill a great void in Western knowledge. Of all the socialist countries, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is one of the least known, and this despite the fact that its economic success has been remarkable. Through writings of Kim Il Sung, ranging over the period 1955-1970, the story of reconstruction following the devastating Korean War and the building of socialism can be followed. While the Korean story is important in its own right, it also offers many lessons for the countries struggling to emerge from colonialism.

Central to the problem in the Third World is the land and the peasants. The People's Republic of Korea carried out land reform in 1946, expropriating the great landlords and all Japanese-held land, and distributing it to the poorer peasants. Thus the basis was laid for peasant democracy by ending the exploitation of the majority of peasants who had been tenants paying half or more of their crop as rent. But individual farming was not socialism, even posing a danger and contradiction to state industry being built. During the years 1954-1958 agricultural cooperatives were first formed numbering between 40-100 peasant households, and then these initial cooperatives were merged into "collectives" called *ri* (averaging about 300 peasant households). At present the peasants comprising each *ri* own the land, but Kim makes it perfectly clear that the goal is ownership by the entire people of both land and industry.

When will this be possible? Two conditions closely interdependent must occur first. "Collec-

tivism is intrinsically the basic characteristic of the working class," and so Kim calls for "an intensified struggle against individualism and egoism." Before the peasants can transcend a petty-bourgeois outlook and share working class consciousness, however, there must be a "gradual elimination of the distinction between town and country." The peasants will not disappear, but their material conditions must be greatly improved; only then can their cultural backwardness be ended. On a theoretical plane, Kim makes it clear that Communism stands opposed not only to the classical forms of exploitation—capitalist exploitation of the proletariat, landlord exploitation of the peasant—but that it also rejects the exploitation of the countryside by the urban industrial area. "The supplying of funds by the peasants for the creation of a modern socialist industry benefits the whole of society . . . but once the foundation of socialist industry has been laid, the emphasis should be shifted. From that time on, agriculture should be given ever more powerful and all-round assistance." Peasant income must be increased, an eight-hour work day implemented, and a truly *national* culture developed—one shared by urban and rural workers, a working class culture.

Thus, for Kim Il Sung, nationalism is a liberating force at this era of history. The "downfall of imperialism" is on the historical agenda, and Korea must fight to smash U.S. imperialism which is "perpetrating acts of aggression against the socialist countries and the independent national states, brutally suppressing the national liberation movements of the Asian, African and Latin American people." Of course he is most analytical in the specific case of Korea, artificially divided by the U.S. presence. Only with the destruction of imperialism will each nation be free to develop its resources fully. But Kim is equally clear that the "rural question" must be solved by incorporation of the peasants into a national culture based upon urban-rural equality of material conditions, or the liberation process will be halted.

Throughout the selections Kim Il Sung displays warranted pride in the industrial accomplishments of the People's Republic. In a "Report to the Fifth Congress of the Workers Party" in November, 1970, Kim summed up that accomplishment: "This year the value of gross industrial output will increase 11.6 times as

against 1956—13.3 times in the production of the means of production and 9.3 times in consumer goods. This means that industrial production grew at a high rate of 19.1 percent on an annual average over the whole period of industrialization, from 1957-1970. Today our industry makes in only 12 days as much as was turned out in the entire pre-Liberation year of 1944." Not only is the production growth remarkable, but its character equally so, for North Korea has one of the most developed machine-tool industries in Asia and it makes tractors, trucks, electric and diesel locomotives; it produces steel, chemicals and construction materials; it refines oil.

While Kim proclaimed *juche* (national self-reliance, pronounced choo-chay), as the proper character and goal of national development, yet is a historical fact that aid from the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China during the early years of industrialization was of crucial importance. However, of even greater importance was the way in which this aid was utilized by Korean energy. Dealing with "Some Theoretical Problems of the Socialist Economy," Kim stresses that socialism unleashes vast potential through the rationally planned use of the labor and natural resources of a country. He insists that the Korean growth rate can be maintained, in contrast to capitalism where "the process of production is periodically interrupted and much social labor wasted owing to crises of over-production," because the decisive factor is "the people's high revolutionary zeal." Thus, while Kim strongly favors material incentives to strengthen worker and peasant morale, he does not subordinate the new morality which must accompany human liberation: "In socialist society, the people's high revolutionary zeal is the decisive factor which causes the productive forces to multiply. The essential excellence of the socialist system lies in the fact that the working people, freed from exploitation and oppression, work with conscious enthusiasm and creative initiative for the country and the people, for society and the collective, as well as for their own welfare."

An ideological revolution is a necessary long-range companion to the industrialization and collectivization material drive. In a report of 1968, "Building Socialism and Communism," Kim elaborates on the ideas of Lenin related to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Ultimately

what is at stake is the genuine enjoyment by the masses of democratic rights in all spheres of politics, economy and culture. For this to occur a socialist state must act as a weapon of class struggle, using all power to establish democracy for the great majority, and this means absolute power of the workers to expropriate the bourgeoisie. On the economic plane, a planned economy replaces the anarchy of production and crises of overproduction endemic to capitalism, while social ownership means a more equitable distribution of wealth; thus the worker is secure in employment and free to share in the national wealth. But then the cultural question comes to the fore: can remnants of bourgeois ideology be permitted to continue to influence men's minds? Kim insists that "democracy as a political concept intrinsically assumes class character. . . . As there has been no state detached from classes in the history of mankind, so there is and can be no democracy which does not bear a class character." Bourgeois democracy permits the rich "to plunder the workers for profit and to oppress them at will," and proletarian democracy necessitates rooting out any idea which might open the way to a restoration of capitalism. An ideological revolution carried out by the dictatorship of the proletariat is thus essential "to root out the obsolete ideas in the minds of the working people and arm them with communist ideas," Kim stresses that this ideological change demands simultaneously the solution of the rural question and the elimination of economic-cultural backwardness among the peasantry. "It must be assured that all people feel the real superiority of the socialist system more keenly in their actual life. . . . Only when this is realized can we say the triumph of socialism is complete."

While the book succeeds admirably in revealing Kim Il Sung as a humanitarian, nationalist leader—thus depicting the Korean Revolution as a liberating struggle against imperialism, economic backwardness and peasant deprivation—that purpose would be even better served if some brief historical background were provided to each selection. For example, the North Korean land reform of 1946 becomes more meaningful when one knows that previously some 57 percent of the peasants owned only 5.4 percent of the land; the collectivization drive more impressive when one knows that within a decade

the real income of peasants was more than doubled and the industrialization accomplishments more amazing when one compares the figure cited by Kim Il Sung in 1970 of two million tons of steel production against the 1953 bomb-ravaged industry which could produce only 4,000 tons. Perhaps the second edition of the book can remedy this slight, but even as it stands the book is a "must" for an understanding of socialist development in North Korea, the thinking of its leader Kim Il Sung, and the relevance of Communism to the countries which have attained national liberation and for those still struggling.

## BOOK REVIEW

# Brain Drain

*Emigration of Highly-skilled Manpower from the Developing Countries*, by Gregory Henderson (United Nations Institute for Training and Research- UNITAR, 801 UN Plaza, N.Y. 10017. 213 pp. 1970. \$1.00)

By TOM FOLEY

The "brain drain" as a phenomenon of international imperialist exploitation is the subject of this careful United Nations study, although much of it is couched in diplomatic language. The author, now a professor at Tufts University, writes that the U.S. and other developed countries "are using imports of foreigners to solve problems of internal adjustment between educational supply and job demand which they would have been forced to solve for themselves, using their own citizens, if a ready supply of human imports from economies with lower standards of living had not been readily available."

One of these human slave markets, given prominent place in Henderson's book, is South Korea.

The "brain drain" is especially acute in the field of medicine, Henderson says, pointing out that the U.S. only graduates 9,500-10,500 M.D.'s annually to supply needs in the neighborhood of 13-14,000. The shortfall here is made up by emigrants from South Korea and elsewhere, to the detriment of both the American people and the developing countries. There certainly are at least 3-4,000 additional students per year in the U.S. who would love to become M.D.'s if they had the chance.

But they are not given that chance. Instead,



Park Chung Hee as an officer of the Imperial Japanese Army.

foreign M.D.'s are induced to settle in the U.S. Some 28,000 of them are now practicing here, representing a sheer loss to the developing countries of \$1,500,000,000 by Henderson's estimate.



And places like South Korea cannot afford such losses in any terms. To use just one criterion: South Korea has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world, 58 per 1,000 live births (compare this with 28/1,000 for Thailand or South Vietnam's 37/1,000).

Yet Henderson quotes South Korean M.D., Ahn Chae-ho, who stated that "statistics show that only 1,000 doctors are practicing in rural areas where 15 million Koreans live." This means 1,000 doctors for 50 per cent of South Korea's population.

The situation is even worse in regard to nurses: Henderson says that in 1969, South Korea "exported" 2,550 nurses to West Germany alone, and he quotes the bulletin of the Kwangju Christian Hospital: "The truth is that nurses are harder to find than any other medical workers. The situation is desperate."

Statistical averages show one M.D. per 2,540 people in South Korea (in the U.S., 1/665 and in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, 1/909). Yet a 1967 U.S. survey showed 1,349 South Korean M.D.'s practicing here. And South Korea was among the top 11 countries (along with much bigger countries like India and Pakistan) contributing interns and residents in U.S. hospitals.

"For Korea," Henderson writes, "a private survey by an experienced American doctor of many years' service in Korea has shown that of 1,914 Korean doctors who came to the U.S. between 1962-68, only 49 had returned by early 1969; of the 13,401 medical doctors licensed in the Republic of Korea (South Korea) since 1948, only 8,700 remain in Korea today, and 45-60 per cent of the graduates of the eleven medical schools in Korea find employment abroad." (Quoting Paul Crane, director of Chonju Presbyterian Hospital).

Why don't they return? Why don't they stay? Part of the answer is the unbelievably bad material conditions of life in South Korea. Dr. Howard A. Rusk reported in the New York Times (March 15, 1970) about nurses' quarters in a hospital in North Cholla province of South Korea that they were "unbelievably primitive. There was no heat in the building and the temperature in the winter often went close to zero. There was no hot water and no modern toilet facilities."

Moreover, people have no money: in one of

South Korea's most modern factories, the Tong Myung plywood plant at Pusan, men get \$48 a month, women \$32.

Chun Tae Il, a Seoul industrial worker, last year did a survey of his textile plant where the 16-hour day is the rule, 40 per cent of the work force is girls under 15 years of age, and the workers receive only one day off a month as a "holiday." Mr. Chun found that among 129 workers he subjected to detailed analysis, 96 were suffering from tuberculosis. On November 12, 1970, Mr. Chun burned himself to death in protest against these inhuman conditions (New York Times, Nov. 22, 1970).

Huge numbers of South Korea's workers and peasants certainly need medical attention, but the Park Chung Hee regime could not care less as long as they keep their mouths shut. Henderson does not go into this in his work, but it is a fact that the countries he lists as providing the biggest sources of "brain drain" personnel to the U.S. (i.e., Taiwan, South Korea, Iran, Turkey) are all police states. Clearly, trained people studying abroad have an advantage over their fellow-citizens—they can choose to escape dictatorship, poverty, diseases, hunger, simply by not remaining in their homelands. Thus, a vicious circle is created whereby the U.S. systematically drains its satellites like South Korea of everything—except the people's revolutionary spirit.

## JUCHE

*The following article was sent to us by Tyrone B. Monte. We regret that we must edit its length sharply, but we print it to demonstrate our serious interest in contributions from anyone interested in furthering knowledge about Korea.*

By TYRONE MONTE

The devastation wreaked upon the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by U.S. and UN perpetrators from 1950-53 left Korea a shambles. With 85 per cent of its structures reduced to rubble, its economy crippled and the populace devolving to refugees, the DPRK appeared hopelessly crushed.

The means of reconstructing and modernizing the DPRK consisted of human will and physical stamina. The Korean Worker's Party mobilized

the heroic Korean people under a concept that was to become the unique constellation of modern Korea—*juche*<sup>o</sup> (choo-chey). This concept, articulated by Kim Il Sung as far back as the anti-Japanese struggle of the 1930's, means alternately independence and self-reliance. It is the guiding thought, the practical ideology of the DPRK. Analytically viewed, *juche* is the dialectical synthesis of theory and practice (experience). It is the combination of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of revolution and reconstruction. Kim Il Sung expressed *juche* as: "Holding to the principle of revolution and construction in conformity with actual conditions at home and mainly by one's own efforts. All problems arising in the course of revolutionary struggle may be solved by our own ideas, force and selves, independently."

*Juche* involves a vital stress upon the independence of the national economy. In fact, the

---

<sup>o</sup> Choo Chay in Korean mean Chu (self) Chey (body).

equation "economic autonomy = political autonomy" may be deemed applicable. To this end, the various state Plans have successfully developed a firm, independent, industrially based economy. The industrial base has simultaneously grown with progress in light industry, agriculture and social welfare.

We can think of *juche* as being creative, for it means "the creative application of Marxism-Leninism's principles plus the experiences of other countries to Korea and its own conditions." The DPRK's independence in matters of socialist construction is combined with eagerness to learn and apply the best of other revolutions.

Through a series of state plans, embodying the spirit of *juche*, the DPRK has transformed itself by its own efforts. It is today a Third World model of progress and an embarrassing indictment of the dictatorial, colonial squalor that is the Republic of (South) Korea. It is both an example and an inspiration to the anxious millions of the Third World.

# Out of the Ashes of Hiroshima

By TAKUO MATSUMOTO

*Many communications have been sent to Korea Focus since the first issue. Though we can only print a few, we welcome all of them, for they contribute to our own thinking and of course they support our determination to continue the struggle for a free and united Korea.*

*The author of the following letter is Takuo Matsumoto, a survivor of the Hiroshima holocaust and now director of the World Fellowship Center. He is a Christian minister who has expressed in deed his friendship for the Korean people, and thus his message holds special interest for our Korean readers.*

After six years of study in the United States I came back to Japan and started teaching at

the Aoyama Aakuin School of Theology in Tokyo. It was the year 1919.

I soon discovered that we had at our school several students from Korea every year. Inasmuch as I had been treated so kindly by Christian friends in America while a student there, I felt I should repay their kindness by trying to be kind to those Korean students with us. So I would invite them to my home from time to time for supper, games and singing. As I continued this for some time, they came to trust me and to confide to me their inner feelings of agony, misery and even hatred against Japan because of certain wrong policies under Japanese occupation in those years. As I listened to them I came to realize that here was a situation which might lead to an explosion, and I

thought that mutual relationships should not be left just to soldiers, governments and merchants. A Christian leader who would prove himself a real friend of the Korean people was needed. I waited for some time hoping for such a leader to appear. None appeared.

Then the thought occurred to me that I who felt the need should be the very one to go. This thought startled me. I never felt good enough for such a task. But the thought would come to my mind again and again, until I came to feel that this was a challenge of God to dedicate myself for the task. I finally decided to accept this challenge and go to Korea.

So I went there in 1940. I was made a professor and vice-president of Chosen Christian College in the suburbs of Seoul. My wife and daughter accompanied me. I certainly enjoyed warm friendship and cordiality from the Korean people. I would invite to my home students and teachers for tea or dinner or social gatherings. I also preached every Sunday at the Ekeva College chapel for students of both Christian and Ekeva colleges. Usually about 600 of them would attend the worship service. During my ministry there, five young men received baptism from me, and I officiated at four marriages of young Korean couples, a privilege no Japanese would dream of enjoying in Korea in those days.

But, alas, the unfortunate war came on, and the situation in Korea became such as to compel all Japanese to leave the peninsula. So I had to leave Korea after a stay of only two years. But in thought and prayer I never left Korea.

Then I was invited to become president of Hiroshima Girls' Christian School. And there I experienced the agonies of the atomic destruction when, along with 200,000 citizens of that city, 352 students and 18 teachers of the school were wiped out. My own wife also was a victim. I honestly longed to die along with them if possible, but gradually came to feel that God wanted me to stay on and try to play my part in the efforts to end the folly of such inhuman, satanic wars and to bring about a new world of peace.

I came to be associated with the World Friendship Center in Hiroshima, of which I was appointed director. When the Center sent peace ambassadors to the U.S. and Europe, including Soviet Russia, in 1964 and 1970, I served as leader. We had many meetings with people

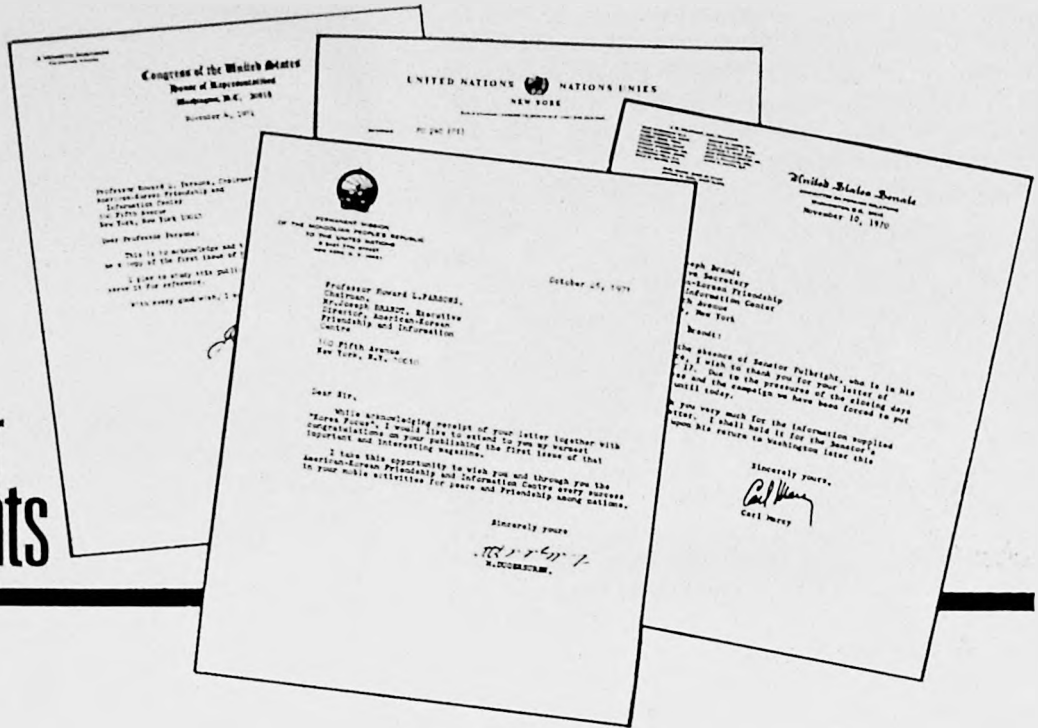


everywhere, advocating world peace based upon Christian love and friendship. Some people, including a large number of politicians, advocate the so-called balance of power policy as a "realistic" way to maintain peace in the world. To me, this sort of policy does not appeal as truly realistic.

Having personally undergone the agonies of inhuman and satanic atomic destruction, I know what war does and that it is utterly against humanity. I am determined to help realize peace, not by relying upon killing machines but by creating the situation in which men can live together in love, understanding and mutual helpfulness. Developing these human values, and not relying upon satanic means of destruction is the only genuinely realistic way of bringing about "peace on earth."

May Koreans and Japanese unite in the prayerful efforts to create a situation in which both may live together in peace and mutual helpfulness, and to help extend that harmony to the whole world!

# Reader Comments



This is to express my deep interest in your work; I would like to be of assistance in any way possible. My own interest in Korea and her problems stems from personal experience for I was stationed there from 1966 to 1968 while I was in the U.S. Army. It was from this experience that I grew quite aware of the nature of our involvement there. This was perhaps my first real taste of "American Imperialism" and its most obvious external manifestation, i.e., the occupation troops of our armed forces.

I am now enrolled in the University of Texas as an Asian Studies major with East Asia as my major area of concern. The areas of concentration for my studies are political science, history, and economics. East Asia is comprised of China, Japan and Korea and I ultimately hope to make Korea my focus.

I enclose a very small contribution but it is as much as I can afford on my rather limited student budget. Again, I would like to express my desire to be of assistance in any way possible. Keep up the fine work.

Henry B. Guinn  
Austin, Texas

I read the material you sent me with great interest. Enclosed is my check for a year's subscription to *Korea Focus*. Can you tell me how often you intend to publish?

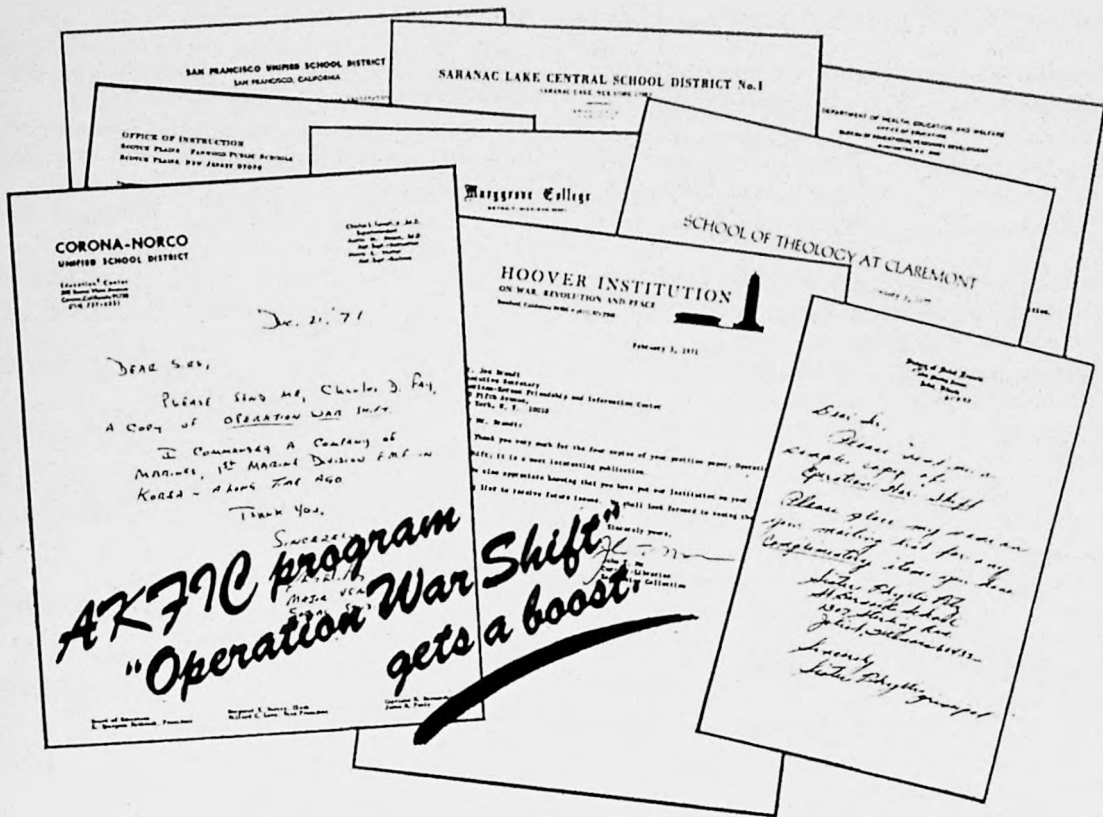
In any case, I know you will be able to provide the kind of sophisticated, high quality approach that will really make the truth available to the people.

Fred Daniels  
Washington, D.C. 20002

I recently learned of the existence of the American-Korean Friendship & Information Center, and would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on the foundation of such a valuable institution.

Little attention is paid to Korea in the United States with the Indochina war occupying everybody's minds—but Korea is a strategic point in the U.S. imperialists' plans for world domination, and war could break out there at any moment. South Korea suffers under U.S.-Pak Jung Hi slavery while the DPRK flourishes under the guidance of Kim Il Sung and the Korean Workers' Party. Your Center is much-needed. . . .

(Continued on page 60)



I am the social studies consultant for this project which serves seven school systems here in Middle Georgia. We work with 37 schools and approximately 700 teachers and 20,000 students.

I would like to obtain material for use in working with students and teachers:

Michael F. Harkins  
 Social Studies Consultant  
 Shared Services Project  
 Heart of Georgia  
 School Systems

Please send the following free materials as mentioned in FOCUS on Asian Studies, Autumn 1971: Operation War Shift.

(Mrs.) Marilyn M. Niles  
 Librarian  
 Lisha Kill  
 Junior High School  
 Albany, New York

Kindly send me a copy of paper on operation shift, second revised edition.

Charles R. Foster  
 Specialist for Social Science  
 Division of  
 College Programs

Please send me the free critical assessment of our government position regarding Korea that is in the form of a 20-page Position Paper.

Mrs. E. M. Hunter  
 Librarian ;  
 Saranac Lake  
 Central School  
 District No. 1

Please send me a copy of the Position Paper, Second Edition, as mentioned in the Fall 1971 issue of Focus on Asian Studies.

A. Elgin Heinz  
 Head, Social Studies  
 Department  
 San Francisco  
 Unified School District

(Continued on page 61)

## READER COMMENTS (Continued from page 58)

Would you be kind enough to send me any written material you may be distributing on Korea?

Robert Cohen  
Apartado 13-546  
Mexico 13, D.F.

I have been very impressed with the literature I've thus far received from the Center.

My interest in North Korea stems from my experiences in the Navy. I was a medical officer stationed aboard a ship that was sent to investigate the seizure of the U.S.S. Pueblo in February of 1968.

During the time we spent off the coast there was much talk about North Korea. Both the officers and the men had much to say. It was at that time that I began to become interested in finding out more about the country and people of North Korea. I, therefore, was pleased to see the ad the Center had in the *Times*.

I would appreciate your sending me *Korea Focus*. In addition, I would be very proud to sponsor any of the activities of the Center.

Enclosed find my check for \$10 as an additional contribution towards the good work you are doing.

Lawrence E. Levy, M.D.  
New York

I have read the first issue of *Korea Focus* thoroughly. It is really a remarkably good production, full of valuable material.

What a pity that now we have to put so much valuable energy into something that should have been wound up over 20 years ago. But it plainly is necessary, and I rejoice to see it started so well.

D. N. Pritt, O.C.

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 1971, addressed to the Secretary-General, and to thank you for the enclosed copy of *Korea Focus*.

Kurt Herndl  
Acting Director  
Security Council and  
Political Committees Division  
United Nations

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your booklet entitled *Korea Focus*.

I appreciate your taking the time to bring this to my attention. Such information is most helpful to a legislator.

U.S. Sen. J. Glenn Beall, Jr.

Congratulations! A need has finally been filled. The staff deserves the highest praise in getting the material that goes to make up the first issue of *Korea Focus*, and it deserves the title of "A SPECIAL ISSUE."

The facts contained in this first number are very timely, as they forewarn the American people of the danger of the Nixon-Agnew Government creating a new Vietnam type of war in Korea.

Max Miller  
Los Angeles, Calif.

Thank you for your letter, also signed by Mr. Joseph Brandt, enclosing a copy of your first issue of *Korea Focus*. I will examine this material with interest.

J. W. Fulbright  
Chairman  
U.S. Senate Foreign  
Relations Committee

Having just read the first issue of *Korea Focus*. I want to thank you for sending it to me.

You may wonder why a Dane is so keenly interested in Korea—I was one of the first, perhaps the very first to write eyewitness reports on North Korea during the U.S. destruction of that country, five articles in the "National Guardian" July-August 1951. The greater part of my work for Korea, naturally has consisted in Danish writing and lectures.

The material I find in *Korea Focus* is inestimable. I congratulate you warmly on your undertaking.

Ira Bachmann

While acknowledging receipt of your letter together with *Korea Focus*, I would like to extend to you my warmest congratulations on your publishing the first issue of that important and interesting magazine.

I take this opportunity to wish you and

through you the American-Korean Friendship and Information Center every success in your noble activities for Peace and Friendship among nations.

**M. Dugersuren**

Permanent Missioan of the  
Mongolian People's  
Republic to the United  
Nations

The special issue of *Korea Focus* is quite powerful, especially so in that it is written with such a wealth of research material and documentation from official and *Times*, etc., Sources, and does not get into emotional wording; and leaves some of the major implications that are about to walk right off the page for the reader to grasp, and hold.

I don't know what you do about sending out

copies of this issue, but I suppose a list of people that I know will overlap your lists except in a few cases, which would probably be all right, too; such persons would certainly be glad to pass on their issues, extra, to others. I would, too.

So here are a few names, including a page of of psychologists, mostly old gray beards.

**Ralph H. Gundlach, Ph. D.**

This is to acknowledge and thank you for sending me a copy of the first issue of *Korea Focus*.

I plan to study this publication carefully and preserve it for reference.

**J. Kenneth Robinson**

Congressman

7th District, Virginia

---

## **OPERATION WARSHIP GETS A BOOST** (Continued from page 59)

Please will you send a sample copy of *Operation War Shift* and put us on your mailing list for complimentary publications?

**Sister Joy**

Librarian,  
St. Francis High School  
Wheaton, Illinois

Please send me a sample copy of *Operation War Shift* and any other available free material.

**Larry C. Strong**

Social studies teacher  
John Trowbridge School  
Spencerport Central School  
Spencerport, New York

Thank you for making this available.

**Sister Jean Meyer**

Chairman, Political Science  
Department  
Marygrove College

Please send me a sample copy of *Operation War Shift*.

**Robert M. Carchman**

Director of Social Studies  
Scotch Plains-Fanwood  
Public Schools,  
Scotch Plains, N.J.

Thank you very much for the four copies of your position paper, *Operation War Shift* it is a most interesting publication.

We also appreciate knowing that you have put our Institution on your mailing list to receive future issues. We shall look forward to seeing them.

**John T. Ma**

Curator-Librarian  
East Asian Collection  
Hoover Institution  
Starford, Calif.

I should appreciate it very much if you would send me a copy of *Operation War Shift* (revised edition) and other informative material about the activities of your organization.

**Hee-Jin Kim**

Visiting Assistant Professor  
of World Religions  
School of Theology  
at Claremont

Please send me a copy of *operation war shift*. I commanded a company of Marines, 1st Marine Division F.M.F in Korea—A long time ago.

**Charles D. Fay**

Major USMC RET.  
Social Studies

# Focusing on the Truth

*Korea Focus* is just part of the truth, but a very important part, of what has happened, and what is happening in the Pacific area as U.S. imperialism comes up against the peoples' determination to be free. Our first issue—"The U.N. Role in the U.S. War"—was everywhere recognized as carrying the truth, documentation by documentation, from the maneuvering to get the war started, in 1950, through to the threat of a new war that exists today, with South Korea a nuclear-armed, puppet-ruled colony of the United States.

Old and young recognized the magazine's worth. One letter, in a shaky hand-writing, told of the writer's being at a protest demonstration against that war held at the Chicago Coliseum in 1952. He added, "I still have the *U.S. News and World Report* of 1954 in which Syngman Rhee admitted that South Korea started the war when the green light came from Washington."

Another letter—and a subscription—came from a student. It is worth quoting at length:

"I received my first copy of *Korea Focus*, and am very impressed. I found it informative, engaging, and of notable quality in its content and accuracy.

"As one who has recently done research on Korea (DPRK) for my studies I am only too well aware of the impending dangers the Korean people face. U.S. imperialism and assorted Japanese machinations are openly conspiring for the resurgence of open hostilities. Given the military agreement in the U.S.-Japan Security agreement, plus elaborate joint operations strategems noted by Wilfred Burchett in *Again Korea*, it seems only a vocal and well-organized body such as A.K.F.I.C. (with its authoritative information) can prevent another blood-thirsty Vietnam-type venture from being perpetrated upon a swindled American public and a victimized Korean people.

"Even now, with the horror of the Vietnam war persisting, terribly exacting its cost in human lives and resources, people fail to remember Korea. . . . To the extent that the public feels insulated from the history and

persistence of the Korean tinder-box, to the extent that they remain impervious to its relation to Vietnam, to that extent the task of A.K.F.I.C. becomes vitally needed and arduous."

Every delegation to the United Nations now has a copy of that first issue of *Korea Focus*. Every member of the United States Congress has it. Colleges, universities and libraries have it. And, most gratifying to those who have to wonder if there will be a "next issue," two of the Nation's great libraries have sent in three-year subscriptions.

They expect, and we hope, that *Korea Focus* will be with us for a long time.

*It can be a shield against the very real threat of further military adventures "to save Korea" for the American and Japanese imperialists.*

*It can affect the decision in the United Nations when the Korean question next comes before it. "If need be," said one delegate, "I will read Korea Focus into the record."*

*It can be a factor, here at home, when matters pertaining to Korea are before the Congress.*

*It can be a repository of truth not only in public libraries, but in those of newspapers, magazines, radio and television that still seem not to have it at hand.*

*It can be the means by which American policy-makers of the future, like the young student quoted above, will be able to accept the awful truth about their country's role in the Pacific, from Korea through to Indo-China—and the Philippines. Knowing that, the next exploration must necessarily be into the nature of the imperialism of which it is a part.*

All the while the countervailing truth is there, too, to be discovered. It is the miracle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This second issue of *Korea Focus* begins that story in its account of how, under socialism, in only 20 years' time, the Korean people built a prosperous nation upon the ruins left by the American invaders.

Your subscriptions—and your contributions—are needed now!





# AKFIC AMERICAN-KOREAN FRIENDSHIP AND INFORMATION CENTER

160 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010 • SUITE 809 • TELEPHONE: (212) 242-0240

On the initiative of many distinguished Americans in all walks of life, the American-Korean Friendship and Information Center was organized in 1971.

Our Center came into existence formally and publicly with our first press conference February 24, 1971. The list of close to 100 of our initiating sponsors includes men and women from a broad range of occupations and interests. While individually they represent a number of philosophical and political beliefs, they are all of an anti-imperialist persuasion and are united in a deep feeling of opposition to aggressive war and a desire for friendship and peace among nations, especially in opposition to the United States' war of aggression in Vietnam and elsewhere in Asia.

## *Character and Structure of AKFIC*

We are emphatically an anti-imperialist peace organization representing the interest of our people, our nation, the U.S.A.

We do not speak for nor do we represent a foreign government, a foreign political party, or a foreign leader or leaders.

The Center is not associated with any expression of anti-Communism, redbaiting and anti-Sovietism. These are divisive means of U.S. imperialism to divide and destroy all peoples' movements fighting and resisting imperialist war and exploitation.

We are partisan in the struggle between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the traitorous accomplices of the U.S. and Japanese imperialists in the South of Korea; we support 100 per cent the great achievements made by the people of the DPRK under a socialist system; and we are 100 per cent behind the efforts of the DPRK to reunify the Korean nation and people democratically, independently and peacefully.

The structure of our Center is quite simple. It is not a membership organization. It has as its base of organization sponsors, a large mailing list of thousands of supporters, readers and subscribers of our publications. Many of them express their support with financial contributions. It has an Executive Board of 13 members—eight Vice-Chairmen and Vice-Chairwomen, a Director of Education and Information, a Director of Publications, a Secretary, an Executive Director and a Chairman.

## *Our Program*

The chief objectives of AKFIC are stated clearly in our Position Paper, "Operation War Shift."

"It (AKFIC) will be frankly an anti-imperialist undertaking, in the best American interest, designed to help prevent a new holocaust which could take the lives of thousands of civilians and soldiers in Korea—and the lives of thousands of young Americans. Above all it is designed to help alter the seemingly immutable destiny of young America from one of death and destruction to a vision of life and constructive work and happiness in harmony with the Korean people, and all the people of Asia."

"Utmost pressure must be exerted upon the government in Washington to abandon its disastrous policy in Asia, to withdraw all its troops, on a genuine basis, from Korea—and all other military equipment—and to permit the people of Korea to determine their *own* future, develop their *own* resources for the benefit of their *own* people, and choose a form of government according to their *own* needs and desires."

*Operation War Shift—page 3.*

"Specifically, the purpose of the Center is to help organize a campaign of the utmost pressure on the government of the United States to:

1. *End its Military Subsidy of a Despised Regime in South Korea;*
2. *Effect a Total Withdrawal of All its Military Forces and War Materiel in South Korea;*
3. *Abandon its Policy of 'Japanization' of Korea.*

The people of Korea want to determine their own future without foreign interference; they should have that right."

*from covering letter, p. 2 in Operation War Shift.*

### *Our Activities*

#### *Position Paper "Operation War Shift"*

1. Two editions totaling 35,000 copies published. Circulated via mailings, books stores and distribution to people in the USA of all walks of life including the members of Congress. An additional 10,000 copies circulated by DPRK friends in Japan and most English speaking countries, especially among educators and Asian scholars.

We have received dozens of requests from educational institutions throughout the country for copies of our Position Paper. It was referred to as indispensable reading matter for teachers of Asian affairs in "Focus on Asian Studies" published by the Association For Asian Studies of Ohio State University, Columbus.

2. *KOREA FOCUS*: The chief publication of the AKFIC Executive Board and its sponsors. The officers serve as the responsible Editorial Board and each issue is edited by an editorial task force headed by an officer and a Managing Editor on a voluntary basis.

8,000 copies of the first issue devoted in the main to "The U.N. Role in the U.S. War of Aggression in Korea 1950-53." Published in Oct.-Nov. 1971, has been completely sold out. It was mailed to all UN delegations and was received favorably by them. It was sent to all members of Congress, many Public and University libraries, institutions specializing in Asian affairs. It was received with a great deal of interest by hundreds of Asian scholars, students of Asian affairs both here and abroad.

3. *Public relations*: is at present limited in the main to advertising, press releases, press conferences and trying to shatter the Establishment's supersonic Great Wall surrounding our press, radio, TV.; we hope some day to crack it.

We have participated and hope to expand our role in seminars, conferences and other events dealing with Asian affairs, especially as it relates to Korea. We have established contact with US-Korean residents, but because of organized intimidation and terror in the USA-Korean communities by the henchmen of the Park Chung Hee (South Korean) regime and the racism in our country, our activities in this field are at a minimum.

We have participated in all major peace activities of the U.S. Peace Movement and are formally associated with the main peace organization in the U.S.—People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

4. *Education and Information Activities*: We have published and distributed tens of thousands of circulars, explaining our program and a special information document on conditions in South Korea and reprinted for wide circulation numerous statements from prominent leaders of USA-Korean residents.

Members of the delegation have spoken to members of numerous groups such as the National Council of Churches, United Methodist Church, Peace Groups and recently a gathering of over 100 people at a joint meeting organized with the Angela Davis Book Store in New Haven, Connecticut, where a DPRK motion picture received its first public showing in the U.S.

We participated with our literature and the showing of the same picture in March at a special event dealing with Korea, organized at a meeting of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars in New York.

*Our Cultural Activities* are as yet limited in the main to placing the DPRK movies at the disposal of interested groups. Both movies had a preview in New York City attended by about 60 people.

Members of the AKFIC delegation to the DPRK spoke at a seminar at the Roslyn Junior High School attended by the student body. The delegation manned a photo display.

We are financed entirely by contributions and support from individuals, peace activists, peace groups, readers and supporters of our publications.

We are strictly a "shoe string" operation and we appeal and welcome more and more contributions for "Shoe Strings."

# KOREA FOCUS

*What does it take to get it published?*

A board meeting, a discussion, a motion.

*That is easy, but not enough to get it published.*

A determination to enlist voluntary efforts of competent journalists, writers, editors and scholars.

*That is not too difficult, but not enough to get it published.*

A devoted team of supporters and friends to help mail, distribute, circulate thousands of copies.

*That too can be organized, but not enough to get it published.*

So what does it really take to get "Korea Focus" published?

It takes money, with inflation lots of it.

**PUBLISHED PERIODICALLY WE NEED 500 SUBSCRIPTIONS AND BUSHELS OF CONTRIBUTIONS**

**PUBLISHED QUARTERLY WE NEED 1,000 SUBSCRIBERS AND LOTS OF CONTRIBUTIONS**

**PUBLISHED MONTHLY WE NEED 3,000 SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTINUED CONTRIBUTIONS**

We cannot give you a 64-page special all the time, but we can guarantee a quality magazine regularly *with your subscriptions and contributions.*

Enclosed find \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ one-year subscriptions

at \$6 each. My contribution \$ \_\_\_\_\_

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

Make check or money order payable to

AMERICAN-KOREAN FRIENDSHIP AND INFORMATION CENTER

160 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10010

If you are a subscriber, pass this on to a prospective subscriber. Thank you.



Map of Southeast Asia showing various geographical features, rivers, and place names. Key locations include Luang Prabang, Vientiane, and Saigon. The map also shows the borders of Siam, Cambodia, and Indochina.

CHINA