

**FOR
KOREA'S
PEACEFUL
UNIFICATION**

1961

FOR KOREA'S
PEACEFUL UNIFICATION

Foreign Languages Publishing House
Pyongyang, D.P.R.K.

1961

Printed in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

C O N T E N T S

Foreword	1
Report Made by Comrade Kim Il Sung on the Work of the C.C. of the Workers' Party of Korea at the Second Congress of the W.P.K. (Excerpts)	10
Joint Statement of Various Political Parties and Social Organizations of North and South Korea	20
Declaration of the United Democratic Fatherland Front to All Democratic Political Parties, Social Organizations and the Entire People of Korea	24
On Promoting the Country's Peaceful Unification (Decision of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K.)	35
Appeal of the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K.	38
Report Delivered by Premier Kim Il Sung at the Celebration Meeting of the Tenth Anniversary of the August 15 Liberation by the Great Soviet Army (Excerpts) . . .	43
Report Made by Comrade Kim Il Sung on the Work of the C.C. of the Workers' Party of Korea at the Third Congress of the W.P.K. (Excerpts)	50
For the Peaceful Unification of the Country (Declaration of the Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea)	60
Statement of the Government of the D.P.R.K. on the Reduction of Armed Forces of the D.P.R.K.	71
Cabinet Decision No. 43 of the D.P.R.K. (On Supplying 100,000 Suk of Relief Rice Gratis to South Korean Foodless Peasants)	74
Cabinet Decision No. 96 of the D.P.R.K. (On Relieving the Unemployed and the Vagrant Orphans of South Korea	

Groaning under U.S. Imperialist Occupation)	77
Cabinet Decision No. 60 of the D.P.R.K. (On Relieving the Sufferers in the Southern Part of the Country)	81
Address to the South Korean People	84
Report Made by Premier Kim Il Sung at the Meeting in Celebration of the 15th Anniversary of the August 15 Liberation, the National Holiday of the Korean People	97
For the Further Promotion of Peaceful Unification of the Country (Report Made by Choi Yong Kun, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K., at the 8th Session of the Second Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K.)	113
Letter of the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K. to the R.O.K. National Assembly and to the Political Parties, Social Organizations and the People in South Korea	159
Recommendations on Realizing Economic and Cultural Exchange and Cooperation Between North and South Korea and Promoting Independent Development of National Economy in South Korea	180
Speech by Kim Il, First Vice-Premier, at the Pyongyang City Mass Rally Denouncing the U.S. Imperialist Aggressors Who Are Strengthening Military Fascist Dictatorship in South Korea	213
Report Made by Comrade Kim Il Sung on the Work of the C.C. of the Workers' Party of Korea at the Fourth Congress of the W.P.K. (Excerpts)	227
For the Peaceful Unification of the Country (Declaration of the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea)	244

FOREWORD

The Korean people with a long history are a homogeneous nation who have lived on the same land. But the territory of Korea has been divided into two and the nation split for 16 years due to the colonial enslavement policy of the U.S. imperialists who came to occupy South Korea following Korea's liberation on August 15, 1945.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have all along persistently striven to unify the country peacefully.

The Korean question must be solved peacefully on a democratic basis by the Koreans themselves without foreign interference, for it is the question for the Korean people themselves.

But the U.S. imperialists have from the first day of their occupation of South Korea pursued the sinister aim of perpetuating the division of Korea and turning South Korea into a colony and an advanced base for their aggression of Asia, by trampling down the right of the Korean people wishing to establish a unified independent state. The decision on Korea of the Moscow Conference of Three Foreign Ministers in December 1945 provided for the establishment of a unified provisional Korean democratic government with a view to restoring Korea as an independent state and creating conditions for developing the country on democratic principles.

But the U.S. imperialists deliberately obstructed the implementation of the decision of the Moscow Conference of Three Foreign Ministers on Korea and unlawfully brought the Korean question to the U.N. to rig up, by manipulating their satellite countries, the "U.N. Temporary Commission on Korea" which served them in staging, at the point of the bayonet, separate elections in South Korea on May 10, 1948. With the formation of the

U.S. puppet government in South Korea following the separate elections, the situation became more grave.

Under the circumstances, the Korean people were demanded to secure complete unification of the country in opposition to the disrupting policy of the U.S. imperialists and their puppet Syngman Rhee clique and to found a prosperous and mighty democratic sovereign state.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea was founded in September 1948 at the will of the people in both North and South Korea through a nation-wide struggle of the people.

The birth of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was a demonstration to the whole world of the Korean people's capability of shaping for themselves their own destiny without foreign interference.

The U.S. imperialists dreaming of world conquest stepped up preparations for an armed invasion of North Korea, with the aim of colonizing the whole Korea and then attacking the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the D.P.R.K. energetically struggled to ease the worsening tension in Korea and unify the country peacefully.

Take a few events for instance.

The inauguration meeting of the United Democratic Fatherland Front in June 1949 issued a Declaration, the Central Committee of the United Democratic Fatherland Front in June 1950 issued an Appeal and the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K. in June 1950 put forward proposals.

The U.S. imperialists and their puppet clique, however, answered our just and reasonable proposals with the launching of a war.

The three-year long Korean war unleashed by U.S. imperialism spelled tremendous misfortunes to the Korean people.

But the Korean people, who have taken the state power into their own hands, defeated the enemy by relying on the democratic base built in the North, and defended the freedom and independence of the country and their socialist gains.

The victory of the Korean people in the Korean war opened

up a new vista for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and contributed to easing tension in the Far East and Asia.

In the post-war period, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the D.P.R.K. have exposed every plot of the U.S. imperialists to unleash another war and have done their best to make use of even the slightest possibility of realizing the country's unification.

The Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea in 1956 set forth more concrete programme for the country's peaceful unification and inspired the entire people to realize the programme.

The historic declaration on the peaceful unification of the country adopted at the Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea once again elucidated our unswerving stand that the Korean question must be settled in accordance with the expression of democratic will of the Korean people, that a unified government of Korea must be set up through general elections and that interference from outside should not be allowed.

The line of the Workers' Party of Korea for country's peaceful unification is based on the principle of achieving the unification and independence of the country by the Koreans themselves and on the democratic principle most correctly representing the demands and wishes of the Korean people. These principles are guided by the self-determination of nations.

Withdrawal of the U.S. aggressive army from South Korea, therefore, constitutes the prerequisite for the peaceful unification of Korea.

To reject outside forces and achieve country's unification by the Koreans themselves, it is important to strengthen our own revolutionary forces. Of decisive importance in strengthening the revolutionary forces is to steadily reinforce politically, economically and culturally the democratic base of the North.

"Reinforcement of the democratic base constitutes the decisive guarantee of the country's unification. The slogan of reinforcing the democratic base must remain until the country is unified. It is necessary to further reinforce the democratic base. We need a powerful Party and reins of power and solid economic

might so that we can correctly grasp the revolutionary forces and revolutionary situation and deal with matters of our own initiative. In this way the revolutionary tasks of reinforcing the democratic base and achieving the country's unification are closely interrelated." (Selected Works of Kim Il Sung, Vol. 4)

For the realization of the principle of achieving the country's unification by the Koreans themselves, it is necessary for the representatives of North and South Korea to meet and hold consultation.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the D.P.R.K., therefore, have always stood for co-operation with all political parties, social organizations and individual personages coming out for the country's peaceful unification.

Distinction of political views and religious belief, no matter how big it may be, can never stand in the way of entering into coalition in the interests of achieving the common cause of the nation—peaceful unification of the country by the Koreans themselves. This was proved by the joint conference of the representatives of political parties and social organizations of North and South Korea in 1948.

For the peaceful unification of Korea, it is also necessary to effect the democratic principle advocated by the Workers' Party of Korea.

The Korean nation is a homogeneous nation with a long history. But today it is divided into North and South, each taking an opposing direction in politics, economy, culture. Such state of affairs, such misfortune, should not be allowed to prolong. The Korean nation must live in a unified country, under one and the same social and political system.

What kind of social and political system should be set up in unified Korea, it is a matter to be decided upon by the will of the people of the North and the South.

To realize the country's unification based on the above-mentioned democratic principles, it is necessary to compel the U.S. aggressive troops to withdraw from South Korea and then hold general elections on democratic principles throughout North and South Korea. Workers, peasants and other sections of the

people must be represented in the unified government to be formed, and the government should champion the rights and interests of the people of all walks of life.

To this end, in all parts of North and South Korea freedom of political activities must be fully guaranteed, irrespective of which section of the population the activities represent or for what form of government the activities stand.

This will give the people in both parts of the country an opportunity to judge for themselves which of the political views and which of the policies champion their interests, and freely select the social system they think is best for the development and prosperity of the country and nation.

Basing themselves on the above-mentioned principles, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the D.P.R.K. have strictly abided by the Korean Armistice Agreement to lessen tension and turn the armistice into a lasting peace in the post-war period, have called for the reduction of armed forces of both North and South Korea to the minimum, unilaterally cut the strength of the People's Army of the North, and have taken measures for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea.

The Chinese People's Volunteers completely pulled out of North Korea by the end of October 1958.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the D.P.R.K. have time and again made sincere proposals for North-South political, economic and cultural exchanges, mutual contacts between the people of North and South Korea—movements of population and exchange of communications—and for North-South negotiations. And at the same time, the Government of the D.P.R.K. has time and again proposed the relief of the jobless people, foodless peasants, calamity sufferers and waifs and strays of South Korea who are groaning under the U.S. colonial rule.

But the U.S. imperialists and their South Korean puppets who do not want Korea's unification have for more than ten years raved about the absurd "march North to unify the country" and have all along tried to cover up their criminal acts of obstructing Korea's unification with the slogan of "elections under U.N. supervision."

“Elections under U.N. supervision” are, as have already been proved in South Korea, nothing but a farce staged to rig up a U.S. puppet regime at the point of the U.S. bayonet and by means of violence and fraud for the purpose of perpetuating the division of Korea.

The spuriousness of the “elections under U.N. supervision” has been fully exposed before the eyes of the South Korean people and the peoples throughout the world.

Free, democratic elections are inconceivable in South Korea so long as the U.S. aggressive troops which usurp the U.N. emblem remain there. It was convincingly proved by the “Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections” of March 15, 1960.

The April popular uprising of the South Korean people in 1960, which signifies the eruption of the people’s pent-up hatred of the U.S. imperialists and their puppets, knocked out the reactionary regime of the U.S.-fostered Syngman Rhee and shook to its very foundations the U.S. colonial rule over South Korea.

Kim Il Sung, Premier of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, addressing the meeting in honour of the 15th anniversary of the August 15 liberation, set forth a historic programme for saving the situation of South Korea and achieving country’s peaceful unification. And in November 1960, the Eighth Session of the Second Supreme People’s Assembly of the D.P.R.K., acting on the programme put forward by Premier Kim Il Sung, made detailed proposals.

It is again stressed in the programme that peaceful unification of Korea should be achieved by the Koreans themselves without foreign interference through free general elections throughout North and South Korea on a democratic basis.

This is our unshakable basic principle on the Korean question.

For the peaceful unification of the country by the Korean people themselves, above all, all foreign troops should be made to withdraw from Korea. So long as U.S. occupation of South Korea continues, it is beyond one’s imagination to think of free expression of the people’s will and a stabilized, normal life. Hence the U.S. aggressive army must be made to quit South Ko-

rea and the question of unification should be solved by the Korean people themselves.

If the South Korean rulers still cannot agree to all-Korea general elections, it is proposed in the programme, a Confederation of North and South Korea should be set up to solve urgent problems for the nation.

Confederation will lead to the restoration of the disrupted ties between the people of the two parts of the country and to its strengthening, though not to the complete national unification.

Economic and cultural co-operation between North and South Korea through Confederation will make it possible to relieve the South Korean economy from decline and improve the South Korean people's living in plight.

We proposed that if the South Korean authorities cannot yet accept even the Confederation, an Economic Committee composed of representatives of business circles of North and South should be set up to deal with exclusively economic matters for commodity exchange and co-operation and help in economic construction.

When the historic new measures for the peaceful unification of the country were made public, the South Korean people were greatly encouraged by them. The South Korean people rose up in a nation-wide struggle for implementing the measures. These measures reflected the compatriotic spirit of the people in the North who are determined to put an early end to the tragedy of territorial division and national split caused by U.S. occupation of South Korea and relieve their compatriots in the southern part of the country who are suffering in darkness and agony. Hence, these measures electrified the entire South Korean people who welcomed them most enthusiastically. "Only unification is the way to life!" "Unless unification is realized all cannot live well!" These were the voice of the workers and peasants. Soon the young people, students, intellectuals, medium and small enterprisers came out for North-South economic exchange and the country's unification.

Confronted with such national movement, no political parties or social organizations of South Korea could stay aloof from

the people's aspirations. They, under the slogan "Principle of unification by Koreans," had to come out in support of national unification by the Koreans themselves, rejecting U.S. and foreign influence.

The ever intensifying anti-U.S.-and-save-the-country struggle of the South Korean people has shaken U.S. colonial rule to its foundation.

The U.S. imperialists now make frantic attempt to prolong their colonial rule by establishing military fascist dictatorship.

The Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea held in September 1961 adopted a historic declaration "For the Peaceful Unification of the Country" which, on the basis of the concrete analysis of the situation in South Korea, outlined a programme of action for achieving the cause of the country's unification, the urgent task confronting the whole nation.

The Declaration of the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea once again clarified our stand that the peaceful unification of the country should be achieved by forming a unified government through free North-South general elections on a democratic basis without any foreign interference after compelling the U.S. aggressive army to withdraw from South Korea.

The U.S. army occupation of South Korea and the U.S. aggressive policy, Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out in his report on the Work of the Party Central Committee at the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, are the principal obstacle to the peaceful unification of Korea and the democratic development of the South Korean society and, at the same time, are the cause of all sufferings and misfortunes of the South Korean people.

For this reason, the U.S. imperialists are the principal target of the South Korean people's struggle and are the sworn enemy of the entire Korean people.

So long as the U.S. aggressive army remains in South Korea, the situation in South Korea will not improve, no matter how often the reins of government is handed over from one to another.

The Declaration of the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea calls on the entire patriotic forces throughout North and South Korea to stand together and resolutely come out for a nation-wide struggle for compelling the U.S. imperialist army to withdraw from the territory of Korea and achieving the country's peaceful unification.

In the national salvation struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their stooges, the South Korean people are all the more strongly inspired by the Declaration of the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea.

No enemy can quench the burning desire of the Korean people to live a harmonious life in a unified land.

The U.S. imperialists will certainly meet their doom.

The situation at home and abroad is developing all the more favorably for the cause of Korea's peaceful unification.

The forces of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union decisively prevail over the forces of imperialism led by the United States.

U.S. imperialism is more and more isolated from and rejected by the world people and its aggressive policy is meeting with fiasco in different parts of the world.

The foundation of the U.S. colonial rule over South Korea is crumbling and the national salvation struggle of the South Korean people is powerful.

The just struggle of the united people of North and South Korea will certainly compel the U.S. aggressors, the most shameless robber and the sworn enemy of the Korean people and the world people, to quit Korea.

The Korean people confidently look forward to the radiant future full of hope, and the day of victory when they lead a hopeful, happy life in a unified land draws nearer.

This book contains a number of important documents elucidating the basic principles for the peaceful unification of Korea, the principles the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the D.P.R.K. have consistently held to, and the just and reasonable proposals for the peaceful unification of Korea.

**REPORT MADE BY COMRADE KIM IL SUNG ON THE
WORK OF THE C.C. OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF
KOREA AT THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE W.P.K.
(Excerpts)**

March 27, 1948

Comrades, international developments since World War II find a most clear-cut reflection in the political situation of our country. Today the Korean issue is not a question limited to our country alone but constitutes a link in the struggle between democracy and reaction in the post-war international situation.

It is for this reason that a most fierce struggle between these two forces has been going on in our country since the early days of its liberation. All the patriots and people of Korea fighting for the country's independence and freedom have formed a mighty democratic forces and all the traitors and pro-Japanese who place their own self-seeking political gambles and personal interests above the interests of the nation and country have formed an anti-popular, reactionary forces.

But for the reactionary U.S. interference, the struggle between these two forces in our country could have already been settled in compliance with the Korean people's claim with little difficulty or complication. For the reactionary forces formed in our country after the liberation comprising only a handful of pro-Japanese and national traitors, who are an object of the entire Korean people's hatred and denouncement, have no foothold among the popular masses and their force cannot match the mighty democratic force of the liberated nation.

However, the struggle between these two forces has not yet been settled easily, and the Korean issue has become more and more complicated with every passing day, because a handful of

reactionary forces comprising pro-Japanese and national traitors are under the direct manipulation of, and given positive support and aid by, the U.S. imperialists at the fore of the world reactionary forces.

This is why the democratic force in our country that has newly arisen since liberation has to combat the internal reactionary forces on the one hand, and, on the other, fight the powerful international reactionary forces.

Comrades, why has such a political situation been created in our country, and why has the Korean issue become most complicated and acute to be settled?

The decisive victory of the great Soviet Army could smash Japanese imperialism in the East and bring liberation to the Korean people, as it liberated peoples in the West from the fascist hordes.

However, owing to the inevitable international situation and military strategic necessity at the time of Korea's liberation, the armies of both the Soviet Union and the United States were stationed in our country with 38th parallel as the boundary.

Prior to the landing of U.S. troops in South Korea, there, too, those pro-Japanese and national traitors could hardly raise their voices before the mighty democratic force. An atmosphere of genuine liberation was created in our fatherland. The country was heading towards national restoration and independence, which the people demanded, amid patriotic enthusiasm of the liberated nation. But with the landing of the U.S. Army in South Korea on September 8, 1945, a dark cloud of misfortune began to hang again over our country.

Comrades, in view of the current political situation created in North and South Korea and to prove that it is not accidental for North and South Korea to run in opposite directions as is seen today, I should like to review the historical documents proclaimed to us Korean people by the armies of the two countries on the first day of their entry into Korea.

The Soviet Army guided by the great Leninist-Stalinist Party that respects and stands for independence and freedom

of weak nations issued on the first day of its entry in our country the following proclamation:

“Korean people!... Korea has become a free country. However, this is only the first step in a new era of Korean history. An abundant, fruitful orchard is the result of man’s effort and vigor. Therefore the happiness of the Korean people will only be achieved by the heroic efforts that you Korean people will exert.

“Korean people! Remember you have your future happiness in your own hands. You have attained liberty and independence. Now everything is up to you. The Soviet Army has paved the way and created the conditions for you Korean people with all conditions for the free and creative ventures you are bound to embark on. Koreans must make themselves the creators of their own happiness...”

Comrades, this is the proclamation that the Soviet Army issued on the first day of its entry into our land.

As it promised in this document, the Soviet Army handed over all the reins of power to the Korean people, providing them with conditions for carrying out spectacular democratic construction in North Korea. This needs no further comment because today’s reality in the North furnishes eloquent proof.

But, comrades, what proclamation the U.S. Army made to the Korean people upon its landing in South Korea?

Let me quote a few lines from the proclamation the U.S. Army issued when it landed in South Korea:

“...As Commander-in-Chief, United States Army Forces, Pacific, I establish military administration over the territory of Korea south of 38th degrees north latitude and the people thereof, and do hereby proclaim the term of occupation as follows:

“All powers of government over the territory of Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude and the people thereof will be for the present exercised under my authority.

“Persons will obey my orders and orders issued under my authority. Acts of resistance to the occupying forces or any acts which may disturb public order and peace will be punished severely.

“For all purposes during the military control, English will be the official language...” (From Proclamations No. 1 and No. 2 by Douglas MacArthur.)

Comrades, this is the document issued by the U.S. Army, which is under the control of the masters of Wall Street, on the first day of its entry into our territory. And the words of this document are being carried out to the letter. The grim situation of today's South Korea is ample proof of this.

Thus, with the entry of U.S. troops into South Korea, different political situation was created in North and South Korea and our country was divided into North Korea following the road of democracy, freedom and construction and South Korea following the road of reaction, massacre and destruction.

North Korea, where the great Soviet Army, the liberator of weak nations and champion of peace, freedom and security of the world people, has entered, is making its way toward national resurrection, restoration, freedom and independence.

On the contrary, South Korea occupied by the U.S. Army, which is scheming to encroach upon the sovereignty of weak nations and tries to shackle them again in slavery, is moving along the road of misfortune, bankruptcy, ruin and subjugation.

The U.S. Army entered upon pursuing a policy of colonial slavery from the first day of its entry into South Korea. The U.S. imperialists have employed two fundamental tactics from the time they first stationed their troops in South Korea to effect their enslavement policy.

Politically, they have brought pressure upon all the democratic creativeness of the liberated nation who came out against their policy of colonial slavery, suppressed all the democratic forces in an attempt to liquidate them. On the other hand, they fostered and protected reactionaries of all shades who could be useful in their policy of splitting the Korean nation and of colonial slavery.

Economically, their policy was to hamper the development of Korea's national industry and national economy so as to subordinate Korea to them in the sphere of economy, too.

For putting into practice these two fundamental tactics, the U.S. Army began suppressing all the democratic forces in the country from the early days of their occupation of South Korea. They dissolved the people's committees set up immediately after liberation on the initiative of the people and established military administration. On the other hand, they raked together in South Korea all the reactionaries at home and abroad, that is, pro-Japanese and national traitors at home and those reactionary quislings they had brought from the United States and China, to strengthen the reactionary forces.

With the aim of checking the growth of Korea's national industry and of wrecking the foundation of its national economy, the U.S. imperialists started wanton disposal of the formerly Japanese-owned factories and enterprises, built with the Korean people's blood and sweat, on the pretext of their being "custodian property"

Unlike the Soviet Army stationed in North Korea which has handed over them to the Korean people and assured their rehabilitation, the U.S. Army began to sell them on the strength of the so-called "law on the disposal of custodian property" to the national traitors, pro-Japanese, American enterprisers and profiteers, only to destroy the property in the end. Instead of distributing land to the peasantry, they are exploiting the Korean peasants more cruelly than the Japanese imperialists did by making use of the so-called "New Korea Company," a tool of exploitation that they have newly set up.

Such a policy of the United States was clearly revealed already at the time of the Moscow Conference of Three Foreign Ministers. The United States at the Conference, refusing to grant the Korean people independence, insisted that Korea should be put under military administration for 5 to 10 years.

I am not going to dwell further in my report on the proposals of the U.S. delegation at the Moscow Conference. But reference must be made to the U.S. attitude toward the implementation of the decision of the Moscow Three Ministers Conference to which its delegate set his hand.

When the decision of the Moscow Three Ministers Con-

ference on Korea was published, the entire people in North and South Korea held innumerable rallies and grand demonstrations in welcome and support of it. Our Party, together with other democratic political parties and social organizations in North Korea, issued a joint statement in support of the decision of the Three Ministers Conference. The democratic political parties and public organizations in South Korea also came out in support of the decision.

The U.S. military government in South Korea, however, has employed every means available to hamper the movement of the South Korean democratic political parties and social organizations for supporting the decision of the Three Ministers Conference, and incited in every way the so-called "anti-trusteeship campaign" organized by reactionaries of all shades, pro-Japanese and national traitors who were rounded up to South Korea. This came from the U.S. imperialists' scheme to undermine the decision of the Moscow Three Ministers Conference and impede the establishment of a unified government in Korea.

The United States employing various kinds of intrigue and manoeuvre wrecked the work of the U.S.S.R.-U.S. Joint Commission which was convened on two occasions. Consequently, the establishment of a unified government, which the Korean people are aspiring for day and night and for which they are fighting, remains unrealized.

The Americans do not want at all the establishment of a unified government in Korea. For they have, originally, an ulterior motive toward Korea. The Americans try to turn South Korea, now under their occupation, into a complete colony, perpetually plunder it, as at present, of all valuable resources such as rice, gold, silver, copper, tungsten, etc., sell their goods to South Korea, and occupy Korea completely so as to make it their military base for aggression against the East.

Such policy of U.S. imperialism in Korea could not but evoke strong resistance on the part of the Korean people. The popular uprisings in South Korea under the U.S. military government were the answer of the South Korean people to the rule of the U.S. Army occupying South Korea.

But, the U.S. imperialists, with a view to carrying on their colonial enslavement policy in Korea, rejected the just proposals of the Soviet delegation for the simultaneous withdrawal of the Soviet and U.S. Armies from Korea and for leaving the solution of the Korean issue to the Koreans themselves. And, they illegally brought the Korean issue to the U.N. to rig up the so-called "U.N. Commission on Korea." Despite the just assertions made by delegates of many countries at the U.N. General Assembly, the United States rejected the participation of the Korean people's representatives in the discussion of the Korean question.

Thus the decision on the Korean question was adopted arbitrarily without the participation of the Korean people's representatives. This means an insult to and contempt of our nation.

Comrades, why did the United States reject the participation of the Korean people's representatives in the settlement of the Korean issue? The reason lies in the fact that the U.S. imperialists were fearful of the voice of the Korean people's representatives and of world public opinion as well. They feared lest the actual state of affairs in South Korea under the rule of the U.S. military government and Lieutenant-General Hodge should be disclosed before the world, if Korean representatives were allowed to participate in the discussion of the Korean issue.

Despite the delegations of the Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Poland and many other democracies gave whole-hearted support to the proposal of the Soviet delegation on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea and demanded the solution of the Korean issue be left to the Korean people, the U.N. General Assembly was made to adopt a decision on the Korean question in line with the U.S. allegation by hand raising machines under the U.S. wing.

The Korean people had long since foreseen such a scheme of the United States. The attitude of the U.S. delegation toward the Moscow Three Ministers Conference and toward the U.S.S.R.-U.S. Joint Commission which had been convened twice betrays the aim of the U.S. imperialists who have concocted today the "U.N. Commission on Korea."

The "mission" of the "U.N. Commission on Korea" is simple. It is to legalize the U.S. colonization policy in Korea under the cloak of the so-called "elections," and, at the same time, through such fraudulent "elections," fabricate a government after the Americans' fancy with those national traitors and pro-Japanese who put their own personal interests before the interests of the nation, who are willing to sell the country and people to a foreign country and then sever South Korea from our fatherland forever, thereby making it a U.S. colony.

That is why the entire North and South Korean people, all the honest-minded patriotic persons, irrespective of their affiliation with different political parties and organizations, or of religion, came out against "U.N. Commission on Korea" from its birth. Of late the voice against the "U.N. Commission on Korea" is becoming louder even among a certain quarter of the Right-wing force.

There is no one who supports the "U.N. Commission on Korea" and the policy of national split but such reactionary traitors as Syngman Rhee and Kim Sung Soo who have raved that "a government should be set up even in Kyungsang Province alone."

Thus today two distinct lines have taken shape in our country.

The line U.S. reactionaries follow is to split Korea artificially, establish a reactionary government to their liking under the U.N. signboard, and then turn South Korea into their complete colony.

The other is a genuinely fraternal line of advocating Korea's freedom and independence, of giving Korea independence at an early date and setting up a genuinely unified, democratic government of Korea.

We, the entire Korean people, oppose the decision of the "U.N. Little Assembly" that runs counter to our national interests, and will not recognize, under whatever circumstances and condition and all the time, the shameful, traitorous reactionary puppet government to be set up under the patronage of the "U.N. Commission on Korea."

We Korean people who had personally experienced for long years colonial oppression and servile life under the Japanese imperialists' rule will not be deceived by such Americans' intrigue and will never become slaves of foreigners again. The North Korean people who actually experienced genuine democratic rights and freedom, and enjoyed personally the benefit of great democratic reforms, will in no case submit again to the imperialist oppression.

The wheel of history never turns backward. Our poor fellow-countrymen in South Korea suffering from hunger, maltreatment, oppression and suppression have long since been well aware of the true colour of U.S. imperialism and know well the essence of U.S. policy in Korea.

We, the entire Korean people, and all the patriotic personages with national conscience, do not recognize the "U.N. Commission on Korea" fabricated without the participation of the Korean people's representatives and in disregard of opinion and interests of the Korean people.

Comrades, in view of the situation created recently in South Korea, our Party, together with other democratic political parties and social organizations in North Korea, has submitted the draft of temporary Korean Constitution, which the Korean people are calling for, to the general discussion of the entire people with a view to elucidating once again the path the Korean people should follow. Discussions are going on enjoying enthusiastic support of the entire people in North and South Korea.

The draft Constitution we have made public is a document of historic importance constitutionally summing up the path traversed by the North Korean people and securing the rights gained by them in the past two years since liberation and indicating to the entire Korean people a path our country should follow.

There is no change in the stand of our Party with regard to the recent situation created in South Korea. Our Party holds that a supreme legislative organ should be established through all-Korea elections based on universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

The genuinely popular supreme legislative organ thus elected should approve the Constitution and organize a genuinely democratic people's government which is to lead the people toward national prosperity and happiness.

Holding of such elections and the establishment of a government in such a way are possible only under the condition that foreign armed forces are withdrawn. To carry into effect this point representing the demand of the entire Korean people, our Party must fight to the last the U.S. imperialists' crafty policy of colonial enslavement, in firm unity with the entire Korean people, all the genuinely democratic forces, and all persons with patriotic conscience aspiring after freedom and independence of our country.

Hence, our Party, together with the democratic, political parties and social organizations in North Korea, has proposed to the South Korean political parties and social organizations opposing the establishment of a separate government in South Korea to hold a joint conference of representatives of all the North and South Korean democratic political parties and social organizations in Pyongyang on April 14 this year.

We have proposed that the joint conference study the situation at home, and adopt a concrete program for frustrating every scheme of the reactionaries to divide the territory of our country into two parts and for promoting the unification of the country and the establishment of a democratic unified state of Korea which will equalize the Korean people with the world freedom-loving peoples.

We are convinced that all the genuinely patriotic political parties and social organizations and all the conscientious, patriotic persons fighting for the honour of our fatherland and freedom of our nation will support and welcome our proposal.

The Workers' Parties of North and South Korea and the entire people throughout North and South Korea fighting for the unification and complete independence of the country will certainly lay bare the U.S. imperialists' sinister designs to split our country, and attain complete independence and unification of our country.

JOINT STATEMENT OF VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS OF NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA

Following the Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Social Organizations of all Korea held in protest against the separate elections in South Korea, a consultative meeting of the leaders of various North and South Korean political parties and social organizations was held in Pyongyang on April 30.

The meeting examined the question pertaining to withdrawal of the troops of the two countries concerned, which was confirmed at the Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Social Organizations of all Korea, along with the question of frustrating separate elections in South Korea, and the immediate tasks after the withdrawal.

All the questions on the agenda were thoroughly discussed, and agreement was reached between the leaders on the following points:

1. As was proposed by the Soviet Union, under the present situation in our country, the immediate and simultaneous withdrawal of foreign troops from our territory is the most just and sole means of solving the Korean question.

The United States should accept this just proposal and ensure in effect the independence of Korea by withdrawing its troops from South Korea.

All patriotic persons who desire the unification of democratic Korea must support the proposal on the withdrawal of both armies. Since Japanese imperialism was driven out of the territory of our country, we Korean people have grown as strong as

to be able to tackle our own problems by ourselves, without foreign interference, and our country has many qualified cadres competent for that purpose.

2. The leaders of various North and South Korean political parties and social organizations confirm that no civil war breaks out after the withdrawal of foreign troops from our territory, and will tolerate no disorder running counter to the aspiration of the Korean people for unification. The inflexible aspiration of the people for achieving national unification and the full agreement reached between various North and South Korean political parties and social organizations constitute a firm guarantee for maintaining perfect order in our country.

3. After the withdrawal of foreign troops, an all-Korea political conference co-sponsored by the political parties mentioned below, will be convened and a provisional democratic government represented by all sections of the Korean people be immediately set up, which will answer for all political power as well as for political, economic and cultural activities of the state.

This government will hold, as the first step, elections to a united Korean legislative organ through universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot and the organ elected will enact the Korean Constitution and establish a united democratic government.

4. Separate elections in South Korea, even though they were held, cannot represent the will of our nation. They are no more than a deception. For various North and South Korean political parties and social organizations comprising more than ten million people, i.e. the overwhelming majority of voters, are opposing them.

It is not fortuitous that at present South Korean separate elections are being prepared under circumstances of extremely cruel suppression and terror.

Proceeding from these considerations, the political parties and social organizations signatory to this statement will never

acknowledge the results of the South Korean separate elections, nor recognize or support the subsequent separate "government."

The North Korean Workers' Party
The North Korean Democratic Party
The North Korean Chundokyo Chungwoo Party
The North Korean General Federation of Trade Unions
The North Korean Peasants' Union
The North Korean Democratic Youth League
The North Korean Women's Union
The North Korean General Federation of Literature and Art
The North Korean Federation of Industrial Technology
The North Korean General Federation of Agricultural, Forestry and Fishing Technology
The North Korean Christian Federation
The North Korean Federation of Public Health
The North Korean Buddhist Association
The North Korean Association of Supporters for Patriotic Fighters
The North Korean Red Cross Society
The Hankook Independence Party
The South Korean Workers' Party
The National Independence Union
The Korean People's Republican Party
The New Progressive Party
The Working People's Party
The South Korean Chungwoo Party
The Social Democratic Party
The Democratic Korean Independence Party
The Working Masses' Party
The Democratic Independence Party

The Korean Peasants' Party
The National Council of Korean Trade Unions
The Popular Masses' Union
The Korean Democratic Patriotic Youth League
The National Federation of Peasants
**The General Federation of South Korean Cultural
Organizations**
The South Korean Democratic Women's Union
The National Confucianist Federation
The Christian Democratic Union
The Korean National Unity Union
The Independent Women's Union
The Korean Industrial Reconstruction Association
The National Construction Association
The Three-Equality Principle Youth Union
The Association of Returnee Compatriots
The Union of Students Resisting Conscription
The South Korean Journalists' Group

April 30, 1948

**DECLARATION
OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FATHERLAND
FRONT TO ALL DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PARTIES,
SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE ENTIRE
PEOPLE OF KOREA**

Dear fellow-countrymen!

Dear members of democratic political parties and social organizations of North and South Korea!

Dear brothers and sisters!

Nearly four years have elapsed since our country was liberated from the yoke of Japanese imperialism. This notwithstanding, our country still remains partitioned by the 38th parallel, an artificial boundary. During this period, the North and the South of our country have traversed diametrically different courses.

In the northern part of our country democratic construction has been, and is being, successfully carried out and the long-cherished desire of the people are being translated into reality. In the southern part of our country reactionaries are resorting to every means to establish their rule and suppress the democratic forces. South Korea is now being all the more subjugated to the United States both economically and politically.

Who is keeping our people from unifying the country?

For whose interest is the partition maintained?

Those who impede unification of the country are none other than the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, pro-Japanese and national traitors, who are ready to betray the country and people, sell the interests of the country and people, and ruin the country and people for serving the interest of their U.S. masters and maintaining their own regime.

The U.S. imperialists, who insulted us by alleging that the

Korean people were too ignorant to govern their state and develop it, have pursued and are pursuing over the past four years the policy of turning South Korea into their military, political base in the Far East for launching an anti-democratic struggle, into a source of economic exploitation for the United States as well as into a new bonanza for fattening the Wall Street monopoly capitalists.

The sole aim pursued by the U.S. foreign policy and all efforts of U.S. government authorities in South Korea during the past four years were to carry out their imperialist predatory schemes.

Already at the Moscow Conference of Three Foreign Ministers held at the end of 1945, the U.S. delegation proposed to set up an administrative body composed of representatives of the United States, China, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. which exercises its functions of administering Korea through a High Commissioner. The U.S. proposal did not envisage the establishment of a Korean government. According to the U.S. draft resolution, such trusteeship in our country was, in fact, to last for 10 years.

To accept this proposal means to place Korea for a long period of time under the rule of foreign countries, leaving it without its own independent people's government.

The U.S. proposal was turned down, however. And, acting on the proposal of the Soviet Union, the Moscow Conference of Three Foreign Ministers adopted a decision which envisaged the creation of conditions for the establishment of a democratic government in Korea, the restoration of Korea as an independent state and its development on a democratic basis and the early elimination of evil consequences of the protracted Japanese imperialist rule.

The decision was in full accord with the interests of the broad sections of the Korean people. But it was against the interests of the U.S. imperialists and national traitors who stop at nothing in seizing power, preventing the broad popular masses from participating in state administration and in hampering the development of the country along democratic lines. The U.S. im-

perialists and the national reactionary elements had common interests.

For this reason, the U.S. imperialists in collusion with the reactionaries in South Korea employed every means to wreck the work of the U.S.S.R.-U.S. Joint Commission aimed at fulfilling the decisions of the Moscow Conference of Three Foreign Ministers.

At this difficult moment for our nation, the Soviet Union which strictly abides by the principle of respecting the national independence and sovereignty of the nations opened up again a new path to the unification of our country by proposing the simultaneous withdrawal from Korea of the Soviet and U.S. troops so as to provide possibility for the Korean people to establish a united democratic government by themselves without any assistance and participation of the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Korean people unanimously supported this just proposal of the Soviet Union which was in accord with their national interests. But the U.S. government turned down this proposal because it was against its interests and the Korean reactionary elements.

The U.S. government insisted on unlawfully including the Korean question in the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly.

The U.N. General Assembly, with no regard for the interest of the Korean people and despite the opposition on the part of the delegates of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, set up the so-called "U.N. Temporary Commission on Korea" under U.S. coercion.

The "UN Commission on Korea" — a tool of the U.S. policy of aggression — has failed completely in Korea by acting against the interests of the Korean people who were indignant at its coming to Korea and unlawful activities.

Through the so-called "U.N. Little Assembly" convened unlawfully in the absence of representatives of genuine, democratic countries, the U.S. government railroaded through a resolution on holding a separate election in South Korea.

The overwhelming majority of the Korean people went into action for boycotting the separate election.

However, on May 10, 1948, only by means of violence and bayonets, an "election" farce was fabricated in South Korea by the U.S. military government and the reactionary elements, with the result that the so-called "National Assembly" and the unilateral, puppet "government" headed by Syngman Rhee, a hangman and the vicious enemy of the Korean people, were rigged up.

The so-called "National Assembly" is a pitiful one which has nothing in common with a legislative organ. It does not represent the Korean people, because no representatives of workers and peasants are elected to it. In other words, there is not a single seat representing the overwhelming majority of the South Korean people.

The so-called South Korean "National Assembly" is a mass composed of big landlords, capitalists, former officials of the Japanese government-general — most of them being pro-Japanese elements, national traitors and the enemy of the Korean people.

The Syngman Rhee clique, under the protection of the U.S. government authorities, concocted the "National Assembly" for the sole purpose of justifying their treacherous crimes.

The Syngman Rhee clique are throwing into prison those "Members of Parliament" who demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops and the peaceful unification of the country, and brutally suppressing any trivial attempt by some "Members of Parliament" to oppose their treacherous policy.

To get the formal approval of their aggressive policy toward Korea, the U.S. government has again placed the Korean question on the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly.

The U.N. General Assembly, under the coercion of the U.S. delegation, declining to listen to the genuine representative of the Korean people, decided to send to Korea a new "U.N. Commission on Korea."

The U.S. imperialists were afraid lest the genuine representative of the Korean people on the rostrum of the U.N. Gen-

eral Assembly should denounce to the world the truth about the separate election in South Korea and the actual situation created in our country, and expose the U.S. aggressive policy in Korea. And to what state have the Americans and national traitors reduced the southern part of our country?

In the course of the four years' rule of the U.S. government authorities and the Korean reactionary elements, South Korea has been turned into a scene of terrorism, servility and suppression against the democratic movement.

There is no freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, and demonstration in South Korea.

Democratic political parties and social organizations have been driven underground and their press organs destroyed.

Those who express the genuine aspiration of the people are being shot without examination or trial or subjected to arrest and cruel torture.

The Americans who landed in Korea three weeks after the Japanese surrender saw to it that not a single Japanese soldier was killed but left to himself. But tens of thousands of South Korean patriots, who fight for the people's cause of democratic reforms, unification, independence and democratization of the country are being shot, imprisoned and tortured under the instruction of the Americans.

As a result of the rule of the U.S. government authorities and national traitors, South Korean economy is driven to ruin and its industrial output shows a continuous shrinkage.

Under the cloak of so-called "economic aid," the U.S. monopoly capitalists are utilizing South Korea as a market for their surplus goods.

As a result of such "aid," millions of unemployed and beggars are wandering about the streets in South Korea.

The rural economy is on the road of decline.

The people in South Korea, a granary of our country, are suffering from famine and semi-starvation helplessly.

The traitorous clique who flocked together in the puppet Syngman Rhee "government" have concluded various "agreements" and "pacts" with their master, the U.S. imperialists, and

under these 'agreements' and "pacts" the South Korean economy is being completely subjugated to the U.S. capitalists.

The policy of subordinating the southern half pursued by the reactionary clique cannot but evoke the indignation of the entire Korean people.

The Korean people are indignant at the fact that the U.S. troops are still occupying South Korea, although half a year has passed since the withdrawal of Soviet troops from North Korea on the order of the Soviet Government, which willingly accepted the request of the Korean people expressed in the letter of request of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the Soviet Government and the U.S. government.

Now, there is no pretext nor condition whatsoever for the U.S. government to station its troops in South Korea.

While fighting for the withdrawal of U.S. troops which are hindering unification of our country, the entire Korean people are striving for the unification and independence of a democratic Korea.

And in this righteous cause of the Korean people, the Soviet Union is rendering us immeasurable assistance.

The consistent policy pursued through stages by the Soviet Government for the solution of the Korean problem is in full accord with the interests of the Korean people. At the Moscow Conference of Three Foreign Ministers in 1945, the Soviet delegation, standing for the interests of the Korean people, rejected the proposal of the U.S. delegation.

During the period of the U.S.S.R.-U.S. Joint Commission on the Korean question, the Soviet delegation persistently adhered to the principle of agreement reached at the Moscow Three Ministers Conference on the Korean question.

When it became impossible to carry out the Moscow Agreement the Soviet Government demonstrated in practice its genuine policy of respecting the sovereignty and right of our nation by proposing the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea and taking initiative to withdraw its troops.

The Soviet Government has always advocated and con-

tinues to advocate the right of the Korean people to attain unification, democracy and independence of the country.

Dear fellow-countrymen, brothers and sisters!

The U.S. imperialists and national traitors are trying to perpetuate the division of our country for their avaricious aim. It is high time for us to solve the problem of the country's unification by ourselves. The split of our country which has lasted for four years is bringing to our Korean people increasingly unbearable misfortunes.

United democratic Korea will develop its economy on a uniform plan with due regard for the interests of the Korean people. The South Korean economy now in a state of bankruptcy will be restored rapidly, relying on the economic foundation of North Korea.

Who will deny that North and South Korea constitute an inseparable whole in their economic relations?

The achievements made by the North Korean people set an example of how rapidly a united, independent democratic Korea could develop.

The reactionary elements who have entrenched themselves in the southern part of our territory under the aegis of the U.S. imperialists do not want the peaceful unification of the country on a democratic basis.

The Syngman Rhee clique are building up their armed forces, asking their American masters for weapons. They want to provoke a fratricidal war and plunge the fighters for democracy and unification into a sea of blood.

In the southern part of our country, terrorism and servility are being further intensified and tens of thousands of patriotic persons fighting for the good of the people are being massacred.

The U.S. imperialists, masters of the traitors to our country, are well experienced in provoking a fratricidal war in order to stifle the democratic movement.

Thanks to the U.S. imperialists' "aid," flames of war are raging more fiercely in China and Greece. Now the U.S. imperialists attempt to drown the Koreans in a sea of blood.

They are fanning up war hysteria among Korean reaction-

ary elements. It is not accidental that the "ROK Army" is frequently causing military conflicts along the 38th parallel.

It is none other than the Americans and their running dogs, the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique, who instigated and organized suppression of the people in Cheju Island and the partisans in South Chulla Province, as well as the conflicts along the 38th parallel.

Our people do not want a fratricidal war.

Our people do not want to shed blood for the interests of the American monopoly capitalists and the national reactionary elements who have lost their head in the presence of the American monopoly capitalists.

The Korean people want to, and can, unify their country in a peaceful way by themselves.

Can the Korean people be split? No, it cannot.

The Korean people were, are, and will remain a single nation forever.

At this gravest moment for our country and people, all the genuine patriots and members of the patriotic political parties and social organizations in North and South Korea, regardless of property status, social position and origin, should unite in the fight for the country's unification.

Dear fellow-countrymen, brothers and sisters!

The United Democratic Fatherland Front, calling upon all the democratic political parties and social organizations in North and South Korea and the entire Korean people to come out for the realization of the peaceful unification of the country, presents the following programme for peaceful unification:

1. Let us achieve, without fail, the peaceful unification of the country by ourselves, taking the matter upon ourselves!

2. We demand the immediate withdrawal from Korea of U.S. troops, who are standing in the way of the peaceful unification of the country.

3. We demand the immediate withdrawal from our territory of the so-called "U.N. Commission on Korea," an illegal organization.

4. We propose to hold elections simultaneously in North and South Korea to set up a unified legislative organ.

5. The elections shall be held under the guidance of a committee composed of representatives of the democratic political parties and social organizations, which aspire after the peaceful unification of the country.

6. A consultative conference of representatives of political parties and social organizations in North and South Korea shall be convened to discuss a program for the peaceful unification of the fatherland, and an election guidance committee should be formed at the conference.

7. Elections to a legislative organ shall be held in September 1949, on the principle of universal and equal suffrage by secret ballot.

Those who collaborated closely with the Japanese imperialists during the period of Japanese rule shall be disfranchised.

8. The following measures must be taken for the purpose of ensuring freedom of the election:

a) to put an end to the oppression of democratic political parties and social organizations and their leaders;

b) to legalize all democratic political parties and social organizations and ensure them freedom of activity;

c) to lift the ban on the publishing organs of democratic political parties and social organizations and invest them with right to have their own publishing organs;

d) to ensure freedom of speech, the press, assembly, mass rally and demonstration;

e) to release at once all political offenders.

9. Functions of the election guidance committee are:

a) to give necessary directives to the present governments of North and South Korea and their organs in connection with the preparation and holding of the election;

b) to conduct inspection on the fulfilment of its decisions and directives;

c) to supervise the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea through a committee set up by the election guidance committee.

10. With the formation of an election guidance committee for general elections, the existing police and security organs in North and South Korea shall be placed under the direct jurisdiction of the election guidance committee. The election guidance committee shall discharge from the police the pro-Japanese elements and those persons who served in the Japanese police or gendarmerie and disband the police force which participated in suppression of the popular resistance on Cheju Island and of the partisan struggle in South Korea.

11. The supreme legislative organ elected through the general elections shall adopt a constitution of the Korean Republic and form a government in accordance with the constitution. The new government shall take over power from the existing governments of North and South Korea which are subject to disorganization.

12. The government of the Korean Republic shall merge the existing armed forces in North and South Korea into one on a democratic basis.

The units of the "ROK Army" which took part in suppression of the popular resistance and the partisan struggle on Cheju Island and in other areas shall be disbanded. Those persons who participated in suppression of the popular resistance and the partisan struggle shall be prohibited from serving in the army, and instigators and organizers of the suppression be punished.

The above is our programme for the peaceful unification of the country submitted for the consideration of the democratic political parties, social organizations and the entire Korean people. We are convinced that the entire people of Korea will give their full support to our proposals.

If reactionaries persist in their obstruction of the cause of achieving the peaceful unification of the country, they shall not escape punishment by the Korean people.

The Korean people will wipe out all human scum that places

obstacles in the way of achieving unification, democratization and independence of the country.

Long live united, democratic and independent Korea!

Long live the eternally united Korean people!

**Inaugural Meeting of the United
Democratic Fatherland Front**

June 25, 1949

ON PROMOTING THE COUNTRY'S PEACEFUL UNIFICATION

Decision of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

The traitorous Syngman Rhee clique are making every effort to prevent the South Korean democratic political parties and social organizations from taking part in the negotiations for examining the problem of peaceful unification of the country, attempting to disrupt again the realization of the country's peaceful unification.

Thus the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique revealed once again that they are against the interests of the Korean people and that they are acting under U.S. instruction for the interests of U.S. plunderers and for their own interests.

The Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K., representing the unbending will of the Korean people who are aspiring after the unification, independence and democratic development of the country and, in accordance with the wishes of democratic political parties and social organizations, decides to make the following proposals to the South Korean "National Assembly."

1. To realize the country's peaceful unification by means of merging the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K. and the South Korean "National Assembly" into an all-Korean legislative organ.

2. The all-Korean legislative organ thus formed shall adopt the Constitution of the Republic and organize the government of the Republic.

3. In accordance with the Constitution adopted, general elections shall be held to an all-Korean legislative organ.

4. In order to create necessary conditions for facilitating the country's peaceful unification and normal activities of the all-Korean legislative organ, it is proposed:

a) to arrest the ringleaders and enemy, who are impeding peaceful unification, such as Syngman Rhee, Kim Sung Soo, Li Bum Suk, Shin Sung Mo, Chai Byung Duk, Baik Sung Wook, Jo Byung Ok, Yoon Chi Yung, and Shin Heung Woo, and other national traitors.

b) to ensure freedom of speech, the press, assembly, demonstration and mass rally;

c) to put an end to the oppression of democratic political parties and social organizations and their leaders;

To release all political prisoners, and guarantee completely free activities of all the democratic political parties and social organizations.

5. The government formed through the legislative organ shall reorganize the existing armies, police and public preservation corps in North and South Korea into a single army, police and public preservation corps on a democratic basis.

6. To demand the immediate withdrawal from Korea of the "U.N. Commission on Korea," an aggressive tool of the U.S. imperialists in their policy of splitting and subjugating our country.

The problem of the country's peaceful unification shall be settled by the Korean people themselves without foreign interference.

7. To implement completely all measures connected with the peaceful unification of the country by August 15 this year, the fifth anniversary of the liberation of Korea from the Japanese imperialist rule.

8. If the South Korean "National Assembly" agrees to hold negotiations, the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly

of the D.P.R.K. is prepared either to send its delegation to Seoul on June 21, 1950 or to receive in Pyongyang the delegation of the South Korean "National Assembly" to conduct negotiations. The South Korean "National Assembly" should guarantee inviolability and security of the delegates of the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K. and the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K. shall ensure the inviolability and security of the delegates of the South Korean "National Assembly."

**The Presidium of the Supreme
People's Assembly of the Demo-
cratic People's Republic of Korea**

**June 19, 1950
Pyongyang**

APPEAL OF THE SUPREME PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Entire compatriots of South Korea!

Workers, peasants and intellectuals of South Korea!

Youth and students of South Korea!

Enterprisers, merchants and religionists of South Korea!

Members of the National Assembly and government officials
of South Korea!

Officers and soldiers of the National Defence Army of
South Korea!

Members of the political parties and social organizations!

More than nine years have passed since our country was
liberated from the rule of Japanese imperialism.

But our country still remains divided into two parts --
North and South Korea.

This division of our country has caused untold misfortunes
to the Korean people. But every conscientious Korean has
striven to achieve the unification of the country. Representing
the wishes of the entire Korean people, the United Democratic
Fatherland Front and the Supreme People's Assembly of the
Democratic People's Republic of Korea have more than once pro-
posed and appealed to political parties, social organizations, the
people and the government authorities of South Korea for the
peaceful unification of our country.

At the instigation of the U.S. imperialists, however, the
government authorities of the southern half have each time pre-
vented these proposals and appeals from being carried out or
ignored them. Especially, egged on by the U.S. imperialists,
Syngman Rhee replied to the last proposal of the Presidium of
the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Re-

public of Korea for peaceful unification with the fratricidal armed invasion upon North Korea.

The bloody war in Korea which was waged for over three years brought to the Korean people unprecedented losses of men and material and untold misfortunes and sufferings. In spite of all this, even before the blood of the wounds inflicted by the war has dried up, Syngman Rhee is again bent on expanding armaments and is openly pronouncing the so-called "march northward to unify the country" under the protection of the U.S. imperialists who are trying to convert Korea into their permanent colony. How can one possibly consider this to be an action corresponding to the wishes of the Korean people?

The Korean people want no war at any time, still less a fratricidal war. They want to live as one nation, harmonious and united, in a unified and independent state.

Representing this desire of the Korean people who love peace, our side compelled at the Korean Armistice negotiations the U.S. side, which had been employing dilatory tactics to continue the war, to sign the Korean Armistice Agreement.

In spite of the sincere efforts of our side, the discussions between the two sides on the convocation of the political conference concerning the Korean question provided for in the Armistice Agreement were wrecked on account of the unreasonable insistence and rude, unilateral actions of the U.S. side.

Also at the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers on the settlement of the Korean question, the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, faithful to its policy of peace representing the will of the entire people of Korea, did everything in its power for the peaceful unification of Korea. Owing to the obstructive policies and unreasonable positions of the U.S. delegate and the delegates of Syngman Rhee and certain other nations who were subservient to him, the Geneva Conference was concluded without solving the Korean question.

Yet the Korean question has not been eliminated from the agenda, nor can it be eliminated either. We emphasize the necessity of convening, in the nearest future, a conference on the

Korean question with a broad participation of the countries concerned.

Achievement of the armistice in Korea and the restoration of peace in Indo-China have shown that there is no issue which cannot be settled by means of conference and negotiation.

The Korean question can and must be settled peacefully. We are, therefore, striving to settle the Korean question by peaceful means.

The just solution of the Korean question has become a vital demand not only of the Korean people but also of the peoples of the whole world who are concerned with the maintenance of peace.

Today, the Korean people are grieved more than ever over the division of their country and are impatiently longing for the earliest possible unification of the country. The Korean people, enjoying a long history and a brilliant culture have lived harmoniously on one territory as a single nation. How can we tolerate further a situation in which the Korean people live in a state of division for nearly 10 years?

The division of our country causes tremendous losses not only to the development of politics, economy and culture; it brings great misfortunes also to the private home life of a great number of the Koreans. How can we tolerate the fact that dear families and relatives are living separated from each other in North and South Korea, and short as the distance is, they are unable to correspond with each other, to say nothing of meeting together?

Whereas North Korea has enough to spare all resources necessary for the life of all the Korean people such as electric power, coal, fertilizer, iron, timber, etc., the people in South Korea cannot avail themselves of them, but have to take the trouble to import them from across the Pacific and the Korean Straits. What a deplorable fact this is!

While shortage of labour power is felt in the northern half of our Republic where magnificent rehabilitation and construction are under way since the war, in the southern half 1,300,000 unemployed are thrown into the streets.

Is not this a contradictory phenomenon?

All these facts explain the necessity to establish and develop in various fields friendly relations between the people of North and South Korea, to strengthen economic exchange and to speedily work out and implement any measure, if it promotes the peaceful unification of the country.

We maintain that if we reject every obstructive machination of the U.S. imperialists and reach agreement among ourselves, the Korean question can and will be settled by the Koreans themselves.

We are well aware that it is not the entire South Korean people, including conscientious members of the South Korean National Assembly, but the U.S. imperialists, Syngman Rhee and a few of his colleagues alone who do not want and impede the peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

We emphasize from this point of view that we must, above all other things, create conditions for the economic and cultural intercourse between North and South Korea and friendly contacts between the people of the two parts of Korea which will constitute a first practical step towards the peaceful unification of the country.

We welcome any form of negotiation for discussing questions on the rapprochement of the people of North and South Korea and the peaceful unification of the homeland. We are in full agreement to the sitting around one table of personages of all walks of life, various political parties and social organizations, and of representatives of both governments or both assemblies of North and South Korea.

Representing the wishes of the entire Korean people who desire a speedy and peaceful unification of the fatherland, the Eighth Session of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea proposes and appeals as follows:

1. With a view to discussing the question of the peaceful unification of the fatherland, to convene, within 1955, in Pyongyang or Seoul, a joint conference of the representatives of various political parties and social organizations, and personages of all walks of life in North and South Korea, or a joint session of

the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea.

2. To call a meeting of the representatives of North and South Korea in February 1955 at Panmunjom or Kaesong in order to discuss the question of convening the above-mentioned conference and questions of starting the economic and cultural intercourse, trade, traffic and correspondence between North and South Korea.

3. With a view to working out measures for the peaceful unification of the country, various political parties and social organizations, and patriotic personages from all walks of life in North and South Korea should establish liaison with each other, visit each other and come into contact with each other, and the government authorities of North and South Korea should guarantee freedom of their activities throughout the entire territory of Korea.

We are convinced that all the Korean people will support and welcome this appeal, and will be all out to carry this appeal into effect by overcoming every action hindering the realization of our unanimous desire for settling the Korean question by peaceful means among us Koreans.

October 30, 1954
Pyongyang

**REPORT DELIVERED BY PREMIER KIM IL SUNG
AT THE CELEBRATION MEETING OF THE TENTH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE AUGUST 15 LIBERATION
BY THE GREAT SOVIET ARMY (Excerpts)**

August 14, 1955

Comrades, territorial division and national split has caused the South Korean people incalculable tribulation, constituting great misfortune to the whole of the Korean people. Hence it is the greatest national task for the entire Korean people to attain the country's peaceful unification. All our work must be subordinated to this noble end.

We have been making every possible effort for ten years now since liberation for the peaceful unification of the country. The history of our people's struggle in the post-liberation years is indeed that of the struggle for the country's unification and independence.

The decision of the Moscow Three Foreign Ministers Conference in December 1945 on the Korean question was a valid decision ensuring conditions for Korea's peaceful unification and her future progress. In spite of the sincere efforts of the Soviet side and the untiring struggle of the entire Korean people for implementing the decision, the work of the U.S.S.R.-U.S. Joint Commission ended in failure due to the treacherous act of the U.S. imperialists and traitorous acts of the Syngman Rhee clique, and the decision of the Moscow Three Ministers Conference remained unrealized.

Under such conditions, our Party and the Government of our Republic have kept their stand that the question of the

Korea's unification should be solved by the Koreans themselves through mutual understanding and negotiations.

On the initiative of our Party, the historical Joint Conference of representatives of political parties and social organizations in North and South Korea was held in April 1948, and the consultative meeting of leaders of political parties and social organizations in North and South Korea was convened in June the same year. These meetings signified the first practical steps for solving the question of the country's unification by the Korean people through discussion at one table.

The joint statement of the political parties and social organizations in North and South Korea issued after the April Joint Conference defined the withdrawal of both armies of the Soviet Union and United States from Korea as a proper measure providing favourable conditions for settling the Korean question in the situation engendered at that time, and set forth concrete measures for establishing a democratic, unified government in Korea.

Then, the appeals of the United Democratic Fatherland Front in 1949 and 1950 and the decision of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea were clear manifestations of the consistent struggle for the peaceful unification of the fatherland waged by our Party, the government of our Republic and the United Democratic Fatherland Front which represents the patriotic forces of North and South Korea.

All the patriotic personages in North and South Korea who desire the unification, independence and freedom of the fatherland warmly supported our line for peaceful unification and actively participated in the struggle for its realization.

But the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique desperately opposed the peaceful unification of Korea. They suppressed with bayonets the country's peaceful unification movement of the patriotic personages and the people in South Korea, and at last responded to our proposals for unification with the armed invasion upon the northern part of the Republic.

All our efforts after Armistice for the convocation of the political conference and for the settlement of the Korean question at the Foreign Ministers Conference in Geneva went amiss again owing to the aggressive, traitorous acts of the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean authorities.

Subsequently the Eighth Session of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea sent an appeal to the national assembly, political parties, social organizations, army and the entire people of South Korea, proposing once again to discuss the questions relating to the unification of Korea; the Central Committee of the United Democratic Fatherland Front as well as various organs and organizations of the Republic proposed time and again to the appropriate organs and organizations of South Korea to take concrete measures for economic and cultural interchanges between the North and the South, so as to put into practice the appeal of the Supreme People's Assembly.

The appeal of the Eighth Session of the Supreme People's Assembly enjoyed the wide support, not only of the people of the northern part of the Republic but also of the people in South Korea, and even of some members of the South Korean National Assembly and some within the ranks of the puppet army.

However, all these just and reasonable proposals have met with rebuff from the Syngman Rhee clique.

Thus, though ten years have elapsed since liberation, the country's unification, unanimous desire of the entire Korean people, has not yet been achieved, and the nation and territory still remain divided.

The source of this national pain and misfortune lies in the U.S. imperialists' occupation of South Korea.

Since we are standing face to face with the U.S. imperialists' occupationist army, the most aggressive in the world, it is inevitable that our struggle for the country's unification has assumed a difficult and protracted character.

Our principles and position on Korea's peaceful unification is clear. The question of Korea's unification must be settled by the

Koreans themselves. To this end, all foreign armed forces should be withdrawn from Korea; the people of North and South Korea should gather together to discuss the Korean question and set up a democratic unified government in accordance with their free will.

This is the unanimous desire of the entire Korean people, and the most fair and just road to the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem.

The U.S. imperialists and their flunkies, Syngman Reeites, are desperately opposed to our position on the peaceful unification of the country. The Syngman Rhee clique are still frenziedly crying "march north to unify," perpetrating provocative acts on the military demarcation line, and violating the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission. Recently, the South Korean puppets are openly clamouring for the seizure of the Kaesong and Ongjin areas and the northern shore of the Han River estuary.

If anyone regards our position on the realization of the country's peaceful unification through negotiations as a sign of weakness on our part, he is a very stupid fellow.

We take this stand because we do not want any civil war, and because we are eager for an early elimination of hardships of the Korean people caused by territorial division.

We insist on liquidating the barriers separating North and South Korea and effecting free economic and cultural interchanges between the North and the South with a view to enabling the South Korean people to use various rich resources in North Korea such as electricity, iron, steel, copper, lead, chemical fertilizer, carbide, soda, cement, coal, etc.

For the realization of the country's peaceful unification, we should first of all convert the ceasefire into lasting peace, and create conditions for mutual rapprochement between North and South Korea.

Negotiations between the parliaments of North and South Korea and the free movement of people should be effected, and economic, cultural, scientific and art exchanges be organized, so as to strengthen the relations between the people in North

and South Korea and create the atmosphere of mutual understanding.

All this is the job of none other than the Koreans themselves. No force can possibly thwart this desire of the Korean people.

For attaining the country's peaceful unification lasting peace in Korea should be assured. The nations concerned in the Korean problem should be urged to assume obligations to prevent any provocation jeopardizing the preservation of peace in Korea.

We wish the governments of the nations concerned to call, with a view to settling the Korean question by peaceful means, a Far Eastern conference with a board participation of the Asian countries to work out measures for Korea's peaceful unification.

Since the continued stationing of foreign armed forces in Korea constitutes an obstacle to the peaceful unification of Korea, those countries which have sent their troops to Korea should immediately take measures for pulling all their forces out of Korea.

And we propose that, in order to eliminate the existing distrust and tension between the North and the South, the government authorities in North and South Korea declare before the Korean people and the peoples of the whole world that each side assume obligations to settle the question of Korea's unification only through peaceful means without either side resorting to force against the other, and that they cut down to the minimum the numerical strength of their armies with the object of lightening the people's burden of military expenditure and turning non-productive labour to peaceful construction.

And taking into account the desire of all the Korean people for the mutual rapprochement and negotiations between North and South Korea, we call for convening at the earliest possible date a conference of the representatives from the governments of North and South Korea to discuss the question of the country's unification.

Many difficulties and obstacles are to be found on the path of our struggle for the country's unification and independence.

The entire Korean people must make consistent efforts to eliminate all the obstacles and accomplish the cause of unifying the country.

It is most important to further extend in scope and strength the United Democratic Fatherland Front which comprises all sections of people. We are quite ready to embrace and negotiate with anyone who sincerely desires the national unity and the country's unification, irrespective of his political view, religious belief and property status. Even if he is a man who in the past committed crimes against the state and the people, we are prepared to welcome and negotiate with him when he, repenting of his past acts, joins in the struggle for the country's peaceful unification.

Comrades, the international situation today is turning very favourable to our people's struggle for the country's peaceful unification. Thanks to the tireless struggle of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and other fraternal socialist countries, and of the world peace-loving peoples, in particular to the consistent peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union, a certain improvement has been made in the international situation.

The realization of ceasefire in Indo-China, the Bandung conference of Afro-Asian countries and the world conference of representatives of peace-loving forces at Helsinki were events of great significance in the struggle for world peace and peaceful co-existence of the countries with divergent systems and against aggression and war. The signing of the Soviet-Austrian state treaty, the improvement of Soviet-Yugoslav relations, the strengthening of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India and other events were greatly conducive to world peace.

Especially, the recent conference of the heads of Four Powers at Geneva was an important event contributing to the lessening of international tension and to the cause of world peace. The Korean people, together with the peace-loving peoples of the whole world, hailed this conference with ardour and are hoping for the full materialization of its decisions.

We will further strengthen the ties of friendship with the

Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies and with the peace-loving peoples all over the world, and continue fighting more energetically for a lasting peace of the world and for the realization of the peaceful unification of our country.

Comrades, today our people, summing up with great satisfaction the results of their labour and struggle during the ten years since liberation, are firmly determined to further intensify their devoted struggle for still greater successes and victories in days to come.

Entire Korean people, let us rally more firmly around the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, and march forward ever vigorously toward fresh victories in the building of socialism and for the peaceful unification of the fatherland.

Long live the Workers' Party of Korea, the organizer and leader of all our victories!

Long live the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea!

Long live the United Democratic Fatherland Front!

Long live the indestructible internationalist friendship and unity of the peoples of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the great Soviet Union!

Glory to our beloved fatherland — the Democratic People's Republic of Korea!

**REPORT MADE BY COMRADE KIM IL SUNG ON THE
WORK OF THE C.C. OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF
KOREA AT THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE W.P.K.
(Excerpts)**

April 23, 1956

Comrades!

Today the criminal results brought about by the ten-year long domination of the U.S. imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique over South Korea have made themselves felt in all spheres of the people's life in South Korea.

All the events occurring in South Korea show that the reactionary Syngman Rhee government, representing the interests of a handful of compradors and landlords, is not only an anti-popular organ for the oppression and exploitation of the working masses, but also an aggressive tool of the American imperialists against Korea, which actively extends the influence of American imperialism.

The treacherous South Korean regime faithfully follows the policy of provocation of another war and colonial enslavement pursued by the U.S. imperialists. The puppet Syngman Rhee regime openly calls for a prolonged stationing of the U.S. forces, has exposed the South Korean economy to the mercy of the complete domination and control of the American monopolies, is frenziedly increasing the puppet army, the cannon fodder for aggressive warfares of the U.S. imperialists, and strengthening the barbarous fascist regime.

At present, in South Korea, all the important arteries of economy and economic activities of the state are placed entirely under the control of the U.S. imperialists.

It is well known throughout the world that the aim of the

“economic aid” of the United States to other nations lies in the military and political rule over them, and such an aim has been revealed in South Korea in a most blunt and brazen way.

Most of the “aid” of the United States of America given to South Korea was appropriated to the arming of the puppet army and the building up of military installations, and the remainder was allocated to the introduction of U.S. surplus products which find no demand in the world market.

On the strength of this kind of “economic aid” the American imperialists have seized hold of a decisive power over the operation of all major production facilities and economic organs, and the “U.S.-ROK Combined Economic Board,” set up by them to exercise this power, decides upon and controls the entire industry and the entire financial and monetary policy of the puppet government.

That being the case, the puppet government is unable to operate the national economy of its own will, and without the approval of the said agent it cannot map out even the budget and tax system.

The U.S. imperialists, seizing control over South Korean economy, directly plunder strategical materials such as tungsten, copper, etc., produced in South Korea; and forcing other major production establishments to rely entirely upon raw materials and supplies from the United States of America, they have paralyzed the South Korean industry, and subjugated it completely to American monopoly capital.

In this way the colonial lopsidedness and deformity of the South Korean industry has assumed serious proportions and a flood of U.S.-made goods in the market, the forcing up of prices of war materials and supplies imported from the United States and excessive tax burdens have led middle and petty industrialists and tradesmen to bankruptcy and ruin en masse.

In South Korea, even the cotton textile industry, which had dragged on its operation with difficulty, is now subjected to the constantly recurring closure or utter bankruptcy due to the forced selling of cotton fabrics and raising of the price of cotton by the U.S. imperialists.

This sort of "economic aid" and enslavement policy towards South Korea pursued by the U.S. imperialists ensure them maximum profit, and furthermore are conducive to realizing with ease their political and military aim to turn South Korea into their military base.

With a view to duping the peasant masses of South Korea, who had been influenced by the land reform effected in North Korea, the Syngman Rhee clique carried out an "agrarian reform," shouting loudly, "Landlords have ceased to exist and the conditions of the peasants improved."

The situation of the peasantry, however, is far from being improved; they are subjected to ever more merciless exploitation and oppression.

Today, the peasants are plundered by the puppet government and the landlords in the name of redemption grain to be paid for the price of land, land acquisition tax, forcible grain purchase, farm rent, etc., amounting to most of the annual crop. Consequently, the "distributed" land is falling back again into the hands of landlords and rich peasants, and day by day more and more peasants are degenerating into the status of landless tenant farmers or hired farm-hands and more of them are leaving their farms.

In addition, the peasants in South Korea are degenerating into the status of debt-slaves to the landlords and rich peasants owing to the heavy burdens of all sorts of exacting levies and usury. As a result, the total amount of debt of the peasantry was 18 billion hwan as of November 1954. That means, on the average, each household of the South Korean peasantry is in debt of 8,791 hwan.

Notwithstanding the fact that South Korean economy is in a deep-going crisis, the Syngman Rhee gang, faithfully carrying out instructions of the U.S. imperialists, are imposing stupendous burdens upon the people for reinforcing the puppet army, rearranging and extending the military bases.

As for the social life of the people in South Korea, the degenerated "American way of life" is predominant, anything national is subjected to contempt and persecution, and even insig-

nificant speeches and behaviour of "politicians" of the opposition parties are ruthlessly suppressed, not to speak of progressive ideas and views. In South Korea the people are deprived of elementary democratic freedom and rights, and it has been turned into a prison of the people, where terrorism and massacre are rampant.

Life of the people in South Korea under two-fold or three-fold oppression and exploitation by the imperialists, feudal lords and compradors is in the grip of unbearable poverty and non-rights. Under such circumstances, there is for the South Korean people no other way than rising up in the struggle for existence, for freedom and national right, in opposition to American imperialism and the Syngman Rhee clique.

Though the struggle of the people in the southern half is not in high tide, it is beyond doubt that they, inspired by all the achievements scored in the northern half, will determinedly take part in the struggle for a democratic unification of the country.

This, in brief, is how matters stand with the southern half of the Republic.

The split of the country spells hardship and misfortune not only for the people of South Korea under the oppression of the American imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique, but also for the entire Korean people, and constitutes a chief obstacle and threat to the social development of our country.

Before the Korean people there still remains the national task of uniting the country on a democratic basis and achieving a complete national independence by waging struggles against the U.S. aggressive forces and their allies in South Korea, i.e., the landlords, compradors, and pro-Americans, and liberating the people of South Korea from imperialist and feudal oppression and exploitation.

This implies that the revolution in our country on the whole finds itself at the stage of an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, and that we have a long-drawn arduous and complicated revolution before us.

In carrying out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic

revolution, we must consolidate still further the people's democracy established in the northern half, and at the same time rally the people of South Korea, especially all the patriotic, democratic forces striving for the unification and independence on a democratic basis.

The motive power of our revolution is the people in the northern half, united on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class, as well as the working class in the southern half, the peasantry as its most reliable ally and the vast petty propertied class opposed to the American imperialists and feudal forces. And we can wage the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle even with those national capitalists who desire the democratic unification and independence of the country.

The struggle of the Korean people against American imperialism is directly connected with that of the people of the whole world fighting for peace, democracy and socialism, and is a major link in the struggle of the Asian peoples in defence of national freedom, independence, and stable peace against the aggressive policy of American imperialism.

This international solidarity of the national-liberation struggle of the Korean people constitutes one of the decisive factors making for a complete victory of our revolution.

Firmly relying on the might of the ever-growing camp of democracy and socialism in the world, and organizing and mobilizing in an efficient way our own forces for our revolution and intensifying the unity and solidarity on a nation-wide scale, we must force the U.S. imperialists to withdraw from Korea, and exert efforts to achieve the peaceful unification and independence of the country in opposition to the reactionary, traitorous regime of the Syngman Rhee clique.

Comrades!

The Party line in regard to the attainment of a peaceful, democratic unification of the country—the basic task of the Korean revolution at the present stage—is the only correct one, in view of the situation prevailing at home and abroad.

Our Party has, therefore, consistently held and will hold

to the line of the peaceful unification of the country. In the post-Armistice period alone, we advanced a number of detailed proposals for the unification of the country in the form of statements or decisions made by the United Democratic Fatherland Front, political parties and social organizations, including the proposal for a North-South Joint Conference adopted at the Eighth Session of the Supreme People's Assembly.

However, the Syngman Rhee clique, underlings of the American imperialists, in obedience to the will of their master, refused all our proposals for the country's unification. Moreover, they keep on perpetrating provocative acts along the military demarcation line in flagrant violation of the Armistice Agreement, and they call for a prolonged stationing of the U.S. forces, openly clamouring about the so-called "march north expedition" to resume the fratricidal war.

Internally, they keep on strengthening the fascist police apparatus, ruthlessly suppressing all patriotic forces in the southern half, and resorting to every available means of persecution, with a view to eliminating from state and political life all groups and persons outside of their ranks.

It can never be said that there exists no possibility for a peaceful unification of the country just because the Syngman Rhee clique opposes the proposals for such a unification and perpetrates traitorous acts.

First of all, having heard of our proposals for a peaceful unification of the country, the workers, peasants, students, scientific and cultural workers and all other conscientious patriotic personages in South Korea will not sit idle and tolerate the anti-popular, treacherous crimes committed by the Syngman Rhee clique. Of late, the forces yearning for the peaceful unification of the country are growing in the southern half.

An ever-increasing number of persons are discontented with the Syngman Rhee rule and sympathize with the South Korean people in their adversities, and they come forward to support, like such well-known political leaders of the past as Mr. Kim Koo and Mr. Kim Kyoo Shik, the negotiations between North and South Korea. Thus, in our country there prevails a

ever-increasing aspiration for another such historic meeting as the North-South Joint Conference of April 1948.

Our Party warmly welcomes and supports such patriotic aspirations, and is fully prepared to unite at any time with them.

Taking into account such circumstances, we must take concrete steps to isolate still further the U.S. imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique in South Korea from the people and to further expand and strengthen the ranks of the patriotic forces which strive for a peaceful unification of the country.

The greatest obstacle in the way of strengthening our own forces for the peaceful unification and independence of the country lies in the fact that under the fascist dictatorship, the Syngman Rhee clique, loyal servitors of the U.S. imperialists, do not ensure the South Korean people even elementary democratic freedom and rights.

Therefore, one of the pressing targets of the Party struggle is the winning of democratic rights for the people of South Korea. We must see to it that the popular masses in South Korea win freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and religious belief, and freedom of political activities be ensured for all the patriotic political parties, social organizations and individual persons.

Equal rights to elect and be elected should be ensured for every one in South Korea, irrespective of the property status, education, religious belief or sex, and thus, in particular, vast masses of the working people, including workers and peasants, be enabled to participate actively in the state and political life.

Thus, representatives of the workers and peasants who constitute the majority of the population must have seats in the National Assembly of South Korea, and it should be operated in conformity with the will of broad sections which represent the interests of the people of all walks of life. At the same time, conditions must be created for the possibility of struggle for the amelioration of the corrupt rule in South Korea and for the realization of a peaceful unification of the country, against the U.S. imperialists and the Syngman Rhee dictatorship. And at

the same time the economic life of the South Korean people must be stabilized so as to induce them to display patriotic enthusiasm and activity in their struggle for a peaceful unification of the country.

In order to rehabilitate and develop the ruined national economy of South Korea, to ensure an independent development of the national industry, and to stabilize the livelihood of the population, we must wage resolute struggles against investments of American monopoly capital and the forced importation of foreign surplus commodities.

We must launch struggles for checking unemployment, and for preventing the soaring prices, for raising real wages of workers and office employees, and for introducing an eight-hour working day as well as social insurance for them.

We must oppose the exploitation of peasants through the policy of expropriating land and grain, the murderous usury, and the levying of taxes in various forms. We must deliver the yearly increasing foodless and displaced peasants from their miserable situation, and struggle to make the tiller the owner of the land.

To protect the middle and small industrialists and tradesmen from the oppression of the U.S. monopoly capital and compradors, accommodation of funds and conditions for buying raw materials and selling manufactured goods must be ensured for them.

With the common aim of peacefully unifying the country, we advocate and are fully prepared for a coalition with all the political parties, social organizations and individuals in South Korea. With a view to achieving such a coalition and forming a united front comprising all the patriotic political parties, social organizations and all persons with national conscience, we hold that a joint conference of political parties and social organizations of North and South Korea be convened; and under circumstances in which such a conference is not yet possible, we are ready to conduct negotiations with separate political parties, social organizations and patriotic persons.

Any participant in such a coalition, who is aiming at a peaceful unification of the country, will be forgiven his previous crime, even if he has committed any, and we must let him take part in the coalition government to be formed after the materialization of the unification according to his merits and talents, and his property and social position must be safeguarded.

One of the most important problems on promoting the peaceful unification of the country is to effect the political, economic and cultural contacts, exchange of visits and of correspondence between North and South Korea.

For the realization of the exchange of goods necessary for the livelihood of the people of both the North and the South, we can supply electricity, coal and timber which the people of the southern half badly need, and we will keep the door open to all the delegations and individual persons who desire to come to North Korea with constructive and business-like aims in mind, and we will guarantee freedom of their activities in the northern half and provide them with every available facility.

We hold that a permanent committee should be set up which can discuss and take effective measures for all questions, ranging from the question of promoting contacts between North and South Korea to that of unifying the North and the South. And representatives of the governments, the highest legislative organs, political parties, social organizations and independent personages should participate in this committee on the basis of an equal ratio between North and South Korea.

Under prevailing circumstances, such measures are most practical, and we think they can be implemented if both sides are sincere enough to meet the desire of the Korean people.

To put into effect all our proposals and advocacy mentioned above, first of all, achievements of the Armistice must be consolidated and the Armistice be converted into a lasting peace.

We request that in addition to a strict observance of all provisions of the Armistice Agreement, armed forces of both sides be reduced to the minimum so as to curtail the people's

burden of military expenditures for the sake of peaceful construction.

Furthermore, neither North nor South Korea should be drawn into a military alliance with any foreign power, and the separate military pact concluded between the governments of South Korea and the United States must be repealed.

In order that the Korean question be settled by the Koreans themselves, all foreign armed forces, including the U.S. forces and the Chinese People's Volunteers, should be withdrawn and there should be no foreign interference whatsoever in the internal affairs of our country.

At the same time we must strive to create practical conditions which will enable the countries interested in a peaceful solution of the Korean question to convene an international conference with the participation of the representatives of the North and South Korean governments, and settle the Korean question in a peaceful way.

Comrades!

Many difficulties and obstacles are in the way of our struggle for a democratic unification and independence of the country.

However, this way alone can ensure happiness for our own generation and happiness and prosperity of our posterity for generations to come.

Therefore, as long as we adhere to this line of action and stubbornly fight for its implementation, we will be all the more ardently supported by the entire people of Korea, and will enjoy the positive encouragement and support of the peaceloving forces of the world.

And our Party will remain an invincible force, and will triumphantly carry out the glorious task of achieving the democratic unification and independence of the country.

FOR THE PEACEFUL UNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY

Declaration of the Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea

Fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters all over the country!

All workers, peasants and working intellectuals of the country!

Youth and students of the country!

Scientists and cultural workers of the country!

Industrialists and tradesmen of the country!

Members of all political parties and social organizations of the country!

Government officials of all levels, officers, non-commissioned officers and men in the country!

Korean nationals living abroad!

Today, at this grave juncture when the territory of the fatherland is divided into two parts, the Workers' Party of Korea declares to you.

We are a single nation, and our country has traversed the course of a long history as a unified nation.

The history of our people is resplendent with tradition of glorious, patriotic struggles of our ancestors who repulsed the aggressions of alien foes; our fertile and beautiful soil abounds in inexhaustible natural resources enabling us Korean people to create a happy life.

Even the bayonets and jails under the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists for half a century failed to bring the Koreans to their knees, to break the lofty national spirit of the Korean people aspiring after freedom and independence.

Even now ten years after the August 15 Liberation, we have not yet achieved the complete unification and independence of our country.

Half of our sacred land still remains under the occupation of the U.S. aggressors, and our territory is divided into two parts by the barrier of the military demarcation line, which is not a frontier.

The division of the territory and disunity of the nation are an immeasurable hindrance to the political, economic and cultural development of our country in general, and cause national humiliation and tremendous misfortune to the public and private life of the entire Korean people.

Because of the split, we are unable to utilize, on a nationwide scale, the rich resources and all the potentialities of production in North and South Korea, unable to avail ourselves reasonably of the mineral resources and manpower in production and national construction.

Because of the split, we are unable to utilize, on a nationwide scale, all the wisdom and ability possessed by the Korean people for the promotion of our national culture and the development of modern sciences.

Because of the split, we are even unable to exchange letters with our dear family members and friends, despite the short distance, to say nothing of seeing each other.

This is how matters stand with our country at present. Should, then, such an unnatural state of affairs continue to prevail between our compatriots, which could hardly occur even in relations between countries separated far from each other by oceans and continents?

Today, when nations, large and small, in the East and the West take pride in their own land, holding aloft the banner of sovereignty and independence, why should we remain divided incapable of establishing a unified, sovereign and independent state?

Even different nations of the world are not desirous of dispute and antagonism among themselves, and are seeking for a peaceful way of mutual understanding, friendship and coopera-

tion. Then, should there be any reason for us Koreans to scowl at each other, and to be unable to sit together at one place?

Who are to answer for the division of our nation which is of the same blood? And who have brought us such a national misfortune and calamity?

They are none other than the U.S. imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique. Since the U.S. imperialists came to Korea without shedding even a single drop of their blood for her liberation, they have suppressed with arms all the patriotic movements of the Korean people striving for the freedom and unification of the fatherland, and converted South Korea into their war base, and are trying to turn it entirely into their colony; they have continuously fostered the artificial split of our country, trying to perpetuate it.

Having come over to our land tens of thousands of miles away from their country, under the showy cloak of "freedom and aid," they swagger around on our streets and in our villages, plunder us of our property and treasures, and disdain and despise our people.

The American imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique provoked the criminal, aggressive war against the Korean people asking for the peaceful unification of the country, and killed our kinsmen and women, and reduced our towns and villages to rubble.

Even today, the enemy continues to obstruct in every possible way the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, and are trying to instigate another war in Korea and obtain a source of money-making at the expense of immeasurable sacrifices and sufferings of our people.

In South Korea the Syngman Rhee clique, loyal servants of the American imperialists, demand the prolonged stationing of the U.S. imperialist aggressors, do not hesitate to sell national honour and property, and are resorting to every possible means of rabid terror and persecution against their fellow countrymen, just for the sake of maintaining their regime.

The people of South Korea, though liberated on the same day and at the same hour as the people of North Korea, are

helplessly groaning under oppression and in the mire of poverty, while those in North Korea, as masters of the state, are fully enjoying all the fruits of their own labour.

In South Korea the national economy is on the decline, the entire economic life relies on foreign commodities, the tradition of national culture is trodden underfoot, the decadent American way of life prevails, and the youth and students are being forcibly pressganged into military service for a fratricidal conflict, while in the northern half the national industry and rural economy are briskly growing, tremendous post-war rehabilitation and construction are in progress, sound national culture is flourishing and developing and the youth and students are enjoying their study and peaceful labour.

We can no longer tolerate such a state of affairs. The Korean people should resolutely struggle for the realization of unification and independence, holding their destiny firmly in their own hands.

However frenziedly the American imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique may try to renew the fratricidal conflict, the Korean people will never tolerate such an action. The unification of the divided country can be materialized by peaceful means.

The might of the Korean people, united in a common aspiration for peaceful unification, is much stronger than that of those who want the continuation of the country's division and attempt to resume a fratricidal war, and the forces of the peace-loving peoples of the world who desire a peaceful settlement of the Korean question are incomparably stronger than those of aggression and war.

Today, we live in an era when the peoples of the whole world are vigorously marching along the road of peace and friendship.

The Workers' Party of Korea, with a view to realizing as early as possible the cherished desire of the entire people for the peaceful unification and independence of the country, appeals to all the Korean people as follows:

1. The Korean question must be finally settled on the basis of a democratic expression of the will of the Korean people themselves, and a united government of Korea must be established through general elections by the entire Korean people.

No intervention in elections from without should be permitted, and there should be no apprehension, restraint or intimidation.

Representatives of the broad popular masses of workers, peasants and others must participate in the coalition government to be formed as a result of all-Korea free elections, based upon democratic principles, a genuinely democratic administration should be enforced, and the rights and interests of the people of all walks of life should be guaranteed.

2. The Armistice attained in Korea should be converted into lasting peace so as to bring about the peaceful unification of the country.

Both sides must, therefore, strive for a strict observance of the Armistice Agreement, and an end must be put to the introduction of combat material, large-scale armaments expansion and provocative acts in violation of the Armistice Agreement along the military demarcation line by the U.S. authorities and the South Korean government.

Government authorities of both North and South Korea must declare before the Korean people and the peoples of the whole world that they will not resort to arms on any account against each other and will assume the duty to solve by peaceful means alone all the questions concerning Korea's unification, and must reduce the armed forces of North and South Korea to the minimum with a view to lessening the burden of military expenses and allotting the sum thus released to peaceful construction.

For the peaceful unification of Korea, the intervention by the U.S. and her colonial rule over South Korea, which has brought about the artificial division of Korea, must be done away with. All foreign armed forces, including the U.S. forces and the Chinese People's Volunteers, must be withdrawn from

Korea, and no foreign interference whatever in the internal affairs of Korea should be tolerated.

Neither part of our country should be inveigled into any military alliance with foreign countries or thrown into a state of enslavement by any foreign power.

The "ROK-U.S. Mutual Defence Pact" and other shackling, unequal treaties concluded between the governments of South Korea and the United States, which are in the way of the peaceful unification of the country and have opened the road to war and national enthrallment, must be declared null and void.

3. In order to enable the broad popular masses to take part in the struggle for the peaceful unification of the country and fully display their patriotic enthusiasm and positiveness, democratic principles must be materialized in all spheres of social and political life in South Korea, and the livelihood of the popular masses must be stabilized and improved.

Freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and religious belief must be ensured; freedom of political activities of political parties and social organizations and of individual persons of all walks of life guaranteed; and all the patriotic political prisoners released.

Above all, conditions must be guaranteed for the broad working masses to take an active part in public and political life.

The present "National Assembly" in South Korea consisting exclusively of the small privileged circles with no participation of workers and peasants cannot represent the interests of the entire South Korean people.

Representatives of workers and peasants who constitute the absolute majority of the population should have seats in the South Korean National Assembly, which should represent the interests of the people of all walks of life and be operated in conformity with the will of the people.

At the same time, actual conditions must be created, so that struggles can be waged for ameliorating the corrupt administration in South Korea and for realizing the peaceful unifica-

tion of the country, against U.S. imperialism and Syngman Rhee dictatorship.

Workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, office employees, and national capitalists in South Korea must resolutely oppose the investment of the American monopoly capital and the importation of unnecessary American surplus commodities into South Korea, and struggle for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy and for an independent development of the national industry.

Unemployment must be checked, the unemployed secured of jobs, and the present unstable conditions for employment of the working people eliminated. The livelihood of the working people must be stabilized by curbing inflation and reducing prices on a large scale.

Minimum wages which can guarantee the normal livelihood of the workers and office employees must be ensured and an eight-hour working day and a strict system of social insurance by the government enforced.

The exploitation of peasant masses by means of the expropriation of land and grain, murderous usury, and exacting taxes must be prohibited; the peasants who till the land given land; and the innumerable foodless peasants and those leaving their land, who are increasing year after year, must be relieved from their miserable situation.

The youth and students should not be pressed into the army; conditions must be created for them, in which they can study and find positions; democratization in school and democratic national education should be realized and freedom of scientific researches and all other activities guaranteed for scientists and cultural workers.

Women must be guaranteed equal rights with men, and state and social protective measures taken for mothers and children.

Middle and petty tradesmen and industrialists must be protected from the oppression of the American monopolies and compradors, and conditions for obtaining necessary funds and pro-

curing raw materials and selling manufactured goods secured for them.

The entire people in South Korea must oppose the armaments expansion for another war and demand that various government measures be taken for rehabilitation and construction of the devastated peace industry and destroyed towns and villages in South Korea and must also firmly demand that priority be given to the construction of educational and cultural institutions as well as of dwelling houses so as to provide conveniences of life to the popular masses.

4. For the acceleration of the peaceful unification of the country, artificial barriers existing between North and South Korea must be removed and mutual contacts and negotiations between the people of both parts realized.

We should sit together to give a rebuff to the obstructive manoeuvres of the American imperialists and their lackeys, who oppose the unification of the country, and to settle the fate of the country and the people.

We eagerly wish to strengthen the ties between North and South Korea and create circumstances and an atmosphere for promoting a mutual understanding by such means as mutual visits and exchange of letters between the people, and by organizing economic, cultural, scientific, art and sports exchange.

We hope that the abundant electric power, coal, timber and other fruits of labour of the North Korean people will also be shared by our fellow countrymen in South Korea, and we maintain that a condition be created, in which scientists, cultural workers and artists of North and South Korea can exchange their achievements and experiences, and combine their wisdom and talent to carry forward our brilliant national culture.

For their visits and mutual contacts in various fields, North Korea will always keep the door open and welcome public figures and people of all strata of South Korea who desire the unification of the country, and will fully guarantee the personal safety and freedom of activity to those who travel to and from North Korea.

We propose that a permanent committee, composed of representatives of the parliaments and governments, or of political parties and social organizations of North and South Korea, be set up to discuss in detail the question of the unification of Korea, based upon the interests of the entire Korean people who desire mutual rapprochement and negotiations between North and South Korea.

5. For the acceleration of the great cause of unification and independence of the country, the unity and solidarity of the whole nation opposing American imperialism must be strengthened and patriotic forces of North and South Korea united to intensify the common struggle against the enemy of peaceful unification.

The American imperialists and their lackeys are afraid lest the Korean people should meet each other, and they are trying to destroy the unity of the Korean people and prevent the patriotic persons from joining forces with a view to perpetuating the division of the country.

We will answer the enemy's ruse for the split of the Korean nation with the unity and solidarity of our strength. It is unity and solidarity alone which promises us victory.

We will welcome, and negotiate with, anyone who is against U.S. imperialism and sincerely desires national solidarity and unification of the country, irrespective of his or her political views, religious belief or property status.

Today, the patriotic persons who, like Messrs. Kim Koo and Kim Kyoo Shik who took part in the North-South Joint Conference in 1948, oppose the national oppression of the American imperialists, resist the fratricidal plot and the fascist dictatorship of the Syngman Rhee clique, and support and approve the peaceful unification, are increasing in number in the southern half. We welcome such actions and consider that negotiations with these persons are possible. Should anyone who committed no small wrongs against the country and the people in the past repent them and sincerely wish to contribute to the peaceful attainment of the unification of the country and of the unity of the nation, we will warmly welcome such an action, negotiate

with him and guarantee his social status according to his merits and talent.

In order to rally all the patriotic, democratic forces and achieve the unification of the country by peaceful means, we hold that all political parties in North and South Korea should have unity in their action, and all social organizations should unite themselves.

We eagerly desire, in the first place, that various organizations of workers, peasants, youth and women as well as scientific and cultural associations in North and South Korea, which include the widest sections of the Korean people, should unite together and march ahead in concert as a united force.

We firmly believe that, in spite of the differences in political views, all the political parties and social organizations in North and South Korea will be able to find sufficient means of cooperating with and conceding to each other and thus forming a united front to decide the country's destiny and the people's future.

6. An international agreement should be reached for the preservation of peace in Korea and for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

We hope that for the maintenance of peace in Korea and for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, governments concerned with the Korean issue will call an international conference, in which Asian countries, including the government representatives of North and South Korea, will widely take part, and ask that those governments assume obligations to ensure that there will be in Korea no provocation of war nor occurrence of action which would menace peace.

Dear compatriots all over the country!

This is no time for us only to grieve over the division of the country and the nation.

The unification of the country depends solely upon our own effort and struggle.

Rise up, entire people of North and South Korea, in response to this call of the Workers' Party of Korea for the peaceful unification of the country!

Discuss and support our appeal for the peaceful unification of the country in your homes, your workshops, your schools and your organizations!

Come out in the resolute fight so as to make the true voice of the people heard by the enemy who are preventing the unification of the country!

Then a consultative conference of the North and South will be convened for the peaceful unification of the country, normal intercourse in the spheres of economy and culture will be established between the North and South, and further a united government will be formed through nation-wide free elections.

By means of national unity and solidarity alone can we achieve the unification and independence of the country, and with the completion of the unification and independence we will mark a new and still brighter epoch in the history of our country.

The destiny of our fatherland is in our own hands.

Those who are dead set against the peaceful unification of the country will never be able to clear themselves of their crime and the stigma as the people's sworn enemy.

If you do really treasure the destiny of the country, all of you join the ranks of the fighters for the peaceful unification of the country!

Rise up in defence of the freedom and honour of the country!

Fight for the honour and happiness of our posterity through all ages!

Long live the national unification and independence of the Korean people!

April 28, 1956

STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES OF THE D.P.R.K.

In the three years since the signing of the Armistice Agreement in Korea, international tension has been considerably relaxed.

Today the international as well as internal situation demands that tension in Korea be reduced to the greatest extent.

Continued expansion of armaments by aggressive states constitutes a major obstacle to the further lessening of international strain. Especially, armaments expansion in South Korea cannot but be a big impediment to the easing of tension in Korea and adversely affects the peaceful development of economy and the improvement of people's living in South Korea.

Now, when international situation has substantially improved and the entire Korean people are aspiring after the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, South Korean authorities, with help of the ruling circles of the U.S.A., continue to expand armaments in South Korea and openly call for the "march north war."

South Korean authorities, in an attempt to deceive the people of South Korea and world public opinion, try to justify their aggressive acts on the ground of the non-existent danger of "aggression against the South from the North and of imaginary expansion of the strength of the Korean People's Army.

As is confirmed by past experiences, armaments expansion ultimately leads to war. Particularly, armaments expansion in South Korea resulted in the outbreak of the Korean war, which took a heavy toll of millions of lives and brought untold misfortune and sufferings upon the Korean people. The Korean peo-

ple, therefore, do not want war, but want to see the Korean question settled peacefully.

The Government of the D.P.R.K., in conformity with the desire of the Korean people, has consistently maintained that the Korean question be settled through negotiations and proposed time and again to South Korean authorities that both sides should declare themselves not to resort to arms and for reducing to the minimum the strength of their armed forces in order to dispel distrust between the North and South and lessen tension in Korea. But South Korean authorities turned down the proposal.

To make new contributions to the maintenance of peace in Korea and to create practically conditions more favourable for the peaceful unification of Korea, the Government of the D.P.R.K. makes the following statement:

1. The Government of the D.P.R.K. solemnly declares that it will, as heretofore, not resort to arms first against the other side, as long as the South Korean authorities do not provoke war against the northern half of the Republic;

2. To reduce the armed forces of the D.P.R.K. by 80,000 men by August 31, 1956;

3. To reduce correspondingly military equipment and war materials and to appropriate the funds thus released for peace construction and improvement of people's living;

4. The demobilized men of the Korean People's Army shall be ensured peace jobs by the state in accordance with their wish and ability.

In issuing the present statement, the Government of the D.P.R.K. has taken into consideration the fact that the people in North and South Korea eagerly desire to see the peaceful unification of the country facilitated by improving the relations between the North and South and by promoting contacts between the North and South.

If South Korean authorities sincerely respect the wishes of the Korean people, they would have no alternative but to take above-mentioned practical measures in consonance with the popular will.

Taking above-mentioned measures, the Government of the D.P.R.K. is confident that the Korean People's Army will reliably guard the democratic base in the northern half and that the people in North and South Korea will expose and smash in good time any adventurous plots of bellicose elements who hamper the peaceful unification of the country and who are out to provoke a fratricidal conflict in Korea.

May 31, 1956

CABINET DECISION NO. 43 OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

On Supplying 100,000 suk of Relief Rice Gratis to South Korean Foodless Peasants

A serious food crisis has been created in South Korea recently.

Millions of South Korean people are in a misery of starvation suffering from a severe food shortage.

Rural life in South Korea, where the number of peasant households with no provisions is increasing daily, is in an unbearably pitiable state. According to a report printed in **Tonga Ilbo** some time ago, more than 980,000 or 43.5 per cent of the total 2,250,000 peasant households in South Korea was without provisions. As of the end of February this year in Pyungchang County, Kangwon Province, 5,704 or 52 per cent of the total of 10,958 peasant households were foodless, while in Wolsung County, North Kyungsang Province it was 41 per cent. It was expected that the percentage would rise to 60 per cent in May.

The hunger-stricken peasants are wandering about in search of bark and roots, and the number of those who are starving to death or committing suicide being unable to eke out a living is increasing day by day.

But the South Korean authorities have not taken any effective measures to relieve the foodless peasants.

The occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists after liberation has totally ruined the South Korean national economy.

And since the Armistice, the war-provoking policy of the U.S. imperialists has been bringing more heavy burdens upon the South Korean people.

In the past, South Korea was called Korea's granary. But the output of summer crops in the southern part of the Republic in 1956 stood as low as 61 per cent of the average harvest of the period of 1936-1940, and autumn crops 60 per cent.

Such extreme poverty, famine and horrifying distress the South Korean people are undergoing are causing a great tragedy throughout South Korea. And the root cause of this tragedy lies totally in the occupation of South Korea by U.S. imperialism.

The poverty and famine brought upon the South Korean compatriots can be overcome only by unifying our fatherland in a peaceful way, putting an end to the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists and their divide-Korea policy.

Years have passed since our fatherland was divided artificially. The brothers and sisters of North and South Korea of the same blood have been separated from each other for 12 long years. Communication has been denied them, let alone meeting each other. But no artificial barrier nor obstacle can permanently break the kinship of the Korean people of the North and South. The people in the North, ardently desiring the peaceful unification of the fatherland, cannot forget even a moment the plight of their brothers and sisters in the South. And we regard it our solemn duty to spare no assistance to our countrymen in distress.

In the northern part of the Republic, thanks to the correct economic policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, the national economy is steadily developing and the people's living standard continues to rise. In 1956, the total industrial output was roughly double that in 1949.

Especially in agriculture, the 1956 grain output surpassed by 8 per cent the prewar peak level, despite the severe frost damages in some areas.

The people in the northern part of the Republic cannot think of their creative labour apart from the freedom and happiness of the South Korean people. The northern part of the Republic is not yet abundant in food. However, since we cannot

be indifferent toward the South Korean compatriots' sufferings, we extend a helping hand to them.

Expressing profound sympathy with the foodless South Korean peasants and their family members who are undergoing severe hardships, and regarding it as the lofty national duty for compatriots to share part of our provisions with them, the Cabinet of the Republic decides:

1. For the immediate relief of the foodless South Korean peasants who are wandering about in hunger, it will supply them with 100,000 **suk** of hulled rice gratis.

2. It directs the Minister of Agriculture to take concrete measures to deliver the rice to the South Korean authorities at an early date.

We are convinced that the entire people in the northern part of the Republic, warmly supporting the decision of the Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on helping South Korean compatriots, will intensify further their struggle for increased production and economization, for the further consolidation of our democratic base and realization of peaceful reunification of the fatherland at the earliest date in order to lead a happy life together with the brothers and sisters in the southern half.

KIM IL SUNG
Premier of the Democratic People's Republic
of Korea

May 7, 1957
Pyongyang

CABINET DECISION NO. 96 OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

On Relieving the Unemployed and the Vagrant Orphans of South Korea Groaning under U.S. Imperialist Occupation

August 21, 1958

The entire Korean people will mark on September 9 this year the 10th anniversary of the founding of the glorious Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In the ten years since the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the people in the northern part have made great achievements under the guidance of the Korean Workers' Party in the struggle for the peaceful unification of the country and for socialist construction.

Despite the havoc wrought by the three year war, the national economy was rapidly rehabilitated in a short space of time thanks to heroic labour struggle of the entire working people, and today our country is prospering and developing into a rich and powerful socialist country with a firm foundation of self-supporting national economy.

As of the end of 1957, the gross industrial output of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had grown 2.8 times as compared with the prewar year. The rural economy has also been making a rapid development thanks to the enormous help of the state and the assiduous labour of the peasants. Thus the northern part of the Republic has been turned from an area short of food into an area with food enough and to spare.

Cities and villages are magnificently rising up, taking on a

new appearance, and the construction of houses for working people is being successfully carried on.

The wage increases and price-cuts effected on several occasions for the working people following the war have been improving the living of the people in the northern part with every passing day.

Inspired by the popular measures taken by the Korean Workers' Party and the Government of the Republic, the entire working people are rushing like a winged horse towards the pre-schedule overfulfilment of the First Five-Year National Economic Plan which will bring about a new leap in the development and prosperity of the country.

Greeting the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic by summing up the great results they have attained, the people in the northern part of the Republic cannot but direct due concern to the compatriots in the southern part who are now groaning in an even more gloomy situation than before, though they were liberated on the same day and at the same hour with the people in the North.

As a result of the thirteen year long evil rule of the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique, the southern part of our country has been placed in a dire predicament.

Under the pressure of U.S. monopoly capital, the South Korean national industry, the medium and small scale enterprises included, has been severely destroyed, and even the remaining industrial establishments are operating far from regularly.

Large numbers of workers are being dismissed en masse and an army of the unemployed is rapidly swelling day by day.

At present the number of the unemployed and semi-unemployed exceeds 3,800,000, even according to reports of the South Korean press.

The rural economy has been devastated, with the result that the peasants have been placed in a state of chronic starvation and the southern part has been turned into a land of famine which has to import millions of suk of foreign grain every year, whereas it used to export millions of suk of grain before liberation.

Hundreds of thousands of helpless orphans and child beggars are roaming about the South Korean streets in search of edibles. But the South Korean authorities are taking no measures whatsoever for relieving them.

The educational organs in the southern part, which have degenerated into profiteering organs, are expelling students who are overburdened with onerous school impositions, and many students are placed in such a situation that they have to sell blood for paying miscellaneous educational impositions.

Even if they manage to graduate from colleges or universities, the majority of the students become jobless or are forcibly conscripted into the Syngman Rhee puppet army.

The Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea cannot be indifferent towards the terrible national misfortune the compatriots in the southern part are undergoing. Representing the compatriotic love of the entire people in the northern part of the Republic and their unanimous desire to relieve the unemployed and the vagrant orphans in the southern part as well as the youth and students there who are in distress, the Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea decides as follows:

1. 150,000 suk of cleaned rice, 5,000,000 metres of textile goods, 10,000 tons of marine products and 4,000,000 pairs of footwear shall be supplied gratis for relieving the unemployed and the vagrant orphans of the southern part.

The Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea entrusts the Chairman of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea with the task of taking necessary measures for delivering and distributing the above relief goods to the unemployed and the vagrant orphans of the southern part.

2. Deeming it as a due national duty to protect and bring up the helpless orphans wandering about the streets of the southern part, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea manifests its readiness and desire to take entirely upon itself the upbringing of them.

The Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea entrusts the Minister of Education and Culture and the Chair-

man of the Central Committee of the Korean Democratic Women's Union with the task of taking necessary measures for taking over and rearing the entire vagrant orphans of the southern part.

3. In order to help even a part of the youth and students of the southern part who are in distress, funds shall be set up for issuing permanently a scholarship of 1,000 won each every month for 3,000 students who are now studying or will study in the future at any South Korean higher educational institutions.

The Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea entrusts the Minister of Education and Culture and the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Democratic Youth League with the task of taking necessary measures for issuing the above scholarship to college and university students of the southern part.

The Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will welcome also in the future the youth and students of the southern part who come over to the northern part of the Republic in search of the opportunity to study and will ensure by state measures all conditions for their study.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is firmly convinced that the entire people of North and South Korea will warmly welcome this decision on relieving the brothers and sisters in the southern part who are languishing under the rule of the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee and will struggle in every way for its implementation.

KIM IL SUNG
Premier of the Cabinet of the
Democratic People's Republic
of Korea

CABINET DECISION NO. 60 OF THE D.P.R.K.

On Relieving the Sufferers in the Southern Part of the Country

September 23, 1959

In South Korea flood, drought and other natural calamities are increasing year after year and, this year, in particular, natural calamities are further expanding, bringing grave misfortunes to the people.

Now the people in the southern part of the country are going through enormous misfortunes and sufferings owing to the damages caused by storm and flood which swept recently the southern part of the country.

Even according to preliminary data published by the South Korean authorities, as of September 23, thousands of people have been killed and nearly 800,000 sufferers who have lost their houses, household goods and farm land are waiting for a hand of relief at the cross-roads of life and death.

The people in the southern part of the country are undergoing ever greater calamities due to the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists and the complete negligence of irrigation project and forest and water conservancy by the Syngman Rhee authorities.

Today the northern part of the Republic has been converted into an area free from natural calamities thanks to the basic completion of irrigation in the rural areas and the successful carrying out of forest and water conservancy, and here the national economy is rapidly developing and people's living improving on a firm foundation.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the entire people cannot look on with folded arms at the afflicted compatriots in the southern part who are wandering about the roads with the severe winter approaching.

Expressing deep sympathy with the people in the southern part of the country who are undergoing grave calamities today and considering that it is a lofty compatriotic duty to render material aid for relieving them immediately, representing the will of the entire Korean people, the Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea decides as follows:

1. To deliver, to begin with, the following provisions and material for promptly relieving the storm and flood sufferers in the southern part of the Republic:

Thirty thousand suk of polished rice (1 suk equals 150 kg. — Ed.).

One million yards of textile goods.

One hundred thousand pairs of footwear.

One hundred thousands bags of cement.

One million and five hundred thousand jai of timber (1 jai is about 1/300 of 1 cubic metre — Ed.).

2. For an early realization of the relief measures for the sufferers in the southern part of the Republic, to set up a relief committee for the South Korean sufferers with the following members:

Chairman: Li Joo Yun, Vice-Premier.

Members: Rim Kye Chul, Chairman of the State Planning Commission, Ro Taik Suk, Director of the General Bureau of Material Supply under the Cabinet, Kim Chun Hai, a Co-Chairman of the Central Committee of the United Democratic Fatherland Front, Li Hyo Soon, Chairman of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea, Kang Jin Kun, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Peasants' Union, Pak Jung Ai, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Democratic Women's Union, Pak Yong Kook, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Democratic Youth League, Kim Eung Ki, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Red Cross Society.

The Relief Committee for the South Korean Sufferers, the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea, the Central Committee of the Korean Peasants' Union, the Central Committee of the Korean Democratic Youth League

and the Central Committee of the Korean Democratic Women's Union are entrusted with taking practical measures for delivering the relief goods to the sufferers in the southern part of the country.

3. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is ready to receive any time the sufferers in the southern part when they come to the northern part of the Republic seeking the road to salvation.

The Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is convinced that this measure proceeding from lofty compatriotic love will be realized at the earliest date and will speedily relieve the sufferers in the southern part of the country of their great misfortunes and hardships.

KIM IL SUNG
Premier of the Cabinet of the
Democratic People's Republic
of Korea

ADDRESS TO THE SOUTH KOREAN PEOPLE

South Korean compatriots, brothers and sisters!

Workers, peasants, youth and students!

Men of science and culture, enterprisers and traders!

Members of various political parties and social organizations!

All personages with national conscience!

Today a bloody, tragic event is taking place before you.

The fierce resistance of the people against the fascist terrorist rule of the U.S. imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique has been continuing for scores of days.

Following the popular uprising in Masan, the people have risen up for the right to existence in almost all parts of South Korea --- Seoul, Pusan, Taegu, Inchon, Kwangju, Chungju, Taejon, Chonju, Suwon, etc.

Enraged by the Syngman Rheeites' suppression by bayonets, the demonstrators have gone over to a mass uprising.

The Syngman Rhee clique are slaughtering large numbers of people by mobilizing not only a large force of police but also heavily armed troops.

In Seoul alone they mobilized one division and showered rocket gun shells and bullets upon youth, students and even children who were demanding freedom and democracy.

Our brothers are being slaughtered en masse.

The streets of South Korean towns are strewn with the dead bodies of our brothers and the land of South Korea is being dyed with the blood of our fellow countrymen.

Undaunted by the unprecedentedly cruel suppression, the people who have risen up in a riot are keeping up their fight under the slogans: "Away with the Corrupt Regime!" "Down with the Syngman Rhee Government!"

The whole South Korea is placed under emergency martial

law and social order has been thrown into extreme confusion. The rule of the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee is sinking to its foundation.

At this grave moment, the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea addresses an appeal to you, the entire fellow countrymen in South Korea.

Why has all this happened in South Korea?

Who has caused this tragic fratricidal bloodshed in South Korea?

The present catastrophic situation is the outcome of the colonial enslavement policy pursued by the U.S. imperialist aggressors and the traitorous reactionary rule of the Syngman Rhee gang over a period of fifteen years.

Such situation is created by the U.S. imperialist aggressors who have split our country and are occupying South Korea, and their accomplice, the Syngman Rhee gang.

The popular uprising in South Korea is an eruption of the indignation pent up for the past fifteen years since liberation under the tyranny of the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rheeites and an expression of the unanimous aspiration and resolve of the entire South Korean people in demand of liberation, freedom, democratic rights and a new life.

Can Syngman Rhee still presumptuously claim that he assumed the so-called Presidency with the support of the people?

Can the U.S. imperialists still dare assert that "freedom and democracy" are ensured in South Korea?

The real state of affairs in South Korea under the terrorist rule of the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee hordes has been brought to full light.

If the U.S. imperialists had withdrawn and the reactionary rule of Syngman Rhee had been abolished, our fatherland would have been unified long ago, democratic development brought about in South Korea and the South Korean people would not have suffered from poverty and non-rights as they are suffering today.

When our country was liberated from the yoke of the Japanese imperialist colonial domination, our compatriots, who had gone through the long oppression and lived in rags and hunger.

embarked upon the road of ensuring a harmonious, happy life in an independent, democratic country.

Had a democratic, united government been established at that time in our country, as the Korean people unanimously demanded, we would have long been enjoying a happy life in one and the same land.

Nevertheless, this national aspiration has been trampled upon since liberation and obstacles have been thrown in the way of all our sincere efforts for realizing this aspiration.

For this the sole blame should be laid on the U.S. imperialists. From the first day of their landing in South Korea, the U.S. imperialists have overridden the will of the Korean people and disregarded outrageously the demand of our people.

The liberated Korean people themselves organized the people's committees, the genuine people's political power, throughout the country. However, the U.S. imperialist aggressors entrenched in South Korea dissolved by force the committees and set out enforcing the colonial rule in South Korea.

They brought into South Korea Syngman Rhee, whom they trained as their lackey for many years, and formed a reactionary group by gathering the pro-Japanese elements and national traitors who had been cast away by the Korean people. Then they instigated them to oppose the unification of Korea on a democratic basis.

To restore Korea to independent statehood and to establish an all-Korea democratic government were clearly stipulated in the international commitment subscribed to by the U.S. delegate in 1945.

But the U.S. government refused to carry out their obligation provided for in this agreement. Furthermore, it also rejected the proposal of the Soviet Union to withdraw the Soviet and U.S. troops from Korea and to leave the solution of the Korean question to the Korean people themselves.

Even after the Soviet troops withdrew from North Korea at their own initiative in 1948, the U.S. imperialists continued to occupy South Korea and forced the colonial rule upon the people, driving South Korea into the present plight.

The Korean people took positive measures to shape the destiny of their fatherland and the nation by themselves.

The joint conference of the political parties and public organizations of North and South Korea, including rightists, which was held in April 1948, came to a unanimous agreement on the establishment of a united government by holding general elections throughout North and South Korea on a democratic basis after the withdrawal of foreign troops.

Had it not been for the obstructive manoeuvres on the part of the U.S. imperialists, Korea would have been unified peacefully at that time.

U.S. imperialists, however, under cover of the signboard of the United Nations, carried out a separate election at the point of bayonets in South Korea, thereby illegally framing up the Syngman Rhee "government," and they stepped up the preparations for war against North Korea.

Such being the case, we, proceeding from a desire to remove the danger of national split, proposed twice in 1949 that the country be unified through free elections held throughout Korea. These proposals, too, however, were rejected by the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique.

Again in June 1950, the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K. suggested to unify the country by means of merging the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K. and the South Korean "National Assembly" into a single legislature.

However, the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rheeites answered such repeated, sincere proposals with the provocation of aggressive war.

Due to the severe three year war that the U.S. imperialists forced upon us, a great number of Korean people lost their lives and a tremendous amount of property was damaged and destroyed.

Since the war the U.S. imperialists have refused to implement the obligation to withdraw foreign troops from Korea and to solve the Korean question peacefully, which is explicitly stipulated in the Korean armistice agreement they themselves

signed. At the 1954 Geneva Conference for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, they also opposed our just proposals for the peaceful unification of Korea.

On February 5, 1958, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea once again issued a statement clarifying the programme for the withdrawal of all the foreign troops from Korea and the peaceful solution of the Korean question by the hands of the Korean people. In response to this proposal, the government of the Chinese People's Republic withdrew on its own initiative the entire Chinese People's Volunteers from North Korea. This opened up a more favourable phase for the peaceful unification of Korea.

However, the U.S. imperialists worked hard to reinforce their colonial rule and to perpetuate the division of Korea, refusing to withdraw their aggressive army from South Korea.

In the recent years, we have time and again advanced the programmes for the peaceful unification of the country. But the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique refused our proposals.

Since political negotiations between the North and South for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question could not be realized owing to the stubborn refusal of the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique, we proposed the implementation of the economic and cultural exchange between the North and South, apart from political questions. But even this was rejected by them.

Such being the case, we proposed to realize at least free travel and postal exchange between the North and South. But they refused this, too.

Thus an abnormal situation in which parents, wives, children, relatives and friends live separated in North and South Korea and cannot communicate with each other has been continuing for fifteen years.

Facts show that the South Korean people cannot be saved from distress so long as South Korea is ruled by the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique. Under such circumstances, we have decided to render them compatriotic help so as to re-

lieve them, if only a little, from tribulations. We proposed to send them electric power, coal, timber and other necessary materials, relief goods for the South Korean refugees, to take over the unemployed and orphans of South Korea, to provide the South Korean youth and students with the opportunity to study in the North, and to send stipends for the poor youth and students in South Korea.

But the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique turned down even these proposals.

With a view to maintaining and consolidating peace in Korea, we proposed to reduce the armed forces in North and South Korea and to declare that neither party would resort to arms against the other.

However, the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique refused this proposal, too.

Compatriots in South Korea!

In this way, the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique barred all the avenues to peace and peaceful unification of Korea and denied all opportunities of the people in North and South Korea for unifying the country and leading a happy life.

All they are after is to set off a war and keep our nation divided at the sacrifice of the South Korean people.

What an appalling shambles the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique have made of South Korea during the fifteen years since liberation!

What on earth have they brought you, South Korean compatriots? Darkness, hunger and non-rights—that is all. This is just why the South Korean people, unable to bear it any longer, have now risen up in revolt against the reactionary rule of the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique.

The U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique have kept on expanding armaments and reinforcing fascist machinery such as police and gaol in South Korea, exploiting and oppressing the people.

Seventy per cent of the South Korean budget is appropriated for military purposes, while the development of the na-

tional economy, education and culture, and the improvement of the people's living are utterly neglected. The heavy burden of annually snowballing military expenses is, for the most part, imposed on the people, above all on the peasants.

Due to the militarization and predatory policy of the U.S. imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique the South Korean economy has been devastated and the people's living is in a dire quagmire.

It is also due to the anti-popular policy that industry has declined, millions of unemployed and semi-unemployed are roaming about the streets and workers are in misery, receiving starvation wages.

It is also due to the predatory policy that the rural economy has gone totally bankrupt and half the total peasant households suffer every year from the lack of provisions.

In South Korea today the working people cannot get jobs though they want to work, and they have no means of living though they want to live.

It is also due to the reactionary rule of the U.S. imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique that the youth and students are deprived of the opportunity of studying, denied the freedom in school and are fated to serve as cannon fodder for the U.S. imperialists.

Men of science and culture in South Korea are kept from engaging in true scientific research and developing national culture and arts. And they are suffering from the extreme difficulty of living.

Medium and small trade and industry are faced with the shortage of fund and raw material, and most of them are going bankrupt due to the narrowing of market caused by the flood of U.S. surplus goods, and enterprisers and traders are joining the ranks of unemployed.

The U.S. imperialist aggressors and the Syngman Rhee clique are trampling upon even the elementary democratic rights and freedom of the South Korean people and stifling every aspiration of the people. In South Korea anyone who merely utters

the words "peaceful unification" is regarded as a serious political criminal.

Only for standing for "peaceful unification" the "Progressive Party" was dissolved and its leader Cho Bong Am was condemned to death.

All the people in South Korea, whatever section they may belong to, feel unrest in their life and are faced with ruin; they are heavily weighed down.

There are no prospects whatsoever for future; only darkness lies ahead.

Driven into a corner where they cannot endure it any longer, they have at last risen up in mass revolt.

The South Korean people, standing at the crossroads of life and death, are fighting for the right to existence and for democracy. Theirs is a patriotic and just struggle.

Flames of the powerful resistance of the South Korean people have struck extreme uneasiness and terror into the hearts of the U.S. imperialists and the Syngman Rhee gang.

The panic-stricken U.S. government, through the State Department statement made on April 19, hastily attempted to evade the responsibility for the grave situation created in South Korea. But it is only a foolish attempt.

The very formation of the Syngman Rhee "government" was rigged up by the U.S. imperialists. Has there been any "election" farce, which is designed to maintain the rule of Syngman Rhee, conducted without the protection of the U.S. army bayonets in South Korea, whose "freedom" and "democracy" were played up so much by U.S. officials?

The real policy-makers of the Syngman Rhee "government" are the U.S. imperialists and they are the ones who hold in tight grip the entire power in South Korea.

As stark historical facts and reality show, the same U.S. imperialists have split our country and driven the South Korean people into a living hell.

It was also the U.S. imperialists that handed out lethal weapons to Syngman Rhee clique who are slaughtering the South Korean people in their just struggle.

Is not the South Korean 15th Division which was called out by the Syngman Rheeites for suppressing the people placed under the U.S. Army Command?

They are inciting the Syngman Rhee gang to the massacre of the people by dispatching troops. The real nature cannot be altered by the trick of handing over the "commanding power."

The U.S. imperialists can never shy away from the responsibility for the grave crime of bringing about the present miserable catastrophe in South Korea and for slaughtering the people who came out to the just struggle, nor can they evade the resolute denunciation of the Korean people and the peoples of the world.

South Korean compatriots, brothers and sisters!

Workers, peasants, youth and students!

Men of science and culture, enterprisers and traders!

Members of various political parties and social organizations!

All personages with national conscience!

The situation now developing in the South is grave. What should be done to overcome the tense situation?

We propose to hold immediately a joint meeting of representatives of various political parties and social organizations of North and South Korea to discuss measures for coping with the present catastrophic situation of South Korea.

The South Korean people are demanding a new policy, new regime and new leadership and freedom and rights to living. The reactionary rule of Syngman Rhee must be immediately abolished for meeting the vital demand of the South Korean people.

The present situation cannot be overcome by such makeshift measure as giving out some posts to the opposition parties and changing the composition of the "government," while leaving the Syngman Rhee puppet regime intact.

The savage suppression of the masses in their uprising must be immediately stopped and freedom of speech, the press, association, assembly and demonstration be ensured to the peo-

ple and the free activity of political parties and social organizations be guaranteed.

The ringleaders who murdered demonstrators with the bayonet must be severely punished.

The martial law must be lifted and all the arrested people be immediately released. Aid must be given to the bereft family members of those who were killed by the bullets of the puppet police and army and immediate medical care be given to the wounded.

All schools must be immediately opened and the freedom and democracy of school must be ensured.

The U.S. aggressive army must prepare for immediate withdrawal and must not interfere in the internal affairs of our country nor hinder the Korean people from meeting each other.

The situation brooks not a moment's delay.

Representatives of political parties and social organizations of North and South Korea should sit at one place to take measures for overcoming the tense situation and all questions must be settled by the Korean people themselves.

Steps for solving the urgent questions related to the living of South Korean people must be taken.

The way out lies in meeting together and negotiating on every question.

The experiences of the past 15 years show that South Korea cannot get along on its own, severed from the North, and that the South Koreans cannot solve for themselves all the problems without conducting North-South negotiation.

As long as the U.S. imperialists continue to occupy South Korea and unless North-South negotiation is realized, no man in the power, whoever he may be, can cope with the situation of serious political crisis and economic dislocation in South Korea.

Only by relying on the rich natural resources and mighty economic foundation in the North, will it be possible to rehabilitate the badly ruined South Korean economy and radically improve the terrible living condition of the South Korean people.

We have built an independent national economy in the northern part of the Republic. We have powerful heavy and

light industry bases. We are producing in abundance all kinds of goods necessary for the development of the national economy and the improvement of the people's living—electric power, iron, coal, cement, chemical fertilizers, various types of machinery and equipment, fabrics, footwear, and a variety of other articles of daily use and processed foodstuffs.

We have firmly established an irrigation system in paddy and dry fields and extensively introduced advanced farm machines and farming techniques, thereby building a firm foundation for developing rural economy and gaining rich experiences.

We have trained in the past 15 years great numbers of national cadres—experts, engineers, technicians, etc., capable of governing the state and managing the economy.

All this ensures the people in the North a happy life and, at the same time, constitutes a firm guarantee for solving the pressing problem of the hard-hit living of the South Korean people.

We have created all the conditions necessary for rehabilitating at an early date the South Korean economy and improving the living of the South Korean people.

We earnestly hope to see that these conditions created by the people in the North will be made available immediately to the South Korean people.

The unemployed in South Korea should be given jobs and their living be stabilized. The systems of eight-hour work, social insurance by the state and paid vacations should be enforced for the entire factory and office workers as in the northern part of the Republic and all the conditions for their living be ensured.

In the rural communities, irrigation projects should be carried out on a large scale, farm machines and chemical fertilizer supplied and the livelihood of the peasants on the verge of starvation be speedily improved. All the youths and students should study free of charge, at state expense, and state stipends be granted to students of higher educational institutions and special schools.

For the development of the national economy, conditions

should be guaranteed to enterprisers and tradesmen for their business activities, and their living should be stabilized.

Measures should be taken by the government for uprooting all sorts of epidemics and endemic diseases; the entire people should enjoy free medical service at the expense of the state.

The South Korean people should be ensured all these conditions for their living.

It is our sincere desire that all this be carried into effect at the earliest possible date. The disastrous state of the South Korean people cannot be tolerated any longer. Let us sit around one table to talk together as soon as possible.

The Korean question must be settled peacefully, after the withdrawal of U.S. aggressive forces, in line with the democratic will of the entire Korean people.

War can never be a solution; by engaging in a fratricidal struggle, we shall play into the hands of the enemy of our nation.

We have always worked for safeguarding peace and for achieving the peaceful unification of the country.

The ravings of the U.S. imperialists and traitorous Syngman Rhee clique about a "threat of aggression upon the South" are nothing but a deceptive trick designed to divert elsewhere the wrath and hatred of the popular masses of South Korea. It is known to the whole world that it is none other than the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique that have rejected all our sincere proposals for the preservation of peace in Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and have been trumpeting about "north-bound expedition."

So long as the U.S. aggressive troops occupy South Korea, peace cannot be preserved in Korea, nor can the Korean question be solved peacefully. The United States should assume responsibility for the present situation created in South Korea before the Korean people and the people of the whole world and withdraw its troops from South Korea at once. We appeal to the people of the world to decry and condemn all the crimes committed by the U.S. imperialists in South Korea.

The troops of North and South Korea should be cut to the

minimum and the demobilized soldiers be sent to their homes so they may engage in peaceful labour. This will lighten the heavy burden of military expenditures imposed upon the South Korean people.

The peaceful unification of the country must be realized through all-Korea general elections in accordance with the free will of the entire Korean people, without any foreign interference.

Everyone with national conscience, rise up as one in the struggle for achieving this sacred cause!

This is not the time to talk about the past or argue about different political views. We will consult with each other and work hand in hand with anyone without asking about his past, if he comes out for the peaceful unification.

Let us, all of us, who are concerned about the destiny of the country and its future, sit down at one place!

Let us, all of us, who want to deliver the South Korean brothers and sisters from distress and tide over the present grave situation, sit down at one place and hold consultation!

Let us unite all the patriotic forces to compel the U.S. imperialist aggressive army to withdraw from South Korea and overthrow the puppet Syngman Rhee regime!

All workers, peasants, youths and students, men of science and culture, enterprisers and traders, come out in the national salvation struggle!

Victory is on the side of the united Korean people.

**The Central Committee of the Workers'
Party of Korea**

April 21, 1960

**REPORT MADE BY PREMIER KIM IL SUNG AT THE
MEETING IN CELEBRATION OF THE 15TH ANNI-
VERSARY OF THE AUGUST 15 LIBERATION, THE
NATIONAL HOLIDAY OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE
(Excerpts)**

August 14, 1960

Comrades!

Socialist construction and the happy life of the people in the northern part of the Republic are exercising tremendous revolutionary influence on the South Korean people and immensely encouraging and stirring up the struggle of the South Korean people against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

The aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary rule of the Syngman Rhee clique have turned South Korea into a complete colony of the United States, and into a military base for provoking another war. Fifteen years' occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists after liberation has ruined and bankrupted the national economy of South Korea and driven the South Korean people into the mire of hunger and poverty.

Unable to tolerate any longer all the social evils and the appalling difficulty of living resulted from the U.S. colonial rule, the broad popular masses in South Korea rose at last in the heroic struggle of resistance against the oppressors.

The popular uprisings which broke out throughout South Korea in the spring of this year were the explosion of the long pent-up resentment and fury of the South Korean people against U.S. imperialism and the Syngman Rhee clique, and a just struggle in demand of freedom and liberation, a new government and a new life.

In defiance of the enemy's oppression by bayonets, the broad sections of citizens including the students, youth and intellectuals in South Korea fought heroically and overthrew the Syngman Rhee puppet government. This is the initial, great victory gained by the South Korean people in their struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. Through their valiant struggle, the South Korean people demonstrated the revolutionary spirit of the Korean people and, at the same time, gained precious experience and lessons.

The uprising of the South Korean people has shown that no amount of threat of bayonet or deceptive trick can keep the people in slavery for long or check their revolutionary struggle. The uprising has also shown that when the people get united and rise in the struggle against the oppressors, they can smash any stronghold of the imperialists and that they can win victory only by their mass struggle.

However, the recent struggle of the South Korean people was not carried on to the last and could not gain a complete victory, for the broad masses of workers and peasants failed to take part in the struggle. The South Korean people thus could not win freedom and democracy, and their demands have not been realized yet.

For the South Korean people to win a complete victory of democracy the broad popular masses headed by workers and peasants should join in the struggle, which should be of a thoroughly anti-imperialist and anti-feudal nature.

So long as the land of a nation is under the occupation of the aggressive armed forces of foreign imperialism, its national independence is out of the question and people cannot live in peace. At present the root cause of the division of our fatherland and all misfortunes and sufferings of the South Korean people lies in the occupation of South Korea by the armed forces of the United States and its aggressive policy. So long as the U.S. Army is stationed in South Korea, it is impossible to realize the peaceful unification of the country, and the South Korean people cannot extricate themselves from the present miserable plight.

The U.S. aggressive armed forces occupying South Korea are the ringleader of the South Korean reactionary forces and robbers who are plundering the South Korean people and perpetrating every atrocity. The U.S. aggressive army, the ringleader of the reactionaries and robbers, is the main target in the South Korean people's struggle. Therefore, workers, peasants and all other South Korean people must rise in the resolute struggle, above all, against the U.S. aggressive forces and for making the U.S. Army withdraw from South Korea.

When all the patriotic people in South Korea rise in the anti-U.S. struggle, the U.S. aggressors will not be able to remain in South Korea and will have no choice but to withdraw from there.

The anti-imperialist struggle of the South Korean people should be linked with the anti-feudal struggle. In implementing their aggressive policy, the U.S. imperialists use and actively protect South Korean feudal landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats.

The feudal landlords and comprador capitalists serve to extend the influence of the aggressive forces of American imperialism in South Korea, and in collusion with them, are oppressing and exploiting the people. Accordingly, without fighting the feudal forces, the anti-imperialist struggle cannot be successfully carried out, and without fighting the aggressive imperialist forces, the anti-feudal struggle cannot be successfully waged.

Only when all the patriotic forces—the workers, peasants, youth, students, intellectuals, enterprisers, traders, etc.—are united as one to launch a decisive struggle against the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism and the feudal forces, can the South Korean people attain real freedom and liberation and gain a complete victory for democracy.

For the development of all patriotic and democratic movements in South Korea, first of all, the complete democracy in the political life should be ensured.

In a society where the people's free will is overridden and fascist oppression and terror is rampant, only corruption and degradation prevail and there can be no progress whatsoever.

Today in South Korea, the questions on the peaceful unification of the country and North-South negotiations are being discussed. Of course, they failed to go deep into the subjects and opinions are divided on the questions. But we can say that the situation has become a little better than the days of the Syngman Rhee rule which suppressed anyone who uttered the words "peaceful unification" on the charge of violating the state policy.

Nevertheless, certain reactionary circles in South Korea are manoeuvring to take suppressive measures again.

The reactionary attempt to restore the same rule of fascist terror as that of the Syngman Rhee clique and destroy even the rudimentary gains made by the people at the cost of their precious blood must be smashed.

The South Korean people have not yet been ensured fundamental democratic rights and freedom. There is no freedom of speech, the press, association, assembly or religion, and all progressive ideas and patriotic movements are suppressed. Especially the ideology of communism is still suppressed ruthlessly.

If it is free for people to believe in Jesus Christ, why is it not free to choose communist ideology?

Communism is the most scientific and most progressive ideology. One thousand million peoples in the world have already gained freedom and liberation under the banner of communism and are enjoying the happiest life. The communist ideology is captivating the hearts of an increasing number of the people on earth and it is a banner of liberation and victory for them.

In the northern part of the Republic the communist ideology has become the dominant ideology and the people have built under the banner of this ideology a new, free and happy life.

Then, why should this ideology be banned and suppressed in South Korea?

Historical experience has proved that the communist ideology is ever victorious and those who suppress it are bound to perish.

Of course, it is up to the individual to accept the commun-

ist ideology or not. Any one does not and cannot force it upon the individuals. But whatever the ideology may be, it should not be suppressed. Everyone should be guaranteed freedom and right for choosing any ideology, for expressing his ideas, and for propagandizing his ideals. Moreover, freedom of association and assembly, as well as complete freedom of activities of every political party and social organization should be ensured.

In South Korea there is no political party which represents the workers and peasants who occupy the absolute majority of the population of South Korea. Neither the Liberal Party nor the Democratic Party in South Korea is a workers' or peasants' party and neither of them can represent the interests of the working people.

Workers and peasants must have their own political party which can represent their will and wage struggle for their interests. And such political party should be accorded a legal status.

In North Korea since liberation the Democratic Party, a political party of the propertied class, has been enjoying a legal status, working freely. Why should not a working people's political party be allowed in South Korea?

It is another question which political party of different classes should hold the power, but the workers and peasants should be able legally to set up a political party of their own. Furthermore, such political party too should be ensured complete freedom of activities. Denying this is nothing but ignoring the will of the broadest masses of the working people and suppressing their interests.

Only when freedom of expression is ensured to every class and section of the population, particularly to the broad masses of workers and peasants, and only when complete freedom of action is guaranteed to all political parties and social organizations including the political party of the working people, can the South Korean society make any progress and the South Korean people carry out successfully their struggle for national and social liberation.

Today the U.S. imperialists, frightened at the South Korean people's awakening and continued struggle, are resorting to

every trick to prolong their colonial rule over South Korea. They keep bringing in new-type weapons, reinforcing the U.S. forces stationed in South Korea, and intensifying war preparations, while working in frenzy to put the paralysed puppet ruling apparatus in order. And the reactionary groups in South Korea are trying to dampen the fighting spirit of the people by means of suppression and deception, carrying out faithfully the orders of their American masters.

The so-called elections held recently in South Korea for its "National Assembly" constituted a glaring example of such machinations of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges.

The South Korean ruling circles are very noisy about the recent "elections" being "most fair." However, facts indicate otherwise. The "elections" were no different from all the previous "elections" they held in South Korea. The recent "elections" too were rigged up with money, deceptions, and terror. And the people in South Korea declaring the invalidity of the elections are waging mass struggle; in many places polling stations and ballot boxes were attacked or destroyed; police stations and other puppet government organs were raided; and demonstrations were held. Thus the true nature of the so-called "fair elections" was brought to light fully. The present "National Assembly" too, like that under Syngman Rhee's rule, has no single representative of the workers and peasants. Needless to say, such "National Assembly" cannot be the representative organ of the people.

Those who are in power in South Korea are raving as if the so-called "new National Assembly" and the "new government" can practise democracy, restore economy and stabilize the people's life. But all these words are only to deceive the people.

At present South Korea faces total collapse in every field of politics, economy and culture.

Because of the ruthless U.S. imperialists' colonial plunder and militarization policy, the South Korean economy has been completely destroyed. South Korea has been turned into a market for U.S. goods, and the national industries are falling into bankruptcy under the pressure of U.S. monopoly capital

and a very limited number of compradors. Compared with the time of the Japanese rule, the number of factories was reduced to half and most of the remaining medium- and small-scale enterprises are closed down or operate partially because of a raw material shortage, lack of funds and market, and the heavy burden of taxes.

Agriculture which holds an overwhelming proportion in the South Korean economy has been extremely devastated. As compared with the closing years of Japanese imperialist rule, the sown area has been reduced by 600,000 jungbo and the grain output decreased by more than 6 million suk. Every year South Korea goes through an acute food shortage and it has turned into an area of chronic famine.

Today the South Korean people are in an indescribably wretched plight.

The wages of workers are less than one third of the minimum living expenses and even these are unpaid for several months, sometimes more than half a year.

The peasants are ground down by the cruel exploitation by the landlords and usurers. Most of them are burdened with heavy debts and over one million peasant households run out of food every year. Millions of unemployed and semi-unemployed are on the verge of starvation and hundreds of thousands of child beggars are tramping the streets.

How can those who are now in power in South Korea cope with such a situation and meet the demands of the people? How can they rehabilitate the bankrupt national industry and rural economy, give jobs to millions of unemployed, and save the broad masses of people from hunger and poverty?

So long as the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists continues and our country remains divided, no one, by whatever means he may assume the reins of government, can tide over the catastrophic situation in South Korea, and meet the demands of the people. If there is any change, the name of Syngman Rhee government would be changed to Syngman Chang government. But its status and fate would be the same with Syngman Rhee's. Nor would there be any improvement in

the people's life.

The experience of the past 15 years after liberation testifies to this.

The South Korean people demand freedom and the right to life and, above anything else, they are asking the solution of the urgent problems concerning their living. Unless these fundamental problems are settled, the struggle of the people will continue and gain in scope.

With no amount of suppression and trickery can the U.S. imperialists and their stooges extinguish the flames of the struggle which is raging in South Korea, or prevent the flames from flaring up more furiously.

On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the August 15 Liberation, I, on behalf of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, extend militant greetings to the South Korean people who are heroically struggling against the U.S. imperialists and their running dogs, and convey to them the warm support and encouragement from the people in the northern part.

Comrades!

The only way to save the present situation in South Korea and finally solve the Korean question lies in making the U.S. Army withdraw from South Korea and uniting the country peacefully.

The peaceful unification of the country should be achieved by the Korean people themselves by holding free general elections throughout North and South Korea on the basis of democratic principle without any foreign interference. This has been our consistent stand on the question of unification of the country. The proposals of our Party and the Government of the Republic on the question of peaceful unification of the country reflect the unanimous desire and interests of the entire Korean people, and consequently they enjoy the absolute support and approval of the people. The fact that Syngman Rhee's clamours for "march north" were silenced and the popular masses' demand for peaceful unification of the country is getting more

powerful testifies to the correctness and vitality of our proposals for unification.

Today those who are in power in South Korea are obliged under the pressure of the people to speak of peaceful unification. But they are giving only lip-service to it; in reality they keep obstructing it.

Claiming that "the elections should be held only in North Korea," or that the "elections should be held under the U.N. supervision," they refuse to hold democratic, free elections.

Because Syngman Rhee tried to maintain his one-man dictatorship at the expense of national interests, he was afraid of free elections throughout North and South Korea more than anything else. But why should one be afraid of the free elections if he truly wishes national independence and has a concern for the people's interests?

Why can't we Koreans solve the Korean question by ourselves? Why should we allow foreign interference? Such stand is an unbearable insult to our nation and it is designed to enslave our people forever to foreign imperialists.

The Korean people are a nation that has a glorious history and cultural tradition of thousands of years old, have built a fine, new society with their own hands in one half of their country and risen up as one for the complete liberation and prosperity of the fatherland, and they are a courageous, hard-working, wise and patriotic nation with the spirit of unity. Our people are capable of independently and admirably settling their destiny without any foreign interference.

Those who are in power in South Korea say that they cannot tolerate free North-South general elections because it means "collaboration with the communists" and is fraught with the danger of "turning red." However, those who really fight for the people and want to defend the interests of the nation cannot be afraid of the communists or oppose "collaboration with the communists." For the communists consistently work for the people, are the most uncompromising defenders of national interests and the staunchest patriots. This was why the Japanese imperialists feared above all the Korean communists and most

ruthlessly suppressed them. Who was it if not the Korean communists who courageously fought against the Japanese imperialists, always guarding the cause of the revolution and the honour of the nation, undismayed in the enemy's prison or before the gallows?

Who was it if not the Korean communists who, undergoing indescribable tribulations in the darkest period of the Japanese imperialist rule, put up the 15-year long arduous struggle with arms in their hands solely for the freedom and independence of the fatherland? Following the liberation, the people in the North, under the leadership of the communists, firmly seized their destiny into their hands, upheld the independence and honour of the fatherland and built a happy, new life. If communism was something bad, how could in North Korea the national economy achieve such rapid development, towns and villages be constructed ever more beautifully, the people's living daily improved and the national culture come into such an efflorescence?

In the northern part there are a million members of the Workers' Party, the people have long accepted communist ideology and they are rallied under its banner.

In Korea national unity cannot be imagined apart from the communists. To do so means ignoring the stern fact and eventually perpetuating the division of the country.

We communists have consistently proposed to firmly unite, and cooperate and march together with all the political parties and social organizations and individual personages who fight for peaceful unification and national independence. We will march onward hand in hand with all personages who come out for the peaceful unification of the country, without asking about their past.

Only the stooges of the foreign imperialists who sell the interests of the nation can possibly be afraid of the communists.

No political parties, social organizations or individual personages can oppose "collaboration with the communists" or reject free elections throughout the North and South if they are really concerned about the destiny of the nation and aspire after peaceful unification.

There is no denying the fact that the most reasonable and realistic way to the peaceful unification of the country lies in holding free North-South general elections on a democratic basis without any foreign interference. We appeal to all the political parties and social organizations and the people of all walks of life of South Korea to come out for holding such an election.

If the South Korean authorities still cannot agree to free North-South general elections for fear of the whole of South Korea being dominated by communism, then, we must work out, to start with, even provisional measures for settling burning issues for the nation.

As one of such measures, we propose that a Confederation of North and South Korea be instituted. We propose to enforce the Confederation by way of setting up the Supreme National Committee composed of the representatives of the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the government of the Republic of Korea mainly to co-ordinate the economic and cultural developments of North and South Korea as a unit, while retaining, for the time being, the present political systems in North and South Korea and maintaining the independent activities of the two governments.

The institution of such Confederation will make it possible to understand and cooperate with each other by ensuring contacts and negotiations between the North and South and remove mutual distrust. If free general elections are held throughout the North and South under such circumstances, we consider the complete peaceful unification of the fatherland can be materialized.

In particular, the enforcement of such Confederation will be able to save South Korea from economic catastrophe in such a way that the Supreme National Committee considers economic and cultural matters beneficial to the whole nation and ensures economic and cultural exchange and mutual cooperation between North and South Korea, even though the Confederation will not form a united coalition government representing all social strata and therefore cannot exercise unified state leadership.

It is the most urgent question at present to relieve the

South Korean national economy and improve the people's living which has been plunged into ruin.

As we have consistently held and the reality proves, this question cannot be solved unless the economic interchange between the North and South is put into effect.

It is an elementary truth of political economy that no country can develop light industry and agriculture or improve the people's living without heavy industry.

In our country such a heavy industry exists in the North. After liberation the working people in the North have built with their devoted labour powerful heavy industrial bases and laid the foundation of a self-supporting national economy. We have also a large number of national technical cadres and rich experiences in economic construction.

We earnestly hope that the electricity, coal, steel, cement, timber, chemical fertilizers and various machines and equipment which are turned out in quantities in the North will be used for the rehabilitation of the economy and the improvement of the South Korean people's living. We are eagerly desirous of sharing with the South Korean brothers and sisters all the results and experiences we made in developing economy, science and technology.

Only by relying on the powerful economic foundation of the northern part can South Korea overcome difficulties in securing raw materials, equipment and funds, and develop the national industry by putting the bankrupt factories into normal operation and building new factories; in the rural areas agricultural production can be rapidly increased through large-scale irrigation projects and the sufficient supply of fertilizers and farm machines. Without rehabilitating the South Korean industry and agriculture in this way it will be impossible to provide millions of unemployed with jobs or to solve the pressing problem of living of the popular masses.

It is only empty phrase-mongering to talk about saving South Korea from economic catastrophe without economic exchange and cooperation with the North.

Some people in South Korea blare that foreign capital

should be introduced for the development of economy. Even some are advocating for inviting Japanese capital which had long ruled the economy of our country. Through the bitter experiences under the Japanese imperialist rule and through the South Korean reality of today, the Korean people know too well what the inroad of foreign capital means. Why should we invite foreign capital instead of turning to account the sufficient economic means that exist in our country? Such demand will result in nothing but further precipitating into an abyss the South Korean economy which has already been devastated due to subjugation by the U.S. monopoly capital.

If we exploit the rich resources of our country and develop the national economy in a unified way, pooling the strength of the 30 million people and relying on the heavy industry in the North, we, all of us, will indeed be able to live as well as others.

Anyone who is concerned about the wretched plight of millions of unemployed and child beggars in South Korea and has the slightest concern about the future destiny of the ragged, hunger-stricken South Korean compatriots will not oppose the economic exchange and economic cooperation between the North and South.

If the South Korean authorities think that even the Confederation we propose is still unacceptable to them, we once again propose that a purely economic commission composed of representatives of business circles of North and South Korea be set up to exchange goods between the North and South and to cooperate with and help each other in economic construction. Thus, we must, first of all, relieve the South Korean brothers and sisters from hunger and poverty, setting aside the political question for the time being.

Along with the economic exchange between the North and South, cultural interchange should be conducted on an extensive scale and the people should be allowed to travel freely.

The Korean nation is a homogeneous nation with the same language and letters and has inherited the same historical and cultural tradition. However, we have been separated from each

other for fifteen years and have been unable to visit each other, meet each other and even write to each other. Consequently, even the language and letters are gradually changing in a different way, and culture and customs are also taking different courses. Worse yet, South Korea is under the sway of decadent Yankee culture and the American way of life, and our national culture and the beautiful customs of our people are being obliterated.

This hinders the unified development of our nation and, in particular, it is fraught with the danger of plunging South Korea into an inescapable mire of corruption and degeneration.

We should under no circumstances allow ourselves to commit before our posterity, on account of political antagonism, such indelible crimes as ruining the future destiny of the nation.

We once again propose that the mutual visit of cultural missions and mutual exchange in all fields of science, culture, arts and sports be materialized between the North and South.

To start with, correspondence should be realized between parents and children, between brothers and sisters, relatives and friends, and the people should be allowed to travel freely.

One of the important questions in improving the relations between the North and South and particularly normalizing the economic life in South Korea is the reduction of the armed forces.

Today the maintenance of the huge army in South Korea is the greatest burden to the people.

We continually hold that the U.S. Army should be withdrawn from South Korea and the armies of North and South Korea cut down to 100,000, or less, respectively. This will be an important measure for relaxing tension in Korea and promoting peaceful unification and, in particular, it will lessen the South Korean people's excessive burden of military expenditures. In our country an army of 200,000 strong will be sufficient to discharge the duty of national defence.

All the above questions are burning issues awaiting urgent solution in the interest of the Korean people and, above all, for delivering the South Korean people who are in dire straits. The

current situation in South Korea does not brook even a moment's delay.

In order to solve these questions, representatives of North and South Korea should, first of all, meet at one place for negotiation. It is not a proper attitude for solving the questions for them to say outrightly that it is bad, it cannot be done and so forth even before meeting each other and talking with each other.

Such attitude benefits only the U.S. imperialists who are trying to maintain the split of our nation and set them against each other and to turn South Korea into their permanent colony. If we, separated from each other, keep the door shut to each other, the situation will be further aggravated and the South Korean people will undergo greater misfortunes and hardships.

We propose to the South Korean authorities, political parties, social organizations and individual personages that representatives of North and South Korea meet at an early date in Pyongyang, Seoul or Panmunjom to negotiate about all the above questions.

There is no reason whatsoever for the Koreans of the same nation not to meet at one place and negotiate. Why should we, people in the North, continue to hold talks with the Americans about the question of our country in Panmunjom in the territory of our country? Why should the South Korean people give way to the Americans? Americans must pull out and Koreans should sit together and negotiate the Korean question.

All political parties, social organizations and individual personages of South Korea should come out in demand of early negotiation between the North and South. All patriotic people of South Korea should struggle for economic and cultural intercourse between the North and South, for the reduction of the cumbersome South Korean Army and for free North-South general elections.

The peaceful unification of our fatherland can by no means be easily attained. We should not be oblivious even a moment of the fact that the U.S. imperialists, the ringleader of world reaction, are occupying South Korea. The peaceful unification of the fatherland can be achieved only by a persistent struggle of the entire Korean people.

When the socialist forces gain further strength in the northern part of the Republic and all the patriotic forces of South Korea firmly unite and come out in the decisive struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, we will be able to compel the U.S. aggressors to withdraw from South Korea and achieve the historical cause of the peaceful unification of the fatherland.

FOR THE FURTHER PROMOTION OF PEACEFUL UNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY

Report Made by Choi Yong Kun, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, at the Eighth Session of the Second Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K.

November 19, 1960

Deputies!

At the present juncture, the question of realizing the peaceful unification of the country represents the greatest desire and supreme national task of the Korean people.

Our people are undergoing ever greater misfortunes and sufferings owing to the division of the country which has already lasted for fifteen years.

The partition of the country cannot but evoke ever deeper apprehension and anxiety about the future destiny of the nation.

Particularly, the catastrophic situation of South Korean economy and the wretched plight of the people there call for an immediate remedy.

The situation created today shows that the Korean people must find a way out without delay, overcoming the present predicament.

As you all know, in his report at the celebration meeting of the fifteenth anniversary of the August 15 Liberation, Premier Kim Il Sung set forth before the entire Korean people a new, great programme for the unification of the country and the prosperity of the nation.

In the historical report, Premier Kim Il Sung once again expounded the firm stand of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the question of the unification of

the country and fundamental principles on peaceful unification and put forward new proposals.

This once again attested to the sincere efforts of the Korean Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which are consistently and tirelessly struggling for the peaceful unification of the country.

The proposals made by Premier Kim Il Sung are a very realistic and reasonable programme based on the correct analysis of the current internal and external situation. The proposals have become a new impelling force in breaking deadlock between North and South Korea and opened an inspiring prospect for the solution of the unification problem.

This is why the proposals made by Premier Kim Il Sung are evoking enthusiastic response, enjoying unanimous approval and support at home and abroad.

Today these proposals are followed with keen interest and are arousing immense sympathy among the South Korean people of various strata.

South Korean public opinion pointed out that "national affinity is naturally felt" in the recent proposals made by Premier Kim Il Sung "because it is permeated with a desire to discuss among ourselves with open hearts the solution of matters concerning the life of our nation and the unification of the territory, not indefinitely groping about for ways and means to solve the questions by relying on outside forces."

This eloquently shows that the voice demanding the solution of the unification problem by the Korean people's own force is mounting higher and higher and the idea of contact and negotiation is enjoying ever greater support as days go by among the South Korean people.

Today the zeal of the South Korean people for achieving unification is surging as never before and they are displaying high enthusiasm to accomplish this cause with their own hands. Ringing powerfully from the South Korean press is the voice holding that the question of unifying the country "is not a question to be disposed of behind the curtain largely by personal interests, desire or power of one dictator, a few politicians or a

narrow circle that lord it over the reality" as in the past, but is a "question which should be studied, discussed and solved" by the whole nation.

In view of the grave consequences brought to South Korea by the division of the country, the South Korean public is directing great interest toward the establishment of a self-supporting economy and, in this connection, the demand for the realization of economic and cultural intercourse between the North and the South is mounting higher and higher.

The just assertion that "North-South unification and intercourse is the prerequisite to a self-supporting economy" is ringing out from among the South Korean public of various circles and it is responded to by the people of broad strata.

"The combination of the South Korean agriculture with the North Korean mining and manufacturing industries — what a good thing it will be. And how close the people of the same nation will get if they meet with each other and hold discussion. It is undoubtedly necessary to explore a possible way for contact" — this has become a powerful social demand which no one can muzzle.

All these facts indicate that today the South Korean public circles and people of all walks of life are keenly aware that the peaceful unification of the country must be accomplished by all means without delay and that the trend for peaceful unification has gained in strength as never before.

Deputies!

This steady advance of the South Korean people is by no means accidental.

The grave consequences of the territorial division are making themselves felt ever more keenly in the overall social and economic life of South Korea.

The South Korean people do not want to, nor can they, live any longer under the present circumstances.

Today the social and economic condition and the living of the people in South Korea has deteriorated to the extreme, such as never before experienced.

The national economy of South Korea has gone totally

bankrupt; its national industry, the key branch in economic life, which was already insignificant in the beginning, has extremely deteriorated. In the South Korean rural area the relations of feudal exploitation are still maintained, the peasants' economy has become more fragmented and agricultural production further dwindled. South Korea has become an even more backward agrarian country than before the liberation and in the South Korean economy the organic links between the industrial domains and between industry and agriculture have been severed and the colonial lopsidedness has further aggravated, with the result that the independent development of economy has become utterly inconceivable.

This shows that today South Korea, in economic respect, has turned into a colonial hell more horrible than the dark period under the Japanese imperialist rule.

It is clear to everyone how miserable and agonizing the South Korean people's life is under such economic situation.

In South Korea the number of the unemployed and semi-unemployed already accounts for more than half of the people capable of work.

The South Korean working people, who are hard up even if they have jobs, are dismissed en masse and driven out into the streets.

In the South Korean rural villages which have turned into famine areas, millions of foodless peasants hover on the verge of starvation from early spring.

The bankruptcy of the national economy has brought the steady rocketing of prices of commodities, further threatening the livelihood of the population.

Thus, today South Korea has turned into a land of abject poverty and death.

Innumerable people die of hunger, disease and exposure every day. There are even such unbearable instances of young women selling their bodies in the market to survive. On top of this, social disorder and confusion have reached the extreme; murderers and robbers are swaggering about the streets in broad daylight and traffic accidents, labour disasters, fire,

typhoon and flood constantly take a heavy toll of human lives and do severe damage to people's properties.

Unable to endure any longer all these social evils and appalling hardships in their life from the colonial rule of the past 15 years, the South Korean people rose up last April in a heroic resistance struggle against the oppressors. This was an eruption of the pent-up resentment and wrath and a mass struggle demanding the liberation from such predicaments and a new life. Braving the enemy's wanton firing, the masses who rose up in the resistance won a great victory by waging a courageous struggle with bare hands and overthrowing the Syngman Rhee puppet regime. However, the situation has not changed in the least; on the contrary, it has further aggravated today when half a year has passed since traitor Syngman Rhee was ousted.

It has been fully laid bare that the "commitments" made by the present regime of South Korea in face of the revolutionary sentiments of the people were merely empty talk and a deceptive trick.

Until yesterday the present rulers of South Korea raved about the "realization of democratic government", and today are taking more cruel suppressive measures, continuously and outrageously violating the genuine political freedom of the people.

The working people including workers and peasants are still kept out of the power and the free activities of political parties which truly represent their interest are banned.

The labour movement and freedom of speech, the press, association and assembly are faced with fresh suppression.

The present rulers who advocate "economy first" and talk about the "promotion of medium and small enterprises" and "physiocratic policy" have allotted hundreds of billion hwan to military, police and administrative expenditures, while allocating only the meagre sum of 14.9 billion hwan as a "fund for the promotion of medium and small enterprises" and 8.7 billion hwan for farming.

This is like a drop in the ocean in the light of the extremely urgent requirement of the South Korean economy.

Next year's budget with greater emphasis on military ex-

penses than at the time of the Syngman Rhee rule envisages an intensified plunder of the popular masses, far from the economic rehabilitation.

The people's living is sinking deeper into a quagmire despite the unctuous slogan of the South Korean rulers on "building a welfare society."

Particularly, millions of peasants in the Ryungnam, Honam and other areas who had little for autumn harvest this year owing to the severe drought, typhoon and blood have already run out of provisions and the fishermen on Wolleung Island and in other areas are on the verge of starvation, awaiting relief.

Though a large number of people are spending nights on road-side when the severe cold is just around the corner, the authorities, far from taking any measures, are forcing those who live in board hovels to tear them down.

These facts show that the present regime of South Korea is in essence not different from the Syngman Rhee "government" and that it has neither sincerity nor competence at all to cope with the present catastrophe of South Korea.

No matter what forces may come to power in South Korea, they cannot cope with this catastrophe under the present condition.

The South Korean people of all strata are drawing lessons from their practical life, and are now coming out for a new struggle on a broader scale.

The fierce struggle of the people will be further intensified and nothing will be able to bar it unless the grave situation is remedied and a way is found for the South Korean economy and people to get out of this insurmountable predicament.

The only way of tiding over the catastrophic crisis in South Korea today and relieving the people's living from the mire lies in realizing the peaceful unification of the country and relying upon the powerful economic strength of the North.

This is an urgent demand of reality and a lofty national duty that cannot be deferred any longer.

Deputies!

In the past period, the Korean Workers' Party and the

Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have consistently made all possible efforts for the peaceful unification of the country.

However, the unification of the country has not yet been realized owing to the interference of the U.S. aggressive forces occupying South Korea and the persistent obstructive machinations of their faithful servants.

The fifteen-year history following liberation is marked by the acute struggle between these two opposing lines on the question of unifying Korea.

None of the liberated Korean people could have imagined that the country would be so partitioned as we see today and that it would remain so till today.

However, the U.S. imperialists, from the outset, have obstructed at every step the national endeavours of the Korean people to establish a unified, sovereign, independent state.

They cruelly suppressed the struggle of the Korean people in order to perpetuate the division of Korea and went so far as to plot separate elections in South Korea.

In April 1948, with the separate elections in South Korea at hand, we took the initiative of convening in Pyongyang a joint conference of the representatives of North and South Korean political parties and social organizations.

The convening of the joint North-South conference attended by the representatives of all the patriotic political parties and social organizations of North and South Korea including right-wing parties was, in itself, a demonstration at home and abroad of the collective will of the Korean people against division and for unification, and the resolution of the conference on peacefully unifying the country through free general elections throughout the North and the South after the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Korea was a most fair and reasonable programme for establishing an all-Korea unified government.

In South Korea, however, the U.S. imperialists faked up the Syngman Rhee puppet regime at the point of the bayonets, creating grave obstacles in the way of our nation.

The situation further aggravated with the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique openly making preparations for war by "marching north" against the northern part of our Republic.

Even under such circumstances, with a view to unifying the country only by peaceful means, we proposed time and again to achieve the peaceful unification of the country through free, democratic general elections throughout North and South Korea. When these efforts failed to arouse due response, we proposed again to the South Korean authorities to realize peaceful unification by way of merging the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the South Korean National Assembly into a single all-Korea legislative organ.

However, obsessed by the "march north to unify," the U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee hordes finally responded to all these efforts with war.

Also in the postwar period, the Korean Workers' Party and the Government of our Republic, availing themselves of all possibilities, however trifling they may be, for realizing the unification of the country, did everything in their power to tear down the artificial barrier lying between the North and the South, put an end to the abnormal situation of the country and to remove all obstacles in the way to the unification.

For the conversion of the Korean armistice into a lasting peace, we have repeatedly proposed to take positive measures that would ease the tension between North and South Korea and have taken such steps unilaterally.

Also, not infrequently have we proposed that representatives of North and South Korea sit together to discuss the great task of unifying the country.

But all these proposals have been turned down.

Under such circumstances, we have time and again proposed to the South Korean authorities that economic and cultural intercourse, free travel and postal exchange be realized between the North and the South, if political negotiations cannot be held.

This is an extremely urgent question posed by life for the reunion of dispersed family members and friends, and at the same time a mere elementary humanitarian claim.

However, the South Korean authorities have stubbornly rejected even this, too.

The South Korean authorities went so far as to reject our compatriotic offer to relieve the calamity-stricken people, people who are wandering about with no jobs and no one to rely on as well as orphans and to issue scholarships to South Korean youth and students who are eagerly desirous of studying.

All these facts show how much the Syngman Rhee clique feared and doggedly opposed the unification of the country—the aspiration of the nation.

All the South Korean authorities have done for more than ten years is just to rave about the watchword of “march north to unify” which has been unanimously repudiated by the Korean people and strongly denounced by the world public opinion.

Such line of trampling upon the urgent desire of the whole nation was eventually given the verdict of time.

The collapse of the Syngman Rhee regime signified the bankruptcy of its anti-popular political, economic and military policy and, at the same time, the total flasco of the notorious “march north to unify” policy.

The whole course of struggle between two opposing lines clearly indicates along which road the question of Korea’s unification should and must be solved. The Korean question can never be solved by means of war.

Even the die-hard politicians of South Korea are today obliged to give up the preposterous and criminal stand for “unification by force.”

The question of unifying Korea must be settled without fail by peaceful means, and independently by the Korean people themselves.

The question of unifying the country is, after all, a domestic issue of the Korean people who are to choose any type of state and social system they like and decide their destiny by themselves and, accordingly, to solve this question is the Korean people’s inherent right which cannot be committed to any one and in which no one can interfere.

The Korean people have sufficient ability and intelligence to settle their own destiny by themselves.

The Korean people are a nation with a glorious history repulsing repeated invasions of outside forces and with a brilliant cultural tradition.

In North Korea where a historical change is now taking place in all spheres of political, economic, cultural life and unprecedented flourish and prosperity are achieved, the reality clearly demonstrates the immense creative force of our people.

Nevertheless, such contention as denying the independent stand of the Korean people and their own role in solving the question of unifying Korea is an intolerable national insult to the Korean people.

It is senseless and dangerous to try to solve important state and national problems by inviting the interference of outside forces; it will eventually produce serious aftereffects on the future of the country and nation.

Nevertheless, some people in South Korea still fail to realize what grave danger depending on foreign aggressive forces will engender; they even are captivated by illusion about the deceptive "aid" of the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

They should look straight at the reality of South Korea today, and draw a lesson from it and come to their senses.

By depending on the "aid" of the U.S. imperialist aggressors South Korea has taken the road of subordination and ruin, far from that of independent development.

The overall bankruptcy and devastation of national economy, serious, chronic political chaos, utter non-rights of the people, sharp decline of national culture and spread of decadent trend, all sorts of disorder, vice and crimes, and so on—these are the outcome of the policy of depending on U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. "aid" has been given not for helping the South Korean people, but only for the U.S. imperialist aggressors to seize, rule and mercilessly plunder South Korea for their own interest, and for their further expansion of aggression.

It is fully justified that even South Korean politicians have pointed out, exposing the true nature of the U.S. "aid," that the

black-hearted policy of the U.S. imperialists has "paralyzed the self-reliance of the government and nation, benumbed their sense of national independence and fostered the flunkyism-mendicancy among our people".

The U.S. imperialist aggressors, with a view to stifling the aspiration of the peoples for national independence and self-determination and enslaving them, are trying hard to spread a national inferiority complex and foster the blind worship and fear of the might of the United States among other nations.

How can anyone who has a high national pride and loves his country leave the matters affecting the destiny of the nation in the hands of others, looking down upon his own country and people in tune with such attempts of the aggressors?

How can anyone who is really grieved at the division of the country and aspires after unification, hesitate or refuse to come out for the solution of the vital question of the nation or indefinitely remain indifferent?

When the Korean people themselves take their destiny in their own hands, negotiate with each other, bring into unity the nation's opinion, clarify it at home and abroad and come out as one in the struggle for its realization, no aggressors will be able to hamper such nation-wide struggle to the end and the unification of our country will be achieved.

But, the incumbent authorities of South Korea are still blabbing about "U.N. observed elections throughout the North and South."

They have gone so far as to openly claim that the South Korean regime should be extended to North Korea unilaterally.

This is essentially identical with the notorious clamour for "unification by march north."

Such aggressive design, which could not be achieved even by means of war, cannot be attained with any deceptive machination.

It is not for nothing that even South Korean public opinion criticizes the "elections under U.N. observation" as more impracticable, "more deceptive and more fantastic" than Syngman Rhee's "unification by march north."

Such assertion devoid of any fairness and feasibility only serves as a shield for deceiving the people and rejecting unification.

Why should observation by outside forces be needed, unless one fears that the free will of the Korean people may be fully expressed in general elections throughout North and South Korea in the future?

This is nothing but an attempt to bring about by force results contrary to the genuine will of Korean people by relying on interference of outside forces.

In the past ten odd years the United Nations has played precisely such ignominious role in South Korea.

In Korea the United Nations has been used as a pliable tool for covering up the U.S. imperialists' aggression and it was a belligerent in the criminal aggressive war against the Korean people.

Every Korean is well-aware of how the people's will is misrepresented in the so-called "elections under the U.N. observation."

In South Korea the election of Syngman Rhee detested and cursed by the people was rigged up several times through the so-called "free elections" observed by the United Nations and the United Nations brandished it as an "encouraging example of the representative government."

But the fact that the Syngman Rhee puppet regime was overthrown by the South Korean people themselves fully exposed what the true nature of this fraudulent "elections" was.

The U.S. imperialists have been plotting perpetuation of the division of Korea under the stolen signboard of the "U.N.", and have persisted in merciless colonial plunder of South Korea.

The so-called "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" is nothing but a jack-of-straw serving only for the aggressive policies of the U.S. imperialists, which the latter invented for the purpose of camouflaging their aggressive acts before the eyes of the world public.

The "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilita-

tion of Korea," a tool of aggression of the U.S. imperialists, should be disbanded at once, withdrawn right away from South Korea together with the U.S. imperialist aggressive forces.

The Korean people will not leave their own destiny in the hands of such an agency of aggression, nor will they steer their way in that direction in the future.

All these historical facts and the actual situation in North and South Korea convincingly demonstrate how just is the line of the peaceful unification of the country consistently pursued by the Korean Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Our line of the peaceful unification of the country has been tested through the trials of history and the actual life of the popular masses and, in this course, it is displaying its real merits as days go by.

Deputies!

Our line of the peaceful unification of the country is crystal clear.

The unification of the country should be realized by the Korean people themselves on a democratic basis by peaceful means.

The unified government of Korea should be established through all-Korea free elections based on democratic principles without any interference from outside.

This is the immovable basic principle we uphold in the solution of the Korean question.

This programme of ours fully reflects the ardent desire of the entire Korean people and completely accords with the interests of the state and nation.

Therefore, this programme is enlisting the powerful support of the people of all walks of life in North and South Korea and the unbiased public opinion of the whole world.

The Korean people must take this road only and by taking this road only can the unification of the country be accomplished.

For realizing peaceful unification on our own, all the foreign troops should be withdrawn from Korea, first of all.

Under the occupation of foreign aggressive troops, free will of the people cannot be expressed, nor can there be a stabilized normal life.

The occupation of South Korea by the U.S. army is the greatest obstacle in the way of the unification of the country and the source of grave disaster of the South Korean people.

However, the U.S. army is still refusing to pull out to this day when more than two years have elapsed since the Chinese People's Volunteers completely withdrew from the territory of North Korea.

With no excuse can the U.S. army justify its occupation of South Korea.

The U.S. imperialist aggressive troops should pull out of South Korea at once.

When all the foreign troops have withdrawn from South Korea, the Korean people will successfully solve by themselves the question of the unification of the country without delay.

The general elections to be held throughout North and South Korea by the Korean people themselves without any interference of outside forces, presuppose a completely free and democratic atmosphere which excludes all such conditions as hindering, suppressing or restricting the expression of the true will of the people.

For this, first of all, freedom of all political activities should be fully ensured throughout North and South Korea.

Complete freedom of political activities of all the political parties and social organizations, not to mention the freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association, should be guaranteed, no matter what sections' interests they may represent and what political views they may adhere to.

Thus, all the political parties, social organizations and individual personages should be enabled to openly propagate among the people their political platform and political conviction and engage in free activity in any area of North and South Korea.

Only then will the entire people in North and South Korea be able to decide freely what kind of political idea and policies

suit their interests and what types of social systems are most advantageous for the welfare and development of the country and the nation.

Therefore, we will provide the political parties, social organizations and public figures of South Korea with the conditions for their free political activities in any part of North Korea, no matter what political views they may propagandize.

In order to ensure the full expression of the earnest will of the people of all strata in general elections to be held in North and South Korea in the future, it is also necessary to enable the entire citizens to exercise unrestrictedly their democratic rights without any infringement.

Restrictive measures of all kinds should necessarily be abrogated, such as depriving the citizens of the right to elect and to be elected, their elementary right, and preventing them from fully exercising their rights on various unreasonable grounds, including the "deposit system," and the restriction imposed on their "place of personal connections" and "residence," etc.

All citizens should be allowed to participate in the elections with equal rights regardless of the difference in their political views, ideology, property status, education and religious conviction.

This means that general elections throughout the North and the South should be universal, equal and genuinely democratic elections:

Needless to say, all unseemly actions prejudicial to fair elections should be strictly forbidden, and secret ballot be fully guaranteed. Only when the elections are held in such a condition can the Korean people express fully their genuine will and the unified, all-Korea government to be established through the elections, become a democratic government most genuinely representing the aspiration and national interests of the entire Korean people.

All these facts show that there is no reason whatsoever for anyone to fear or oppose the free North-South general elections which will enable us to put an end to the split of the country and to set up such a unified government.

For this reason, we consistently and firmly hold that the U.S. army should be withdrawn from South Korea at the earliest date and an all-Korea unified government be set up through free North-South general elections.

This can be surely achieved if the government authorities, political parties and social organizations of North and South Korea and the entire people firmly unite and fight along this road.

However, those in power in South Korea refuse to follow this road, saying that the free North-South general elections mean to tolerate communism and they are fraught with the "danger" of communizing South Korea.

But this is totally wrong.

Whether or not the popular masses support communism is not a matter to be decided by the assertion of a few statesmen, but is a matter concerning the free will of each individual, and no one can impose it upon others.

When free general elections are held, the Korean people will decide what social system should be established in their country by expressing their genuine, unanimous will.

This notwithstanding, to reject free general elections on the plea of the "danger of communization," saying with no reason that communism is bad, means in the final analysis that they do not want unification.

More, in the northern part of the country a vigorous, new life has unfolded under the banner of communism and the people in the North have already accepted communism from the bottom of their hearts.

With whom are they going to settle the question of unifying the country if they shut their eyes to this stern reality, oppose "collaboration with the communists" and stick to this position?

It is out of the question to achieve unification in disregard of the northern part of the country.

Those in power in South Korea should abandon such an unreasonable stand as hindering the achievement of the cause of unification, and come out without delay for the holding of free North-South general elections.

However, if the South Korean authorities still cannot agree to holding free North-South general elections on account of such fear, then, we should work out, to start with, even provisional measures for settling burning issues for the nation.

Even if we cannot achieve complete national unification, we should do our utmost to maintain and consolidate national ties and contacts between the North and the South which are separated from each other. It is our lofty duty to do so.

Today the national tragedies our people are undergoing are unbearable indeed, and we are confronted with a host of problems awaiting urgent solution.

Our people, separated in the North and the South, cannot travel freely in their own land, nor can they send letters to their relatives and friends nor know whether they are living or dead though they are within calling distance.

The saying has it, in 10 years even the appearance of mountains and rivers changes. But after the 15 years of separate life, even our original national culture and customs are taking different courses and our unique language is also gradually changing in a different way in North and South Korea.

Particularly, the division of the country has created a decisive obstacle to the economic development of South Korea.

Owing to the division, our people cannot turn to account all the possibilities for leading a bountiful life and the people in South Korea are suffering from the unprecedented difficulties of living.

Such situation represents a great national calamity without precedence for the Korean people who had led a harmonious life throughout their long history as a homogeneous nation in one and the same territory and are bound with inseparable blood-ties forming an unbreakable organic whole in their economic and cultural life as well as in their individual life.

The evil consequences resulting from the split of the country are aggravating with each passing day and will further aggravate in the future.

If we allow such national split to continue without taking any measures, even the images of our kith and kin separated in

the North and South will be erased from their memory and the children and parents who have been torn apart from one another will be unable to recognize each other's face even if they meet each other.

The difference in language, customs and cultural life in the North and South will become more striking, the South Korean economy will be further ruined and the people there will suffer enormously in an indescribably wretched plight.

The prolonged severance of economic and cultural contacts may even eradicate the common characters of the North and South Korean people as a homogeneous nation, and thus bring about the tragic situation in which the Korean people can no longer remain a single nation.

Just think of it. It cannot but be a grave national tragedy.

We should and must take measures to terminate such a tragedy and open a way out of the dire straits for the South Korean economy and South Korean people.

As already put forth by Premier Kim Il Sung, we propose as one of such measures the enforcement of a Confederation of North and South Korea.

The proposed Confederation is to be enforced by way of setting up the Supreme National Committee composed of representatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Korea mainly to coordinate the economic and cultural development of North and South Korea as a unit, while retaining, for the time being, the present political systems in North and South Korea and maintaining the independent activities of the two governments.

The Supreme National Committee may be composed of an equal number of representatives appointed by the two governments, representatives of both parties participating with equal rights in the settlement of problems.

This will be a reasonable measure for settling issues without incurring any loss to any party, for the different political systems in North and South Korea will be retained and the independent activities of the two governments maintained.

Of course, the duty and role to be performed by the Confederation should be laid down in concrete form by mutual agreement.

We consider that when enforced, the Confederation should mainly regulate and develop the economic and cultural life of North and South Korea as one unit, and for this, realize the economic and cultural cooperation and interchange between the North and the South which await the most urgent solution, thereby facilitating the independent and unified development of the national economy.

We also consider that the national organ to be set up following the enforcement of the Confederation should represent externally too, and defend the common interests of the people in North and South Korea. For this purpose, if need be and the two governments consent, the Supreme National Committee may represent the whole of Korea to take action in relation to external affairs and take joint measures for defending the security of the country and nation from foreign invasion by uniting forces of the entire North and South Korean people.

All our proposals are realizable only if the North and South make joint efforts.

We will take into serious consideration any other constructive opinion concerning the enforcement of the Confederation and we will not insist on our views only.

As can be seen from above, our proposals on the enforcement of the Confederation proceed from the sincere desire to break the present deadlock between the North and the South, taking into full consideration the objective reality of the country.

Though difference exists between the political systems of North and South Korea, and it cannot be removed in a day, this should not be made an excuse for allowing the present barrier between the North and the South to remain.

Therefore, we demand that this urgent national problem be solved irrespective of the differing political views and ideology and hold that the Confederation be enforced for this purpose.

The instituting of the Confederation of North and South

Korea is of great significance for the solution of the unification question at the present phase.

The enforcement of the Confederation will make it possible to restore and strengthen the national bonds and ties between our divided people through negotiation and settlement of economic and cultural issues beneficial to the nation, even though it will not signify the complete unification of the country because it is not a unified coalition government.

The enforcement of the Confederation will also ensure economic and cultural exchange and mutual cooperation between North and South Korea, thereby making it possible to save South Korea from the economic catastrophe and improve the South Korean people's living which has been plunged into mire.

Moreover, the enforcement of the Confederation will serve as a most appropriate means of strengthening the unity of the North and South Korean people and defending the national interests better and internationally it will markedly improve the position of our country and enhance its prestige.

In this course, the antagonism and conflict existing for a long time between the North and the South will be no doubt gradually removed, mutual understanding grow deeper and cooperation grow closer and, furthermore, the difference in the political views also be narrowed down.

Then we will be able to set up a unified government through free general elections throughout North and South Korea and accomplish the national cause of unifying the country.

Precisely for this reason, the enforcement of the Confederation will provide an important momentum for and give a strong impetus to accelerating the peaceful unification of the country.

If we do not take even such provisional measures but maintain the present division indefinitely, the situation will further aggravate, difficulties will mount and the prospects of unification will become more remote.

This is the road of committing indelible crimes against the fatherland and the people.

Any one who has national conscience should realize his weighty responsibility not to hand down the divided territory to

the generations to come and do his utmost to put into effect the Confederation, the best measure that can be taken under the present situation.

Such is the case, but if the South Korean authorities consider even the institution of the Confederation still unacceptable to them we once again propose that a purely economic commission composed of representatives of the North and South Korean business circles be set up to solve at an early date the question of economic cooperation and exchange at least, apart from political problems.

This proceeds solely from the earnest compatriotic desire to deliver as early as possible the South Korean people from the unheard-of hard living by making every effort to restore the bonds of the split nation and rapidly rehabilitate the catastrophic economy of South Korea.

These proposals of ours represent the most urgent national demand of the Korean people at the present time and, above all, the vital demand of the miserable reality created in South Korea today.

Deputies!

If a Supreme National Committee comes into being through the institution of the Confederation or an economic commission composed of representatives of the business circles of North and South Korea is set up, the activities of these national organs would only bring great benefit to the entire Korean people and, in particular, open a reliable prospect for the economic development and the improvement of the people's living in South Korea.

With the restoration of the economic relations which have been cut off by the partition of the country, agriculture and light industry of South Korea will be linked with the North Korean industry, above all, with the powerful heavy industry, and will receive its active support.

With the help of the machine-building and chemical industries of North Korea, the South Korean agriculture will be able to restore its destroyed material foundation and rapidly boost its output. With the rich raw materials, fuel, power, supplies and

equipment supplied by North Korea, the bankrupt and ruined South Korean national economy will come to life again, more new factories will be erected and millions of the unemployed will be provided with jobs.

It is clear that the rehabilitation of industry and agriculture will ensure the people of all walks of life a stabilized living in a short span of time.

And the people in North Korea will do their best to help in developing the South Korean economy with their rich experiences gained in construction and their technique. This is the only feasible and reasonable way of rapidly rehabilitating and developing the South Korean economy which is today placed in a catastrophic condition.

We consider that in case the Supreme National Committee or the economic commission is set up at an early date and performs its function, the following programmatic tasks should and can be carried out for restoring the South Korean economy in a brief period and rapidly improving the living of the South Korean people.

The Supreme National Committee or the economic commission should, among other things, rehabilitate and develop agriculture which holds an overwhelming portion in the economic composition of South Korea and stabilize the life of the peasants who account for 70 per cent of the population. This is of cardinal importance for the overall rehabilitation of the South Korean economy and the stabilization of people's living.

In the past South Korea was not only the granary of our country but an important area of producing such raw materials for industry as cotton, cocoon and ramie. But today the South Korean countryside has almost completely lost the appearance of the past owing to the colonial predatory policy of the U.S. imperialists. The arable land has dwindled, fertile farmland has been devastated and the irrigation works and river dykes destroyed, with the result that drought and flood play havoc every year. The "agrarian reform" enforced by the Syngman Rhee clique has further fragmented the peasant economy; more than

940,000 peasant households out of 2.2 million till less than a half jungbo each (one jungbo equals approximately one hectare). A large number of peasants are placed in such miserable situation as to do all the work by hand without even indigenous farm implements, not to speak of draught animals.

Especially, the forced sale of U.S. surplus farm produce is dealing a mortal blow to the South Korean agricultural production.

Today the grain output per capita of the rural population of South Korea is no more than one-third that in North Korea, and the output of wheat has dropped by 40 per cent and other coarse grain by more than 60 per cent below that before 1945 under the dark rule of Japanese imperialism.

While agricultural production is on the overall decline, the burden imposed upon the peasants such as rent, "compensation grain for distributed land", "land acquisition tax", irrigation fee, compulsory delivery of grain is continuously increasing. What is more, due to the U.S. imperialists' policy of monopolizing the market, the prices of chemical fertilizers, insecticides and other industrial products are much higher than the world market prices, while the peasants are forced to sell farm produce at far lower prices than the production cost.

Consequently, the peasants' living is steadily deteriorating: the peasants who run out of provisions or abandon the farm are sharply increasing with every passing year, and the debt of the peasants jumped from 9,000 million hwan to more than 180,000 million hwan in the postwar six years. To overcome such catastrophe of the South Korean countryside and relieve the millions of peasants from the chronic famine and poverty, the problem of land must be settled finally so that the tillers may become the masters of the land, and land reclamation work must be extensively carried out so as to overcome the fragmented character of the peasant economy.

As everyone knows, the "agrarian reform" enforced by the Syngman Rhee clique in the past was nothing but trickery aimed at allaying the struggle of the peasant masses demanding land and

at defending the interests of the landlords. For the complete emancipation of the peasant masses from feudal slavery, a land reform should have been carried out in South Korea also on the principles of confiscation without compensation and distribution without charge. The U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique, however, rejected such revolutionary reform and instead carried out an "agrarian reform", whereby they purchased part of the landlords' land and sold it to the peasants by force. As a result, the tenancy system is still in force, the peasants have been reduced to slave to debts and the "distributed" land is again being concentrated in the hands of the landlords.

Such evil effect should quickly be eliminated. For this purpose, the collection of the "compensation grain for distributed land" as yet undelivered by the South Korean peasants should be cancelled immediately, the balance of "farm land price" payable to the landlords should be borne by the state, and the debts the peasants made to pay the "farm land price" should be redeemed entirely at state expense.

The state should buy all the existing tenant farm land, and distribute it without compensation to the peasants without or with little land.

The money needed for this is less than the annual military expenses of South Korea.

If they really care about the rehabilitation of agriculture and stabilization of the livelihood of the peasantry, they should, first of all, adopt such basic measures.

In order to allot more land to the peasants, they should see to it that all the farmland now used by the U.S. imperialists for military purposes is returned to the peasants, and out of the nearly 2 million jungbo of reclaimable land in South Korea, at least 1 million should be brought under cultivation within the next 6 to 7 years. This is a quite feasible task.

In this way, the per peasant household land acreage will be brought up to 1.4 jungbo from 0.9 jungbo at present on an average in South Korea.

For this, the technical forces of North and South Korea

should be mobilized to survey the reclaimable land and carry on designing work; then reclamation work should be started at an early date with modern machines and equipment. The newly upturned land ought to be given without compensation to the peasants without or with little land and to the jobless who have been forced to abandon their farms, thereby stabilizing their livelihood.

At present, there are 620,000 jungbo of rain-dependent paddies in South Korea and a vast area under cultivation is undergoing severe damage from the drought and flood every year.

It is evident that a rich, stable crop cannot be expected where the mountains are bare of trees, the rivers have no embankments and the vast fields are without irrigation canals.

In the North, only in a few years since the war irrigation systems have been built on 600,000 jungbo of paddy and dry fields, which are five times as great an area as irrigated by the Japanese imperialists during the 36 years, and afforestation and water-conservancy work has been carried out. As a result, all the farmland has been turned into fertile land knowing no crop failure.

On the basis of such experiences, in South Korea, too, large and small irrigation projects and afforestation and water-conservancy work should be carried out everywhere in a big way, including the large-scale irrigation projects in the Koyang, Pajoo and Kimpo areas on the lower reaches of the Han River, Chinju area on the lower reaches of the Nam River, Andong area on the upper reaches of the Rakdong River, Rajoo area on the Yungshan River, the Ansong River basin and the Pyungtaik area, Ronsan area on the middle reaches of the Keum River and the Honam area. Thus, a clean sweep should be made of the rain-dependent fields in the next 6 to 7 years.

At the same time, if tractors and modern farm-machines are extensively employed in farming and the land is utilized rationally by introducing advanced intensive farming method in South Korea, a two-crop cultivation can be applied to nearly all the paddy and dry fields, which will increase the per jungbo yield more than twofold.

In the northern part of the country the mechanization of agriculture will be completed even in the remote mountain areas within the next 2 or 3 years. A substantial part of field work can be mechanized in the South Korean countryside, too, within the coming 6 to 7 years, if it is supplied with a large number of tractors, lorries, ploughs, seeders, weeders, harvesters and other farm machines manufactured in the northern part and necessary technicians and skilled workers are trained. Today the vast majority of the South Korean peasants are fettered to usurers by enormous debts and they are exploited in the most cruel forms such as "advance sale of paddy on stalks", "advance sale of barely on stalks", etc.

All the debts of the impoverished small peasants should be paid off from the government treasury and state peasants' bank should be established to ensure a loan at a low rate of interest for the benefit of the peasants. Usury should be strictly forbidden in the countryside; the prices of industrial goods including fertilizer be cut; the rate of the "land acquisition tax" reduced and various sorts of exacting levies upon the peasants abolished. The intermediary exploitation by the "agricultural association" should be eliminated and it should be made an independent cooperative organization serving for the good of the peasants.

There is no doubt that if the above measures are taken by the joint efforts of North and South Korea, in South Korea agricultural production will rapidly grow and the peasants' living will be markedly stabilized and improved in a short space of time.

One of the pressing national tasks is to develop the South Korean fishery and stabilize the living of the 800,000 fishermen.

From olden times our ancestors fished freely in the waters of the North and South.

Due to the occupation of South Korea by U.S. imperialism the sea, as well as land, is severed into north and south and this has dealt a fatal blow to the South Korean fishery.

Major fishing ports in South Korea have been turned into naval ports of U.S. imperialism and noted fishing grounds into its naval training grounds.

The tonnage of South Korean fishing boats has dwindled by one quarter compared with even the scanty figures at the time of Japanese imperialism and most of them are small and old sail boats. Motor-driven boats of over 50 ton class comprise less than one per cent of the total number of fishing boats.

Only 60 per cent of the demand for fishing nets and tackle is met, and only one quarter of fund required for the development of fishing industry is raised.

Thus, the fish output dropped to 40 per cent and fish processing to 30 per cent as against the time of Japanese imperialism, and the fish catch per capita of the fishing population is only one tenth of that in the North.

Despite such poor catch, the fishermen are shouldering ever increasing ship tax, fishing ground tax and other levies and are ground down through the drastic exploitation by the fishery association, intermediary merchants and usurers.

In the domain of fishery, too, in order to fundamentally stabilize the fishermen's living, intercourse and cooperation should be realized between the North and the South, and necessary measures for developing fishery be taken.

First of all, the fishing grounds and fishing ports in the North and the South should be opened for joint use.

Though fish shoals are freely moving about the North and South as ever, fishing boats cannot sail between the North and South in pursuit of them. Such abnormal situation must not be allowed to continue any longer.

In each fishing season of such major fish families as myung-tai, mackerel, herring, croaker, garfish, sand-launce and cuttle-fish all fishing boats should be allowed to enter fishing grounds of the North and South and catch them freely.

And fishing ports should be opened so as to enable any fishing boats to process or sell fish as they want to and get the supply of fuel, provisions and drinking water at nearby fishing ports. Therefore, if such fishing ports as Chungjin, Sinpo, Suho, Wonsan, Kojuh, Haeju, Nampo and Shinuljoo in North Korea and Joomoonjin, Woolleungdo, Pohang, Tongyung, Namhai, Ryusoo, Kunsan and Inchon in South Korea are opened, it

would be greatly conducive to the development of the fishing industry.

In view of the severe devastation of fishing ports in South Korea, along with the above-mentioned fishing ports to be used jointly by the North and South, Sokcho, Bangujin, Samchunpo, Wando, Jindo, Joolpo, Dangjin and other fishing ports should be speedily reconditioned and the occupation of fishing grounds and fishing ports by the U.S. army should be brought to an end.

It is necessary for developing pelagic and deep-sea fishing to organize joint fishing fleet equipped with up-to-date technique through the joint investment of the Chosun Fishery Society of North Korea and the Daihan Central Fishery Association of South Korea so as to catch in quantities such big and tasty fishes as cod, ray, lobster, yellow-tail, dolphin and whale.

The survey of fishery resources and search for fish shoals should be jointly conducted, information on the movement of currents and weather change on the sea be exchanged and mutual cooperation given to rescue work for maritime accidents. The greatest difficulty facing the South Korean fishing industry is found in the shortage of fishing boats, the basic means of production.

For solving the question of ships for the South Korean fishermen, they should be provided with necessary conditions for catching fish with government boats, and speedily motorizing the sail-boats, accounting for the overwhelming majority of fishing boats in South Korea.

For this purpose, the state should direct large funds and forces to the ship-building industry to build large- and medium-sized engine boats on a large-scale and to produce fishing tackle in quantities. At the same time, necessary structural iron, lumber and other materials in want should be supplied for ensuring the normal operation of the South Korean shipyards which are now at a standstill.

All the debts of the South Korean fishermen should be paid off with government funds and state fishery banks be set up to give the fishermen loans at a low interest.

Rates of taxes, including the fishing and ship taxes, should be reduced, all the miscellaneous levies should be abolished, the "fishery association" be reorganized in such a way as to serve the interests of fishermen, and a fair wage scale be instituted for fishing workers.

The development of the fishing industry will help stabilizing economy, increase the supply of marine products to the inhabitants and, at the same time, improve considerably the miserable life of fishermen.

Measures should be taken for rehabilitating and developing the South Korean national industry and for effecting trade between the North and the South.

Industry is the leading branch of the national economy, and without the foundation of the national industry, the independence, prosperity and development of the country cannot be expected.

Since liberation our people, under the guidance of the Korean Workers' Party, overcoming all obstacles and difficulties, have fulfilled the arduous tasks of eliminating the backwardness and colonial lopsidedness of industry handed down by Japanese imperialism and laying a national industrial basis in the northern part of the country.

This year, the industrial output in the North will be 7.7 times the pre-liberation level. North Korea has already outstripped Japan in the per capita output of a number of major products.

Our people are continuing to rush forward on the Chullima (winged horse) visualizing the vast prospect of the Seven-Year Plan.

In South Korea, however, even those establishments set up under the Japanese imperialist rule have been destroyed and its industry has been completely reduced to an appendage of the U.S. economy.

South Korea can meet on its own only about 20 per cent of its requirements for such major raw materials and supplies as structural steel, timber, cement, etc., one-third of the demand for electricity; it is relying entirely upon the United States for

bituminous coal, raw cotton, rayon yarn, caustic soda and so forth.

Last year, compared with North Korea, South Korea's per capita industrial output was one-fifth in coal, one-tenth in electricity, one-one hundred twentieth in pig iron, one-twentyfifth in steel, one-eleventh in cement and one-eighteenth in timber.

To save the South Korean national industry from the catastrophe of today, measures should be taken for restoring at an early date the factories and mines which are at a standstill or are operating part-time and ensuring the full-scale operation of all the existing factories and mines, thus utilizing to the maximum their production capacity. And new modern large-scale factories and medium- and small-scale light industrial factories should be built so as to ensure the independent development of the South Korean industry. For this purpose, deep concern should be directed particularly to the establishment and development of fuel-power, metal, chemical building-material and machine-building industries.

This is not infeasible at all if the economic potentialities of North and South Korea as a whole are effectively tapped.

We consider that in the coming 4 or 5 years at the longest, a ferrous metallurgical combinat with an annual production capacity of 200,000 tons of pig iron, 200,000 tons of steel and 150,000 tons of rolled metal should be constructed in South Korea and four electric power stations with an aggregate generating capacity of 210,000 kw should be set up at four points -- Choongju, Andong, Rechin and Chinju.

Besides, a cement factory with an annual production capacity of 400,000 tons, a sheet glass factory with the capacity of 3 million square metres of sheet glass, a fertilizer factory of 200,000 tons and an artificial fibre mill of 10,000 tons must be set up in South Korea.

And a machine tool plant with an annual production capacity of 1,000 machine tools as well as a farm machine factory and a mining machine factory with the production capacity of 5,000 tons each must be erected for creating and developing the machine-building industry of South Korea.

Side by side with the large-scale factories, medium- and small-scale local factories should be set up in various parts of South Korea.

As is proved by experiences gained in the northern part of the Republic where an average of five to six local factories were built in each county in a matter of a few months, medium- and small-scale local industry has the advantage of drawing in much labour and producing with small funds in a short span of time varied goods with idle raw materials in localities.

If in South Korea all the factories and mines were to work, medium- and small-sized factories along with large factories were constructed on a big scale, reclamation, irrigation and afforestation and water conservancy work carried out everywhere and city, harbour, railway and road construction projects undertaken on a wide scale, the question of the 2 million unemployed and over 4 million semi-unemployed in South Korea would be basically solved.

In South Korea, too, the upsurge of the national economy and the development of culture would cause a shortage of work hands, no "surplus" population.

By carrying out effectively the above-mentioned measures, instead of advocating "birth control" or "emigration," we should see to it that a wide road is open for all the people to take part in the creative labour for the prosperity of the country and for their own happiness.

At the same time, state grant should be issued to the unemployed and an eight hour workday be enforced for all the employed workers.

We are always ready to receive any South Korean unemployed who wants to come to work in the northern part and ensure him a job and a stabilized living.

An important question in rehabilitating and developing the South Korean national industry is how to cope with the present acute phase — shortage of raw materials, lack of funds and shrinkage of market. Measures should be taken for acquiring raw materials at home, instead of depending on raw materials

from abroad, and major materials and equipment should be provided in a reasonable way. And special attention should be directed to the supply of raw materials and supplies to medium and small enterprises. It is necessary to set up a state industrial bank for the South Korean enterprisers suffering from financial difficulties and grant them on a wide scale long-term loans at a low interest.

For solving the marketing problem, the purchasing power of the popular masses has to be enhanced first of all.

For this, the wages of the workers should be immediately raised, at least, up to the level of minimum living expenses, an end be put to the practice of keeping wages in arrears and various burden of the workers, peasants and other inhabitants be drastically reduced.

The U.S. predatory monopoly price system should be done away with commodity prices be stabilized and the inroad of foreign goods be definitely rejected.

It is quite natural that today the voice of national conscience rejecting foreign made goods and demanding the protection of home made goods is mounting higher and higher among the broad sections of South Korean youths, students, intellectuals and citizens.

The national industry should be thoroughly protected and fostered by actively encouraging the use of home made goods, strictly controlling the smuggling of foreign goods and imposing high tariffs on the imported goods.

It is of great importance to establish organic links between the North and South Korean industries and to organize a rational division of labour between them, for creating favourable conditions for the unified development in the future.

Appropriate division of labour and close cooperation will be possible, for instance, between the South Korean mining industry and the North Korean metallurgical industry, between the South Korean salt industry and the North Korean chemical industry and between the North and South Korean machine industries.

Economic intercourse and mutual cooperation between North and South Korea can be ensured satisfactorily through the realization of free trade.

From olden times when products were scanty and traffic was difficult, our ancestors had lived in harmony, exchanging various local products by land and sea routes.

In his "Jehol Diary" Pak Yun Am, a noted thinker of our nation, wrote:

"Hemp of Ryookjin area, silk of Kwansuh area, mulberry paper of Yangnam area, cotton and iron of the Haisuh area and fish and salt of Naipo are all indispensable ingredients for the livelihood of the people. A forest of Korean date trees in the Chungsan-Boeum areas, the innumerable pear shrub in Hwangjoo-Bongsan area, the vast tangerine trees in Heungyang and Namhai areas, the ramie fields with tens of thousands of furrows stretching across the Rimchun and Hansan areas and the countless beehives in the Kwandong area — all these are essential for the people's living. And who on earth will object to trade in these goods for mutual advantage?"

Especially in our age when production and traffic have highly developed, we cannot reconcile ourselves indefinitely to such abnormal situation in which the exchange of commodities is cut off between the North and the South of one and the same country.

To realize the exchange of commodities between the North and the South, a joint chamber of commerce should be set up with representatives of the business circles of both sides and close commercial ties be established between the two sides.

Sample fairs should be opened in Pyongyang and Seoul and common markets be set up in major cities and provincial capitals of North and South Korea.

In view of the U.S. imperialists' monopoly of the South Korean foreign trade, we consider it appropriate to establish joint trading companies co-financed by North and South Korean firms to explore through joint efforts foreign markets for home made goods and purchase major materials on a common basis.

We should take necessary measures to make a big stride for-

ward in science, culture, education, public health and in other realms by pooling the strength of the North and the South.

The Korean people are talented and sagacious nation that has produced a brilliant culture through a long history, thereby contributing to the world civilization.

It was a Korean who invented the first movable metal types in human history. It was also a Korean who built the Chumsung-dai, the first observatory in the world. From time immemorial, our ancestors cultivated farms by building such irrigation works as the Byukkol reservoir and routed foreign invaders with iron-clad tortoise ships they made.

It is indeed a great misfortune that the Korean people, the descendants of these sagacious ancestors, are separated in the North and the South and are unable to develop science, technology and national culture in a united way.

The men of science, culture and arts in the North are ensured all conditions for their scientific research and artistic creation, devoting all their energy and talent to the development of science and culture.

But in South Korea, talented scientists, technicians and men of culture and arts have neither research institutes nor stages; they can hardly find even a means of living.

Urgent measures should be taken to vitalize the science, technology and culture now at a standstill in South Korea and to draw on for the development of the national economy and culture, all the wisdom and talent of the scientists and technicians as well as men of culture and arts who are now in a state of unemployment in South Korea.

The greater the number of capable scientists and technicians, the better it is for overcoming at the earliest date the technical and economic backwardness of the country and bringing it to the level of advanced countries.

Now in North Korea alone some 240,000 scientific and technical workers are needed for the development of all branches of the national economy.

In South Korea, too, hundreds of thousands of intellectuals are needed to make the best of science and technology in the re-

habilitation and development of the national economy.

However, even a little over 40,000 intellectuals are out of jobs, every year 80 per cent of the college graduates are unable to find work and 70 per cent of the youths who went abroad to study refuse to return home.

Such being the case, the North and the South should jointly set up and run on a wide scale academies of sciences and various research institutes in different branches, so that they can all do their service. And South Korean scientists and technicians should be enabled to work in institutes, laboratories and the points of production in respective fields in North Korea.

In this way the scientific and technical workers of North and South Korea, through their joint efforts, should conduct survey of, and research into, the natural conditions and resources of our country and solve innumerable scientific and technological questions which present themselves as urgent issues.

It will be beneficial to jointly carry out research into soil, survey of saline lands and power resources throughout the country, and to jointly undertake geological survey and prospecting work for the exploitation of underground resources in which our country abounds.

Mutual cooperation should be rendered in developing synthetic fibre, synthetic resin, synthetic rubber and other chemical industries by taking advantage of the rich raw material resources our country is favoured with.

Besides these, there are innumerable urgent research subjects to be solved jointly in relation to the mechanization and automation and in the fields of agronomy, veterinary, zootechnic and medical and other sciences.

It is also expedient for the North and the South to make public, by setting up a jointly operated and managed publishing organ, various results of scientific research, translate and publish our valuable national classics and give extensive publicity to the matter concerning economic and cultural exchange between the North and the South.

At the same time, reporters should be exchanged and be ensured free press coverage so as to better acquaint the entire

people with the actual situation in the North and the South.

Today in South Korea invaluable national cultural relics are being destroyed and the decadent Yankee culture is making inroad unchecked.

Under such circumstances, urgent measures should be taken for reviving and rapidly developing national culture and arts in South Korea.

Theatres, cinema houses, fine arts galleries and various other cultural establishments should be set up in all parts of South Korea, creative activities and living conditions of the cultural and art workers be guaranteed by the state, and effective steps be taken for preventing the infiltration of the decadent American culture.

At the same time, the North and the South should exchange films, and cinema workers in the North and the South jointly produce films; art troupes and sports teams should be mutually exchanged and they should jointly take part in international athletic and art festivals.

And the North and the South should jointly excavate historical relics and remains, take measures for preserving those cultural relics and remains that can be classed as state treasures and speedily restore the South Gate in Seoul, Kyungbok Palace, Boolkook Temple, Sukkoolam (grotto), Chumsungdai (observatory tower), and many other historical relics and remains which are going to ruin.

Educating and fostering younger generations in the right way are of decisive importance for the future of the country.

Today the universal compulsory secondary education system, for the first of its kind in the East, has been enforced in the northern part of the country and it will go over before long to a nine-year compulsory education including technical education.

The words "tuition fee" are alien to the students and pupils in the North and the students of specialized schools, colleges and universities are studying on state stipends not knowing any worry.

In South Korea, however, hundreds of thousands of school age children are denied access to the school on account of the

onerous school expenses, and there are today 200,000 students who have to support themselves.

Due to the shortage of classrooms, the schools at all levels cannot accommodate even the enrolled students in full.

For easing the hardships of a great number of South Korean youth and students on the road of learning, at least a universal compulsory primary education system should be enforced at state expenses at an early date, school construction should be carried out on a large scale to enroll all the children who are barred from school and the shortage of classrooms be eliminated.

Meanwhile, running schools on a commercial basis should be strictly ruled out; all the school impositions abolished; and a state scholarship system be enforced for the students of specialized schools, colleges and universities so that there will be no more self-supporting students.

In North Korea medical service network covers the length and breadth of the country and the entire working people are enjoying the benefit of free medical treatment.

But in South Korea where medical service is rendered on a lucrative basis over 500 myun (sub-county), not to speak of ri (lowest administrative unit), are without any doctors. More than half of the population are suffering from all kinds of chronic diseases including 6 million distoma cases, one million T. B. patients and 200,000 lepers. The mortality rate is as high as 20 out of 1,000 and the average life span of the population is no more than 33 years.

In South Korea the myun where there is no doctor should be provided with doctors speedily by erecting hospitals extensively. And every step should be taken to improve medical service for the inhabitants by establishing medical facilities even in ri and rendering free medical service to the poor.

It is also necessary to set up a permanent liaison organ composed of anti-epidemic workers of North and South Korea for preventing acute epidemics and exchanging regularly medicines and information.

Even according to official data, one million families have no living quarters in South Korea.

In order to ease the housing shortage in South Korea, housing construction should be undertaken on a large scale with state funds to provide the homeless working folks with houses at a low rent.

To tear down the barrier between the North and the South in the domain of transport and communications, measures should be taken for a through freight service across the country, through passenger train service should be opened between Seoul and Wonsan and between Shinuijoo and Pusan; and measures be taken for effecting marine transportation between the North and the South by opening the ports of Nampo, Chungjin, Heungnam, Inchon, Mokpo and Pusan to each other.

Besides free travel and correspondence between the North and the South, measures should be taken with the minimum of delay to set up a direct circuit between Pyongyang and Seoul for ensuring telegraph and telephone communications and to exchange postal matters of various kinds, thus bringing to life again the artery and nerve system of the country which stopped functioning for 15 years and further enlivening the kindred feeling between the people living separated in the North and the South.

All these tasks constitute the most vital measures for relieving South Korea from the overall catastrophe into which all spheres of social and economic life have fallen.

When these tasks are successfully carried out, the national economy of South Korea will undoubtedly be given new vigour, national culture be restored and developed, and people's living be improved in a brief span of time.

Therefore, the fulfilment of these tasks is, indeed, a national cause both in view of its tremendous importance and its grandiose scale.

Needless to say, vast economic and technical forces must be directed to carrying out these enormous tasks.

It is of decisive importance whether or not the materials, funds as well as machinery and equipment required in a huge

amount be satisfactorily ensured and technical problems be solved successfully.

But, at present the South Korean authorities have no economic and technical power of their own to meet the vast requirements.

All these tasks can be fulfilled only by pooling the economic and technical forces of North and South Korea and only by relying upon the economic strength of North Korea with its rich resources and powerful heavy industry.

In the northern part of the country are concentrated valuable resources necessary for developing the national economy and enhancing people's living. In the northern part of the country lie buried almost all the iron ore and coal and most of the gold and silver ores, lead ore and graphite. And 86 per cent of the hydro-power resources and over 80 per cent of forest resources are located in the North. In the northern part there are also ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical bases, fuel-power bases, chemical and building-materials industries and, in particular, a developed machine-building industry capable of producing modern machinery and equipment on its own.

After liberation, our people following the road indicated by the Workers' Party of Korea have not only established a most progressive society free from oppression and exploitation in the northern part of the country but also built a powerful heavy industrial base and laid the foundation of a self-supporting national economy through their devoted labour.

It was thanks to the priority development of heavy industry that we could establish a light industrial base in a brief period, bring about a big upsurge in rural economy and raise the living standards of the entire working people as we see today.

As we have laid the foundation of a self-supporting national economy, we can erect a factory of any size and create new domains at any time once we decide to do so, and we have firm confidence in bright vista for turning in the near future the northern part into a paradise for our people.

But the foundation of socialism has been laid in the northern

part of the country not only for the people in the North to eat well, dress well and live well.

With their life becoming happier and richer as days go by, the people in the North have displayed a higher degree of creative enthusiasm in production and construction to relieve the compatriots in the South from hardships. They are eager to share the fruits of their labour with brothers and sisters in the South.

This shows how vital and what a matured, pressing demand it is to realize economic and cultural cooperation and intercourse between the North and the South.

The organization of the Supreme National Committee through the enforcement of the Confederation or the formation of the economic commission composed of representatives of the North and South Korean business circles will pave the way toward such economic co-operation and intercourse.

And along this road we will do our utmost to help in carrying out the huge task for the rehabilitation and development of the South Korean economy.

It is our national duty and a boundless joy to lend all help in developing the South Korean economy by relying on the economic and technical strength accumulated in the North.

In carrying out the programmatic task of rehabilitating and developing the South Korean economy, we will be able to bear the economic and technical burden together with the South Korean authorities, or, if necessary, by ourselves.

For the rehabilitation and development of the South Korean agriculture, we can supply, to begin with, machines and equipment—tractors, bulldozers, excavators, lorries, etc. needed for reclamation projects, and machines and materials for bringing the saline land on the west coast under cultivation.

At the same time, we will be able to directly undertake and carry out large-scale irrigation projects, and deliver iron rod, lumber, cement, etc. needed for other irrigation projects and afforestation and water conservancy work, and give technical assistance.

For doing away with the backwardness of the South Korean rural economy, we can supply large and small tractors and other modern farm machines of our own make, and provide the South Korean poor peasants annually with tens of thousands of draft animals which can be spared thanks to rural mechanization in the North.

A huge amount of fund will be needed for the thorough solution of the land problem in South Korea and the liquidation of debts of peasants and fishermen at state expenses.

If the South Korean authorities are unable to meet the financial requirements for coping with the consequences of their "agrarian reform", purchasing tenant land and distributing it without compensation to the peasants, and liquidating poor peasants' debts, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is ready to bear all the burden.

We will also spare no pain to render positive assistance in the rehabilitation and development of the South Korean fishing industry.

For making up the shortage of fishing boats for the South Korean fishermen, we will supply by yearly installments in the next seven years 700 motor boats including 3,500-ton class processing mother-boats and 450 ton iron-clad medium-sized ships.

We can also supply hot-bulb engines and diesel engines to motorize sail-boats, materials for running ship-yards and rebuilding the fishing ports.

At the same time, we will see to it that the shipyards in North Korea grant the facilities for repairing South Korean fishing boats.

In particular, it is essential for the rehabilitation and development of South Korean national industry to restore contacts between the North and the South.

We can undertake to construct, as already proposed, such large-scale factories as metallurgical combinat, cement mill, sheet glass factory, chemical fertilizer plant, artificial fibre mill, machine-tool plant, farm machine and mining machine factories

and power stations with our own technique and equipment; we can supply by stages the following equipment and materials, taking into account the development of heavy industry in the North and the future rehabilitation of the South Korean national industry: for satisfying the need of the South Korean industry we can ensure a normal supply of electricity amounting to from 100,000-150,000 kw in 1961-62 to 400,000 kw in 1967; in the same period coal from 1,000,000-1,500,000 tons to 5,000,000 tons; in the same period pig iron from 50,000-100,000 tons to 200,000 tons, in addition, rolled steel, cement, timber, sheet glass, machine tools, vinalon, artificial fibre, synthetic resin, caustic soda and so on.

Besides these equipment and materials we can also supply, in compliance with the requirements of the South Korean business circles, machinery and equipment for ore and coal mines such as drilling machines, auger-drills, chain-conveyors, winches and loading machines, and such construction and transport equipment as cranes, mixers, excavators, bulldozers, and heavy-duty lorries.

The restoration of economic ties between the North and the South will also be greatly helpful in meeting the need of South Korea for electricity and solving the fuel question in Seoul and other cities.

The North-South economic co-operation is a vital precondition for the development of national culture and enhancement of the people's living standards in South Korea.

We will supply materials for the construction of schools, hospitals, scientific research institutions, theatres, cinema houses and other cultural establishments which should be carried out on an extensive scale in the future for accelerating the development of science, education and culture in South Korea. And we will also render necessary technical assistance for the construction work.

We are ready to receive the South Korean youths and make them study in the northern part in accordance with their wishes,

and take over 500,000 waifs over a period of years and bring them up with responsibility.

To help solve the acute housing problem in South Korea, we are also prepared to construct multi-storey apartments for 100,000 households in a few years to provide houses free of charge to the most needy people in towns.

As can be seen, if we pool the divided strength of the nation and if we link the divided economy with each other and coordinate and exploit it in a unified way, we can rehabilitate and develop the economy and culture of South Korea in a short span of time by relying upon the economic power of the northern part which has been turned into an advanced industrial-agricultural country.

Economic and cultural exchange and co-operation, mutual aid and mutual accommodation between the North and the South will not only facilitate the overall development of the national economy but also deepen mutual understanding and trust, and, consequently, it will greatly facilitate the cause of the peaceful unification of the country.

Today the question of reducing the armed forces of North and South Korea to the minimum is of particularly weighty importance for restoring normal relations between the North and the South.

North and South Korea should maintain armed forces only sufficient to discharge the duty of national defence.

At present South Korea is maintaining an army over 600,000 strong. This saddles the popular masses with crippling burden of military expenditure, tears away from farming the bulk of labour force of youth and middle-aged men in the rural areas and thus driving them into greater misery.

Therefore, we insist on curtailing the armed forces of North and South Korea to 100,000 or less respectively.

When the U.S. army is withdrawn and the armed forces of North and South Korea are reduced in this manner, tension in Korea will be considerably eased and a big stride be made toward ensuring the consolidation of peace.

Deputies!

Anyone with national conscience and reason will surely welcome and support our proposals for expediting the peaceful unification of the country. There is no reason to reject them.

There is no reason why the South Korean authorities cannot accept them provided they have the sincerity to solve the question.

We hope that the South Korean authorities, political parties, social organizations, individual personages and the broad sections of the South Korean public will with due concern study and discuss our proposals concerning the destiny of the country and the nation, and show an affirmative attitude toward the proposals.

In the past the Syngman Rhee clique turned down all our sincere proposals each time, charging recklessly ours were propaganda.

No one but out-and-out traitors who sell the country and nation for the interests of the imperialist aggressors can follow in the footsteps of Syngman Rhee on such a grave, vital question for the nation.

It cannot but be an act of betrayal to the nation if one rejects the warm compatriotic love of fellow-countrymen and takes no measures for relieving the people from dire straits, abruptly branding the other's say as propaganda, even before meeting the other party and going deep into the matter.

Anyone who is really concerned about the future fate of the nation, the catastrophic economic situation in South Korea and the living of the people who are in utter distress, should resolutely come out to be with us on the road of realizing all the above-mentioned tasks.

For effecting practical measures for tearing down the barrier between the North and the South and for promoting the peaceful unification of the country, ever broader democracy should be guaranteed in South Korea.

Realization of the free activities of all political parties and social organizations and ensurance of the free expression of will of the workers, peasants, youths, students and people of all walks

of life are an indispensable pre-condition for the realization of unification.

What is demanded of us today is to break the present deadlock by removing all sorts of prejudice and distrust, and finding a common language for deepening mutual understanding, and promoting national unity.

We will march forward hand in hand with anyone who comes out in good faith for the peaceful unification of the country, irrespective of his political view, ideology and his past doings.

The first step toward fulfilling the solemn national task confronting us is to open negotiation between the North and the South at an early date.

If the Koreans meet at one place and discuss the affairs of state open-heartedly, they will certainly find agreed ways and means of breaking the deadlock.

We have had the historical experience of the Joint Conference in April 1948 where we sat together at one place to discuss urgent affairs of the state with Messrs. Kim Koo and Kim Kyu Sik and other representatives of right-wing political parties and social organizations.

Today when countries and peoples with different languages, customs and colours and differing social systems settle major issues through contact and negotiation, there is no reason why a homogeneous nation with the same language and custom should avoid contact and negotiation.

In order to carry out the urgent national tasks, we once again propose to the South Korean authorities, political parties, social organizations, individual personages and the entire South Korean people to convene a consultative conference of representatives of North and South Korea at an early date in Panmunjom, Pyongyang or in Seoul.

Today we are living in an era when the complete and final abolition of the colonial system is on the order of the day, a proud era of national independence and liberation.

No force can block the advance of the Korean people who are vigorously marching forward along the high road of national

unity and independence, firmly holding their destiny in their own hands.

The Korean people will launch a still more stubborn struggle against the vicious schemes of the U.S. imperialist aggressors who are out for prolonging the division of Korea and perpetuating U.S. occupation of South Korea.

No plausible reason and ground can justify the criminal aggression of our country by the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

The U.S. imperialist aggressors must stop at once their outrageous interference under the U.N. signboard in the internal affairs of our country.

No one but the Korean people can dictate the destiny of Korea, and the Korean people will certainly achieve the peaceful unification of their country by themselves.

Once again we strongly demand that the aggressive U.S. imperialist army — the avowed enemy of the Korean people — get out of South Korea immediately.

We are convinced that the peace-loving people of the world will extend strong support to this just demand of the Korean people and will struggle with us for its realization.

The day is bound to come when we will compel the foreign imperialist aggressors to pull out of the territory of our beloved country and build a prosperous, mighty and free people's paradise in the beautiful land of three thousand ri handed down by our forefathers and our 30 million fellow countrymen will live harmoniously in a family.

Let all of us vigorously march forward for bringing that glorious day earlier still, for the peaceful unification of the country and for the speedy realization of co-operation and intercourse between North and South Korea!

L E T T E R
OF THE SUPREME PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY OF THE
DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA
ADDRESSED TO THE R.O.K. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
AND TO THE POLITICAL PARTIES, SOCIAL
ORGANIZATIONS AND THE PEOPLE IN
SOUTH KOREA

Members of the R.O.K. House of Representatives and House of Councillors!

Members of political parties and social organizations and public figures in South Korea!

Dear fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters in South Korea!

For the sake of the peaceful unification of the country, the paramount aspiration of the Korean people and the greatest national cause at the present time, the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is once again sending a letter to you, appealing to your national conscience.

Fifteen years have already elapsed since the territory of the country was split into the North and the South.

The younger generation is growing up and already coming of age in the divided land with no clear idea of their once unified country.

During this long period even kinsmen have been kept from seeing each other and North-South economic and cultural intercourse blocked altogether.

This is a really great torture to our people who through our long history shared life and death, joys and sorrows, facing together national troubles from within and without.

Particularly the present dreadful situation created in South

Korea brings to the fore the unification of the country as an urgent problem, the solution of which brooks not a moment's delay.

The unprecedented tyranny and abject poverty ground you down; the pent-up resentment and extreme hardship went beyond the limits of your patience. At last you rose up in heroic resistance and ousted traitorous Syngman Rhee.

Your struggle was a righteous, patriotic one. But what have you got from the precious blood you shed?

Nothing has changed, except only that one government has been replaced by another. Your earnest desire and demand for freedom and emancipation, a new policy and a new life still remain unanswered.

The appalling political chaos, financial and economic crisis and social unrest are felt all the more keenly.

You are witnessing the unemployed, beggars, waifs and strays growing in number everyday. Calamity-stricken peasants in Samnam and fishermen on Woolleung Island and the South Sea are on the verge of starvation, crying for relief.

Prices and taxes are soaring and usury debts are weighing heavily on the shoulders of more and more people.

Schools have not yet been democratized and hundreds of thousands of youth and children are still kept out of school. To make matters worse, all sorts of crimes and disturbances are steadily increasing with the further aggravation of social confusion and disorder.

The privation of the people has reached such extremity that young women are selling their bodies in the market, presenting a piteous sight like a throwback to the mediaeval age.

Unable to withstand the grim and choking reality that keeps aggravating, the broad masses — workers, peasants, youth and students — are waging bitter struggles — demonstrations, walk-outs, school strikes and so forth.

The present rulers of South Korea, however, are busy inventing pretexts for suppressing the just struggle of the popular masses who demand reforms, labeling their just struggle as a "riot". Disregarding the vital question affecting the life of the

people, they are only engrossed in seeking worldly fame and in the scramble for power. They do not want to bother their heads about how to cope with the grave situation; they have neither ability nor means to remedy this catastrophic situation.

No matter who may come to power, the present situation of South Korea can by no means be saved, so long as the U.S. army continues to occupy South Korea and our country remains divided.

The only way out lies in the accomplishment of the peaceful unification of the country and in rehabilitation and development of the South Korean economy by joint efforts of the North and the South.

But the present rulers of South Korea are just begging for American "aid", and they are trying hard to deceive the people, alleging that this would improve the situation.

They attempt to bring in even Japanese monopoly capital that will encroach upon the South Korean economy.

This is indeed a reckless and dangerous venture.

The lessons of our country's history have indisputably proved that relying upon foreign powers leads to the ruin of the country. Is this not proved by the actual reality in South Korea today?

Look straight with your reason and conscience at the ruinous situation now existing in South Korea!

All that the U.S. "aid" has brought to South Korea is enslavement, poverty and economic bankruptcy.

Why is it that foreign capital poured in like tidal waves and monopolized the South Korean markets, and the national trade and industry has been driven into an abyss of ruin? And what is the reason that South Korea, known as a granary, has turned into an area of such chronic famine and a hell of starvation and poverty?

This is just what the U.S. "aid" has produced.

So long as the national economy depends upon foreign countries, it cannot become other than a victim of foreign capital which seeks profits without limit.

It is known only too well that the U.S. imperialists especially are using the so-called "aid" as a means of military aggression and economic plunder of other countries.

The way of revitalizing the country and promoting the interests of the nation lies only in shaping its destiny by itself. Without an independent national economy, no complete political independence can be ensured, and without complete independence there can be no prosperity of the country and the nation.

In the past our country was forced to be under the yoke of foreign aggressors, because it was backward and poor. This should not be repeated.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has long since followed the road of independent development and laid a solid foundation for the national economy in North Korea. We have built a powerful heavy industry with modern machine-building industry as the backbone, and created bases of light industry which had had no foundation.

Today we boast of hundreds of big modern factories and enterprises equipped with up-to-date technique; we also have a countryside crisscrossed with irrigation channels brimming over with life-giving water.

Our people who were far removed from civilization for a long time have now become the masters of mighty techniques, managing the advanced large-scale economy.

We have now taken into our hands the great means which promise prosperity for the country and nation.

We are powerful enough to further strengthen and develop rapidly the national economy and to create any new economic branch whenever necessary.

It is our ardent hope that the valuable fruits of our labour will be used for developing the South Korean economy and improving the living of the South Korean people. This would be utmost joy to us and we deem it as our due national duty.

For removing the national distress caused by the division and for rehabilitating and developing the South Korean economy, we should peacefully unify the country at the earliest possible date.

The peaceful unification of the country should be realized without fail by ourselves through free North-South general elections on a democratic basis and without any foreign interference.

For this, first of all, the U.S. army must withdraw from South Korea at once.

General elections should be held in such a completely free atmosphere that the popular masses may freely express their will.

Complete freedom, not to speak of freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association, should be ensured so that all political parties and social organizations, irrespective of their political views, can propagandize their platforms and conduct political activities in any part of North and South Korea.

The rights of the people to elect and to be elected should not be restricted, regardless of property status, residence, education, religious belief; general elections should be held in accordance strictly with the democratic principle of universal and equal suffrage by secret ballot.

By so doing the Korean people will come to have a united, all-Korean democratic government that genuinely represents their will.

What could be the reason for anyone not to accept or to be afraid of such elections?

Some people still insist that elections be held under "U.N. observation" with the U.S. troops stationed in South Korea.

This is an unbearable insult to the sovereignty and national pride of the Korean people.

The master of Korea is the Koreans.

The Korean question should be settled by the Korean people themselves of their own volition.

The Korean people are endowed with enough ability and resourcefulness to settle their own destiny for themselves. The history of our fatherland and the reality in North Korea afford ample proof of this.

Why should we be supervised by the United Nations in settling our own affairs? The United Nations is in no way entitled or competent to interfere in the settlement of the Korean issue,

nor has it any moral authority to meddle in it.

By allowing its name to be usurped by the U.S. imperialists, the United Nations became a belligerent party in the criminal war of aggression against the Korean people.

It is widely known in the world how shamelessly the will of the people was misrepresented in the tyrannous elections held in South Korea under U.N. "observation".

The so-called "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea", a mere tool for covering up the colonial enslavement and split policy of the U.S. imperialists in South Korea, should be immediately disbanded.

If they were not afraid of the genuine will of the Korean people being reflected in the solution of the question of unification, there could be no reason or ground whatsoever for them to ask for U.N. interference.

It is also alleged that free general elections throughout the North and South can never be accepted because it means "collaboration with Communists" and is fraught with the risk of being "communized".

This is entirely wrong.

No one can impose his political ideas upon the popular masses.

It is up to the entire Korean people to decide what social system they choose. Furthermore, the socialist system has been firmly established in North Korea and its people accepted communism long ago.

This is an iron-clad fact. Is it ever possible in Korea to ignore Communists in discussing the question of unification?

How could anyone talk about unification when he disregards the North?

Anyone who sincerely aspires after the unification of the country and the prosperity of the nation cannot justify himself under such pretext.

We differ in ideas and political views, of course.

However, such differences can never be an insurmountable obstacle if we are deeply concerned about the future of the na-

tion and want to settle the question of the country's unification in a realistic way.

It would be a towering crime against our posterity to keep enmity among one and the same nation and reject the unification of the country under the pretext of such differences.

Any person of national conscience and reason must not follow in the wake of Syngman Rhee but stand for North-South general elections free from outside interference.

If the South Korean authorities consider free North-South general elections still unacceptable to them, then, even provisional measures should be taken for paving the way to final unification by restoring the severed relations between the same nation and by reuniting its split forces.

Our people who have long suffered the misfortunes of division are confronted with numbers of important national questions which await urgent solution. How can we tolerate the situation in which millions of people have been compelled for ten years and more to live separate in the North and the South without knowing whether their parents, wives, children, relatives and friends are alive or dead?

The separation will, with the lapse of time, gradually estrange relatives and friends from each other, and even parents, wives and children will hardly recognize each other.

Due to the division, manners and customs and even the language are changing.

If we let such situation go further, who can dare say our single nation will not be divided in the long run into two quite different parts, each having its own language and customs? Particularly, the division is greatly impeding the co-ordinated development of the national economy.

Our country abounds in natural resources.

North Korea has an advanced industry and South Korea has wide plains suitable for the development of agriculture.

If we use all this in a unified way, we can develop successfully a self-supporting national economy and enjoy a bountiful, happy life in a mighty and prosperous country.

However, all this immense possibility still remains untapped and the South Korean people suffer from abject poverty, hunger and cold.

How can we continue to shut our eyes to such urgent national question, even though two different systems exist in North and South Korea and the early settlement of the differences still seems unlikely?

We must transcend our differences in political views and ideology, and must take measures promptly to solve our urgent questions.

We propose, as one of such measures, to institute a Confederation of North and South Korea.

The Confederation is to be enforced by way of setting up a Supreme National Committee composed of representatives of the two governments while retaining, for the time being, the political systems in North and South Korea and maintaining the independent activities of the two governments.

We consider that the enforcement of the Confederation should mainly co-ordinate and develop the economic and cultural life of North and South Korea as one unit and realize economic and cultural cooperation and interchange between the North and the South, thereby facilitating the independent and integrate development of the national economy.

Provided both governments give consent, the Supreme National Committee may represent the whole of Korea and conduct external affairs on the problems common to the interests of the entire nation and take joint measures for safeguarding the country and the nation against foreign aggression by rallying the forces of North and South Korea under the Confederation.

The enforcement of the Confederation will put an end to the extremely abnormal situation created in our country today. It will not inflict any loss upon any party, but only bring great benefit to the entire Korean people.

With the institution of the Confederation we will be able to pool the strength of the whole nation for repelling foreign aggression and jointly defending the interests of the country and the nation externally, and, internally, improving the eco-

conomic life of the South Korean people and establishing the foundation of a self-supporting national economy by realizing cooperation and intercourse between the North and the South.

There is no doubt that the enforcement of the Confederation will also help remove distrust and antagonism between the North and the South for creating an atmosphere of understanding and cooperation and gradually promote closer relations in the political sphere, too, thus paving the road to the peaceful unification of the country.

The setting up of the Confederation is a highly realistic and most reasonable measure for successfully fulfilling the urgent national tasks confronting us today and for accelerating the complete unification of the country.

Nevertheless, if the South Korean authorities cannot accept even the Confederation, we propose that a purely economic commission composed of representatives of business circles of North and South Korea be set up and the economic co-operation and intercourse be materialized apart from political issues.

Once such economic and cultural co-operation and intercourse are realized between the North and the South, the South Korean economy that is on the brink of catastrophe will be rehabilitated and developed rapidly and the South Korean people's living be considerably improved in a brief span of time with the help of the mighty economy of North Korea.

We propose that the Supreme National Committee be formed by instituting the Confederation at an early date, or the economic commission organized with representatives of business circles and that through such national organization the following immediate programmatic tasks be carried out:

The keynote of the South Korean economy is agriculture.

Without rehabilitating agriculture South Korea cannot recover from economic decline, and without stabilizing the life of the peasants making up 70 per cent of the population, South Korea cannot extricate itself from its chronic social poverty.

For the development of the South Korean agriculture, the land problem should be solved once and for all.

For the correct solution of land problem, South Korea too, should carry out a land reform on the principles of confiscation and distribution of land without compensation.

The "agrarian reform" rigged up by the Syngman Rhee clique has, in fact, kept the landlord system intact, further fragmented the peasant economy and reduced the peasants to slaves to debt.

Such evil consequences should be removed at once.

The "redemption grain for the distributed land" not yet delivered by the South Korean peasants should no longer be collected, the balance of "farm land price" payable to the landlords should be borne by the state and all the debts the peasants made in paying for it should be redeemed by the state.

And the state should purchase all the existing tenant farm land and portion it out free of charge to the peasants without or with little land.

Main efforts should be directed to obtaining new land to meet the vital demand of the peasants for land.

How can we talk about the development of agriculture in the present situation in which more than 940,000 peasant households cling to less than half of jungbo of land each?

All land expropriated for military use should be returned to the peasants and land reclamation be carried out extensively.

South Korea has more than two million jungbo of reclaimable land.

Let us mobilize the forces of North and South Korea to upturn at least one million jungbo of new land in the next six to seven years and distribute it without compensation to the peasants who have no or little land! If this is done, the average acreage of cultivated land per peasant household in South Korea will increase from 0.9 jungbo at present to 1.4 jungbo.

To increase the agricultural production, large and small irrigation projects as well as afforestation and water-conservancy should be carried out on a wide scale all over South Korea, thereby doing away with the rain-dependent and poorly irrigated fields.

It is hardly possible to expect stable agricultural production in the place where mountains are bare of trees, rivers have no embankments and vast fields are without irrigation canals.

Paddy and dry fields in South Korea can and should be watered through irrigation channels and turned into a fertile land free of calamities as in North Korea.

Rich crop can not be harvested by outmoded farming methods and primitive farm implements.

It is important to rapidly raise the per jungbo yield by introducing advanced farm methods and up-to-date farm machines including tractors, by developing agriculture in a many-sided way and by making rational use of land.

The prices of farm produce and industrial products including fertilizer should be regulated for the benefit of the peasants, the "land acquisition tax" reduced and various exacting levies upon the peasants abolished.

All the debts of the impoverished peasants should be redeemed by the state and a state peasants' bank set up to grant loans at a low rate of interest for the benefit of the peasants.

The South Korean fishery should be developed and the miserable living condition of 800,000 fishing folks be improved.

It is urgent to tear down the barriers thrown across the sea and ensure free fishing for the fishermen of both North and South Korea.

Fish shoals move about between the North and the South as freely as ever, but our fishermen cannot sail north and south seas at will in pursuit of shoals. We should get rid of this abnormal situation.

Fishing grounds and fishing ports in the North and the South should be opened for our joint use, the devastated fishing ports in South Korea be speedily rebuilt and the occupation of fishing grounds and fishing ports by the U.S. army should be abolished immediately.

Let us put our energy to make up the shortage of fishing boats, a great handicap for the South Korean fishermen, and modernize fishery of South Korea!

The modern fishing boats of our neighbouring countries go out to the open sea for fishing. But with worn-out sail boats and primitive fishing methods it is hardly possible to engage even in inshore fishery, not to speak of pelagic fishery.

Still more, how can we remain indifferent to the miserable plight of the South Korean fishermen who can hardly eke out a living for lack of even tiny boats? Much funds and forces should be directed to the ship-building industry and necessary materials and supplies be provided to ensure normal operation of the shipyards which are now at a standstill.

In this way sail-boats should be speedily motorized and the equipment of fishing boats and port facilities should be mechanized. At the same time, large- and medium-sized motor boats should be built in large numbers so that the fishermen may fish with state-owned boats. The pelagic and deep-sea fishing should be developed through the joint efforts of North and South Korea, the survey of maritime resources and search for fish shoals be jointly conducted, information on the flow of currents be exchanged and mutual assistance be given to rescue work for possible maritime accidents.

All the debts of the South Korean fishermen should be liquidated at state expense, a state fishery bank be set up to give them loan at a low rate of interest, the fishing tax should be reduced; and all the miscellaneous levies be abolished.

Industry is the leading branch of economy.

It is entirely unthinkable for any country without its own national industry to ensure independence or enhancement of the people's living. Decisive measures should be taken for rehabilitating the ruined South Korean national industry.

Let us construct extensively big up-to-date factories as well as medium and small light industrial factories in such a way as to ensure the resumption of operation of all idle factories and mines and the independent development of the South Korean economy!

In particular, factories and power stations in the domains of fuel-power, metal, chemical, building material and machine-building industries should be constructed,

We have made necessary machines and equipment by ourselves and home-made goods produced by our factories fill to overflowing every shop in the North.

Yet, the whole of South Korea is flooded with foreign goods! Why should we leave our natural resources at the disposal of foreign countries and beg for foreign industrial products at a time when we Korean people can develop resources rich in the country and make anything we want?

For the development of middle and small trade and industry, it is necessary to make up the shortage of raw materials, to ease the financial difficulties and overcome the dull of sale.

Raw materials for the national industry should be obtained at home, not depending on foreign countries. And a state industrial bank should be set up for the medium and small enterprises, granting them long-term loans at a low rate of interest.

For overcoming the dull of sale, the purchasing power of the people should be enhanced.

The wages of the workers should be raised immediately; the U.S. monopoly price system be done away with, commodity prices be stabilized, and the inroad of foreign goods be rejected flatly.

Let us protect and foster the national industry by taking stringent tariff measures for imported goods and encouraging the consumption of home-made goods!

Rational division of labour between the North and South Korean industries should be organized and free trade between the North and the South be enforced at the earliest date.

From olden times when products were scanty and communications were inconvenient our ancestors had lived in harmony, exchanging products of various localities.

Especially in our age when production and transport are highly developed, how can we ever reconcile ourselves to such abnormal situation in which the exchange of commodities is cut within one and the same country?

All possible measures should be taken for the exchange of commodities, foreign trade be carried out under a unified con-

trol, joint purchase of raw materials and supplies be made and market be explored for exporting domestic goods.

When the above measures are taken in all the fields of agriculture, fishery and industry, the South Korean national economy will develop with fresh vitality.

Millions of South Korean unemployed will be secured jobs and ensured stabilization of their livelihood, if all the factories and mines are put into commission, large and small factories are newly constructed, reclamation, irrigation, afforestation and water conservancy undertaken, and harbour, railway, road and town construction projects carried out briskly throughout South Korea.

How good it would be if the broad road were opened for the desperate jobless folks to engage in creative labour for the prosperity and development of the beloved fatherland and for their own happiness!

For the prosperity of the fatherland and flourish of the nation, much is yet to be done and many work hands are needed.

Then why is "birth control" necessary, and why should our fellow countrymen be sent into slavery in far off foreign lands under the name of "emigration"?

Our people will never tolerate such criminal acts.

The Korean people are a talented and resourceful nation with a long history and a brilliant culture.

It was the Korean who invented the first movable metal types in human history. It was also the Korean who built the Chumsungdai, the first observatory in the world.

Nevertheless, our people, divided into the North and the South today, cannot develop their national culture, science and technology in a unified way.

Today in South Korea science and culture are on the decline and many South Korean scientists, technicians and men of culture have no place to work, however much they may want to. Such state of affairs should no longer be permitted.

Our country should be freed from its centuries-old backwardness and become one of the leading advanced countries in the world as soon as possible.

At a time when we must rush forward at a speed of one thousand league a day for the enhancement of our national economy and culture, we need advanced technology and culture as well as a great many learned and talented personnel.

Let us expedite scientific and technical progress and promote the efflorescence of our national culture with joint efforts of the North and the South!

Academies of sciences and various research institutes should be set up on a wide scale so that all of them may devote their talents and wisdom to the noble mission of developing the national economy, science and culture.

It is necessary for the scientific and technical workers in North and South Korea to pool their knowledge and skill and undertake joint research work for the integrate development of the national economy.

For regenerating the national culture and arts in South Korea, various cultural establishments should be set up everywhere and living conditions of the men of culture and arts be ensured.

Let us exchange stage arts and films between the North and the South, realize mutual cooperation between the artists and enter jointly into the international arena!

Let us combine the cream of the North and the South to enrich still more our elegant and beautiful national arts which are called "golden arts" and make them shine ever brighter over international arena!

In the field of physical culture and sports too, let us realize interchange and cooperation between the North and the South, jointly take part in the international events, display the courageous and tough spirit of the Korean youths and enhance the prestige of the fatherland!

It is also necessary to take common measures for preserving valuable historical relics and remains left by our ancestors.

The work of educating and bringing up the rising generation and of training the national cadres is of particularly great importance for the prosperity and development of the fatherland.

It is necessary to extensively undertake the building of schools with state funds and take measures to enrol all children of school age who are kept out of school.

We should not allow any longer such distressful and hateful situation in which for all exceptional talent and burning desire to learn hundreds of thousands of youth and children are kept out of school merely on account of money.

All practices of "contributions" which have turned schools into profiteering centres should be abolished; compulsory education should be given free of charge and the expenses be borne by the government; state scholarship be instituted for the sons and daughters of working people so that there may be no one working his way through school.

Waifs and strays in South Korea should be all taken care of and be reared by the state.

Measures should be taken to protect the lives and properties of the population from calamities and put an end to chronic diseases; and medical establishments be set up even in villages, not to speak of giving free medical service to the poor people and seeing that every myun (sub-county) has doctors.

With a view to coping with the acute housing shortage, housing construction must be undertaken extensively with state funds, houses be allotted to the needy at low rent, and town building be accelerated.

Realization of correspondence and movement of the population between the North and the South is a most pressing task.

Why should the parents, brothers, wives and children, kinsmen and intimate friends who are separated from each other live in anxiety to hear from each other, though they are within calling distance, in the territory of the same country?

Let us ensure correspondence and movement of the population so that the longed-for kinsmen and friends can meet each other and everybody may come to know better the actual conditions of the North and the South!

Let us exchange reporters so that they can carry on free activity for news coverage!

In order to ensure the interchanges between the North and the South, it is necessary to take measures for freight and passenger transportation throughout the country, open ports for sea transport, and take steps for telephone and telegraph communications and postal exchange.

Let us make the artery and nerves of the fatherland again function vigorously and make our blood relationship which even the separation into the North and the South failed to sever felt more warmly in our vein!

If we carry into effect all these tasks by joining the forces of the split nation and linking the disrupted economy, we can soon see the chimneys of the South Korean factories sending out smoke after a long suspension and an expanse of drought-stricken fields beginning to have water through irrigation canals. Then bright prospects will be opened before the South Korean people who now have no hope for the morrow.

Needless to say, a huge sum of funds, a huge amount of materials, equipment and machinery and techniques are needed to carry out these enormous undertakings.

But now South Korea does not possess its own economic and technical power necessary for accomplishing all these tasks.

These tasks can be successfully carried out only when we combine the economic and technical power of the North and the South and rely on the powerful economic might of North Korea.

In the northern part of the country are concentrated valuable resources necessary for developing the national economy and improving the people's living. With our devoted efforts, we have built in the northern part of the country powerful heavy industry centres and laid the firm foundation of the independent national economy. We have taken into our hands enough means to build large-scale factories of any size and create any new industrial branches, if need be.

Thanks to the foundation of the self-supporting national economy, we have been able to develop the economy of the northern part at such a rapid pace and enhance the people's living as we see today.

We did not build all these merely for the people of the North to enjoy a good life. We ardently wish to share the fruits of our devoted efforts with our fellow countrymen in the South.

For carrying out the immediate programmatic tasks, we are ready to bear necessary financial burdens jointly with the South Korean authorities and, if there are any undertakings which the South Korean authorities find it difficult to bear, the Government of the D.P.R.K. will bear the burden single-handed.

For the correct solution of the question of land and for the reclamation and irrigation works in the South Korean countryside,

For the modernization of the fishing industry and the reconditioning of fishing ports of South Korea,

For the building of new big factories and for the rehabilitation and development of the national industry,

For the construction of scientific and cultural establishments and dwelling houses, and for the stabilization and improvement of the economic and cultural life of the South Korean people of all walks of life,

We will supply various types of modern machines, tools, materials and equipment manufactured in the North, render technical assistance and unsparingly spend the funds accumulated by the sweat of our people's brow.

Proceeding from the earnest desire to save at an early date the South Korean economy from its ruinous state and relieve as early as possible our fellow countrymen from sufferings, we are fully determined to make every effort to carry out the programmatic tasks of rehabilitating and developing the South Korean economy.

We are sending herewith the "Recommendations on Realizing Economic and Cultural Exchange and Cooperation between North and South Korea and Promoting Independent Development of the National Economy in South Korea."

Reduction of the strength of armed forces of North and South Korea is of great importance for relaxing tension in Korea and lightening excessive burden of military expenses shouldered by the South Korean people,

Let us cut the strength of armed forces of North and South Korea to 100,000 men or less respectively!

An army of 200,000 is enough to discharge the duty of national defence in our country.

To guarantee the freedom of political activities and ensure democracy for the broad masses in South Korea is an essential condition for facilitating the peaceful unification of the country.

All political parties, public organizations, individual personages and people of all walks of life should be assured of the unlimited freedom of expressing their views on the question of the country's peaceful unification.

Let us in a body put all our strength to remove the national misfortunes!

Members of the Houses of Representatives and Councilors of the Republic of Korea!

Members of the political parties and social organizations and public figures in South Korea!

Dear fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters in South Korea!

We firmly believe that you will willingly accept our proposals reflecting fraternal love, if you are really concerned about the nation's future and wish to save the present critical situation in South Korea.

For the solution of the urgent questions that have arisen before the country and the nation, it is necessary for the representatives of North and South Korea to sit around one table and negotiate in good faith.

We propose an early convocation of a North-South consultative conference at Panmunjom, in Pyongyang or in Seoul.

Representatives of the South Korean political parties and public organizations out of power must take part in the proposed North-South consultative conference together with representatives of the governments and parliaments of North and South Korea.

Different political views, religious belief and one's past activities cannot be an obstacle to our negotiations.

To avoid contacts is not a proper attitude toward tiding

over the difficult situation, and it is at variance with the nation's interests.

Let us be frank and talk heart to heart!

In South Korea, too, lately the public is turning great attention to the peaceful unification of the country.

Voices demanding North-South contacts and negotiations are becoming louder than ever before among the people of all walks of life. This is quite natural and is only to be welcomed.

It is necessary to discuss the matters more seriously and more broadly, pave the way for solution, and then finally solve them.

Today, in the international relations contacts and exchanges are briskly conducted even between countries with differing systems, between nations with different political views, customs and colours, and languages.

Why then should the fellow countrymen with the same language and the same custom be kept from making contacts?

It is necessary to cast away all prejudices and, to start with, meet each other, visit each other to come to know the real state of affairs.

Hesitation and indifferent attitude are impermissible at this grave moment.

Let us all unite in the nation-wide struggle to tear down the barriers between the North and South!

The occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialist aggressive troops is the biggest obstacle to the unification of the country.

The U.S. occupation is the very source of the national split and all sufferings of the South Korean people.

There is no reason or excuse whatsoever for the U.S. imperialists to remain in South Korea.

Resolutely reject the outrageous interference in domestic affairs, the national contempt, humiliation and insult by the U.S. imperialists, and fight in demand of the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. army!

Ours is the era when the complete and final abolition of the imperialist colonial regime is put on the order of the day.

No foreign aggressive force on earth can block the path along which the Korean people traverse shaping the nation's future destiny with their united forces.

The Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea expresses the hope that the members of the Houses of Representatives and Councilors of the Republic of Korea and the South Korean authorities will give serious consideration to our proposals and take necessary measures for their early realization.

We are confident that people of all walks of life, patriotic political parties and public organizations, individual personages in South Korea will welcome our proposals and make an active effort for their realization.

**The Supreme People's Assembly of the
Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

**November 22, 1960
Pyongyang**

R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

ON REALIZING ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND COOPERATION BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA AND PROMOTING INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL ECONOMY IN SOUTH KOREA

The Eighth Session of the Second Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, having discussed once again the question of promoting the peaceful unification of the country, the most urgent desire and the cardinal, national task of the entire Korean people, has unanimously affirmed that it is most reasonable to enforce, to begin with, a Confederation of North and South Korea as a provisional measure.

It is our consistent stand and immovable principle on the peaceful unification of the country to hold free general elections throughout the North and South without any foreign interference.

However, since the South Korean authorities are still refusing this today, we deem it imperative to solve the urgent national questions through the enforcement of a Confederation of North and South Korea, while maintaining the independent activities of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Government of the Republic of Korea.

The Confederation of North and South Korea will gradually promote the complete unification of the country, ensuring economic and cultural exchange and cooperation between the North and the South in conformity with the interests of the entire nation.

If the South Korean authorities consider that even the Confederation is unacceptable, we hold that an economic commission composed of representatives of the business circles of North and South Korea should be set up to realize at least economic exchange and cooperation between the North and the South.

The Korean people, as a homogeneous nation, had had an integral economy throughout their long history, with an advantage of the genial nature and bountiful resources. However, the integral whole of our national economy was broken after liberation due to the artificial barrier thrown across between the North and the South.

The split of our territory has laid a great obstacle in the way of the development of our national economy and has, in particular, precipitated the South Korean economy into the depth of ruin.

On account of the colonial enslavement policy of the U.S. imperialists and their harsh plunder, the southern part of the country has been reduced to an appendage of U.S. economy, to a colonial market flooded with foreign goods.

The national industry of South Korea has been utterly devastated. Large numbers of factories and mines have been destroyed and closed down; the industrial output is no more than two thirds that in the dark days of the Japanese imperialist rule. Most of the remaining factories and mines have either suspended or curtailed operation for lack of raw materials and funds and shrinkage of market.

Agriculture has likewise been utterly dilapidated. South Korea, once a granary of the country, has long since been turned into an area of chronic famine.

As the outcome of the sharp shrinkage of industrial and agricultural production, South Korea's present commodity import exceeds the export by twenty times.

The people in the southern part are in the depth of poverty. The wages of the workers are less than one third of the minimum living cost. The South Korean towns are overflowing with millions of unemployed and hundreds of thousands of child beggars, who are wandering about in the hope of finding a means of living. Every year, the number of foodless peasant households runs to over one million, and the peasants groan under the heavy burdens of taxes and usury debts.

The economy and people's living in South Korea are in a

grave and critical condition which should not be left alone even a moment.

There is only one way out. Economic exchange and cooperation between North and South Korea should be effected for reviving the South Korean national economy now on the verge of total collapse and rescuing the people from the living hell. There is no other way.

For resuming the operation of closed factories and shoring up the bankrupt agriculture, there should be sufficient raw material, power, supplies, modern machines and equipment. In the northern part of our country there is a powerful material foundation for turning out all these things.

In the northern part, following the road indicated by the Korean Workers' Party, our people have not only established a socialist system free of oppression and exploitation but also built with their devoted labour powerful heavy industrial bases and laid the foundation of an independent national economy.

The heavy industrial foundation in the North is a decisive guarantee for freeing the South Korean economy from the colonial yoke and ensuring its independent development.

The Korean people will be able to lead an abundant and respectable life, when the North and the South, relying upon this foundation we have laid, unite the divided strength of the nation and integrate the split economy and advance hand in hand with each other.

The economic exchange and cooperation between the North and the South is an urgent task that can and must be fulfilled without delay. The difference in the political systems of North and South Korea can not prevent such economic exchange and cooperation.

At present our stand is that even apart from political questions, representatives of North and South Korea should, as an initial step, meet at one place to negotiate on the question of realizing commodity exchange between the North and the South, a matter of national urgency, and assisting and cooperating with each other in economic construction.

If the North and the South meet each other's need and

mobilize all resources, materials and technique, the South Korean economy can be rehabilitated and developed with the minimum expense and time. Then how can it be justified to hamper intercourse and cooperation between the North and the South, clinging to U.S. "aid" or foreign capital? Throughout both the periods of the Japanese imperialist colonial rule and the U.S. imperialists' domination of South Korea, the Korean people have clearly seen through their bitter experiences the predatory nature of foreign monopoly capital.

It is as clear as can be what U.S. "aid" has brought to the South Korean economy and the living of the compatriots in the southern part in the past fifteen years and what it will bring in the future.

It is imperative that the "United States Operation Mission in Korea" which has seized the artery of South Korean economy and indulged in plunder under the unctuous name of "aid", the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea", a tool for the U.S. colonial policy, and so forth should be disbanded and the Korean people themselves should become the masters of the state and economy and promote the rehabilitation and self-independence of South Korea. A confederative organization of North and South Korea should be set up at the earliest date and measures be taken for coordinating the economic and cultural development of our country as one unit and coping with the present catastrophic situation of South Korea.

No one, whoever he may be, should bar the only way out opened before us and mar the destiny of the country and the future of the nation.

Intercourse and cooperation between North and South Korea will give new vigour to the South Korean economy and promote the overall, independent development of the national economy.

Thus the distrust between the North and the South will gradually be removed and the atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust will be created, with the result that an avenue will be opened to the peaceful unification of the country and sovereign independence.

Proceeding from the urgent desire of the entire Korean nation to achieve the unification of the country and burning patriotism for relieving the living of the people in the southern part, the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea presents the following recommendations on realizing intercourse and cooperation between the North and the South and promoting the rehabilitation and development of the South Korean economy to the ROK legislative and administrative authorities, political parties and social organizations, all the prominent personages and the people of all walks of life in South Korea.

1. ON REHABILITATING AND DEVELOPING AGRICULTURE AND STABILIZING THE LIVING OF THE PEASANTS IN SOUTH KOREA

In conducting economic interchange and mutual cooperation between the North and the South, we should direct most serious concern to the rehabilitation and development of South Korean agriculture and the stabilization of the deteriorated living of the peasants.

Only when agriculture is enlivened rapidly can the pressing question with regard to the life of the entire South Korean inhabitants including the peasants be settled and a favourable pre-condition for the development of national industry be created. The situation of South Korea, once the granary of our country and the major producer of such raw materials for industry as cotton, cocoons, ramie, is quite different from the past.

On top of the marked decrease of arable land, serious natural calamities are repeated every year due to the destruction of irrigation facilities and river dykes. The peasant economy has been further fragmented and agro-technique is still in a backward, medieval state. Now the grain output per head of the rural population of South Korea is no more than one-third that in North Korea.

The crisis of the South Korean agriculture is further deepening owing to the "aid" of the United States. Under pressure of the U.S. surplus farm produce which is sold by force, the output

of wheat and barley, coarse grain, beans and so forth has gone down to below half compared even with the time of the Japanese imperialist rule when agriculture declined in the extreme and the production of cotton and cocoons has fallen to next to nothing.

The U.S. imperialists are taking away agricultural products from the peasants at lower prices than the production cost, while selling to them such industrial products as chemical fertilizer and insecticide at high prices.

Despite the sharp decline in agricultural production, the burdens imposed upon the peasants such as tenant rent, "redemption grain for distributed land," "land acquisition tax," irrigation fees, compulsory delivery of grain and miscellaneous levies are steadily increasing. In the South Korean rural villages the number of peasant households which run out of provisions or are hard pressed by debts is sharply increasing and large numbers of peasants are going to ruin, leaving home aimlessly.

We must immediately tide over such catastrophic situation in South Korean agriculture and take every possible measure for relieving the millions of peasant masses from chronic famine and poverty at an early date.

1) The consequences of the "agrarian reform" should be remedied in such a way as to make tillers the masters of the land, and a wide stretch of land be newly reclaimed to be distributed to peasants.

The "agrarian reform" enforced by the Syngman Rhee government in the past was a trickery aimed at allaying the struggle of the peasants for land and defending the interests of the landlords.

The way to a thoroughgoing solution of land problem in our country is to confiscate landlords' land without compensation and distribute it to the peasants without charge. The U.S. imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique, however, rejected such reform. Instead they carried out the "agrarian reform" by purchasing part of the landlords' land and selling it to the peasants by force. It has only further expanded the source of exploitation and poverty in the South Korean rural areas.

The peasants who have been deprived of provisions every year in the name of "redemption grain for distributed land" have been reduced to hopeless slaves to debt and a great number of peasants have been unable to pay the price of land to this day, ten years after the "agrarian reform".

A vast acreage of tenant-land still remains and the paddy and dry fields which were "distributed" are again being concentrated into the hands of landlords.

The rehabilitation of South Korean agriculture is unthinkable without overcoming these grave consequences of the "agrarian reform." Even now the state should straighten out the present situation on the principle of buying up the land of the landlords and distributing it to the peasants gratis and pave the way for all the peasants to till their own land freely.

The collection of "redemption grain for distributed land" should be stopped at once, the balance of the price of land to be paid to the landlords should be cleared from the national treasury and the state should clear all the debt made by peasants to pay for the distributed land.

At the same time, the state should buy all the existing tenant-land and portion it out free of charge to the peasants without or with little land.

The financial outlay for all these measures is less than the military expenses disbursed in South Korea in one year.

If the South Korean authorities are really for the rehabilitation of agriculture and stabilization of peasants' living, they should take, to begin with, these elementary and urgent measures.

We will never tolerate such brigandish act of the U.S. imperialists as devastating precious farm land for their military purposes, and we support the struggle of the South Korean peasants against such act. Immediate measures should be taken for returning to them the land requisitioned by the U.S. army for military use.

Concentrated efforts should be also made to obtain new land in South Korea for meeting the demand of the peasants for land.

Even according to a rough estimate, today there is in South

Korea some 2 million jungbo of reclaimable land such as hills, waste land, abandoned and saline land. If the North and South cooperate with each other, at least one million jungbo of land will be upturned within six or seven years.

The reclaimed land should be distributed gratis among peasants without or with little land and to jobless people who have been forced to abandon their farms. This will expand the land per peasant family from 0.9 jungbo at present to 1.4 jungbo within six or seven years and bring great benefit to the South Korean pauper peasants.

2) Irrigation system should be rehabilitated and expanded and extensive afforestation and water conservancy work be carried out.

The northern part carried out only in a few years after the war irrigation projects for watering 600,000 jungbo of paddy and dry fields, five times the acreage irrigated by the Japanese imperialists in 36 years, and undertook afforestation and water conservancy work on a large scale.

Our experiences show that irrigation is the key-note in the development of agriculture under the condition of our country in which arable land is extremely limited and paddy-field cultivation holds an important position.

South Korea can overcome natural calamities and gather in high and stable crops every year only by rehabilitating the existing irrigation system, completing paddy field irrigation and carrying on a full scale afforestation and water conservancy work.

At present there are 620,000 jungbo of poorly-irrigated fields in South Korea. It is necessary to put all these fields under full irrigation within the next seven years. To this end, along with medium- and small-scale irrigation projects in all areas, large-scale irrigation projects should be undertaken and pushed ahead actively in the area of Koyang-Pajoo-Kimpo on the lower reaches of the Han River, the Chinjoo area on the lower reaches of the Nam River, the Andong area on the upper reaches of the Rakdong River, the Rajoo area on the Yung-san River, the Ansong River basin and the Pyungtaik area, the Ronsan area on the middle

reaches of the Keum River and the Honam area, and other places.

The irrigation projects should be carried out with state fund, and the state should compensate for the land to be used for irrigation construction. All the irrigation works should be operated truly for the interest of the peasants, and the irrigation fees imposed upon the peasants be drastically reduced.

Along with irrigation projects, afforestation and water conservancy work — anti-erosion projects, afforestation, river dike construction, and the securing of anti-flood water retention area, etc. — should be undertaken on a wide scale in the basins of the Rakdong, Yungshan, Han, and Keum rivers and all other parts of South Korea. Only by so doing can the heavy losses in human lives and properties caused every year by typhoons and floods be prevented and the severely devastated mountains and fields of South Korea be greened again.

3) Modern machines and advanced farming methods should be widely introduced and agriculture developed in a many-sided way.

South Korea is endowed with much more favorable natural conditions than North Korea, but it is lagging far behind the latter in land utility rate and per-unit harvest. If tractors and other modern farm machines are introduced in agricultural production and advanced intensive farming method is applied as in the North, two-crop cultivation can be fully applied to the South Korean paddy and dry fields and the per-unit yield of agricultural produce can easily be more than doubled compared with the present.

In the northern part mechanization will be completed within two or three years in all the rural villages including remote mountainous areas.

If South Korea is to mechanize agriculture, it should set up modern farm machine factories and at the same time firmly rely on the farm machine manufacturing industry of the northern part.

In view of the fact that the peasants have no fund for purchasing farm machines, it is advisable to set up in various parts

of South Korea state farm machine hiring stations to do various types of work for the peasants at a low fee.

When these measures are effected much farm work can be mechanized and peasants will be relieved gradually from hard and backbreaking labour in South Korea, too, in the near future.

Scientific intensive farming method suitable for the climate and natural features of South Korea should be actively sought and widely popularized by improving experimental farming.

Various kinds of seeds, breed animals, saplings and so on should be exchanged between the North and the South, measures for fighting noxious insects adopted jointly, valuable experiences in bringing about high-yield in the North and South widely exchanged.

To do away with the colonial lopsidedness of the South Korean agriculture, the American surplus agricultural produce should be boycotted, and wheat and cotton growing and cocoon production which are on the decline should be boosted, animal husbandry and fruit growing actively encouraged and thus agriculture be developed in a many-sided way.

4) The living of the poor peasants who are placed in a desperate condition should be stabilized at an early date.

Despite the most adverse climatic and weather conditions, an unprecedentedly rich harvest has been reaped this year in the rural areas of the northern part where irrigation and electrification have been completed and mechanization is now making headway. The general living standard of the peasants has reached that of middle or well-to-do middle peasantry.

The government of our Republic has decided to exempt the peasants from the repayment of the whole amount of loans they received in the past from the state for carrying out rural construction and technical revolution.

When the peasants in the northern part are rejoicing over the bumper harvest and enjoying a happy life, the South Korean peasants are weeping over crop failure and disasters and languishing under debts and in hunger.

Today, the overwhelming majority of the South Korean peasants are shackled to enormous usury debts, and such cruel

device of exploitation as "advance sale of rice on the stalk" and "advance sale of wheat on the stalk" is prevailing everywhere.

The debts of the pauper peasants should be paid out at an early date from the state treasury and usury be strictly prohibited throughout South Korea. And a state agricultural bank serving the interest of the peasants should be set up so as to lend farming funds to them at a low rate of interest.

The burden of the peasants should be lessened by cutting down the "land acquisition tax" and ruling out all miscellaneous taxes.

Measures should be taken to prevent the sharp fall of the price of agricultural products in South Korea resulting from the influx of American surplus farm produce and to supply the peasants with industrial products including chemical fertilizer and insecticides at low prices.

Intermediary exploitation of the peasants by the "agricultural association" should be eliminated and the "association" be made an independent co-operative organization dealing with the sales of agricultural produce and supply of industrial products for the good of the peasantry.

The state should provide the foodless peasant households with grain loans free of interest and take immediate measures for relieving calamity-stricken peasants who are suffering from cold and hunger having lost the means of livelihood due to the severe drought, floods and storms of this year.

2. ON DEVELOPING FISHING INDUSTRY AND STABILIZING THE LIVING OF FISHERMEN IN SOUTH KOREA

Our country, surrounded by sea on three sides, is rich in marine resources and the sea is an important source of wealth for our people.

From times of old our forefathers had engaged in fishing freely plying between the waters of the North and the South. But the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists has severed our seas as well as the land into the North and the

South, creating a blockade between the two parts. Such barrier has dealt fatal blows to the South Korean fishery.

Major fishing ports have been turned into U.S. imperialist naval ports and famous fishing grounds into their naval training grounds. Even compared with the days of the Japanese imperialist rule, tonnage of fishing boats has dropped by one fourth and fish catch by half or less; and fish catch per head of the fishing population is only one tenth that in North Korea.

Fishermen's living is becoming worse and worse every year.

On top of their poor catch, burdens of the fishermen such as "fishing tax," "ship tax" and so forth are growing heavier and the exploitation of them by the "fishery association," middlemen and usurers is being further intensified.

Today in South Korea, hundreds of thousands of fishermen are in a state of ruin, going about in rags and hunger.

For the rapid restoration and development of the South Korean fishing industry and stabilization of the livelihood of the fishermen, interchange and link between the North and the South are vitally necessary also in this domain.

1) Fishing grounds and ports in North and South Korea should be opened for mutual utilization.

Shoals move about freely between North and South seas, but fishing boats can not ply between the North and the South in pursuit of the shoals. Such present state of affairs should not be permitted to continue.

The pressing desire of the North and South Korean fishermen for opening seas, to begin with, must be realized at once.

In the season when major fish families shoal — myungtal, mackerel, herring, croaker, garfish, sand-launce and cuttle-fish — all fishing boats should be allowed to enter freely the fishing grounds in both North and South Korea.

Along with this, major fishing ports of North and South Korea should be immediately opened. Only in this way, can fishing grounds be effectively and jointly utilized and all fishing boats can process or sell fish as they want to and get the supply of fuel, provisions and drinking water at the nearby fishing ports.

We propose to open the following fishing ports: Chungjin, Sinpo, Suho, Wonsan, Kojuh, Haeju, Nampo, Shinuijoo in North Korea and Joomoonjin, Woolleungdo, Pohang, Tongyung, Namhai, Ryusoo, Kunsan and Inchon in South Korea.

An immediate end must be put to the occupation of the South Korean fishing grounds and ports by the U.S. army. Free fishing must be ensured and the rehabilitation of the ravaged fishing port installations be actively stepped up.

2) The scarcity of fishing boats, the basic means of production in fishery, must be remedied and their technical equipment be improved.

In South Korea motor boats of over fifty tons are less than 1 per cent of the total fishing boats, most of the rest being small and outmoded sail boats.

For strengthening the material and technical foundation of the South Korean fishing industry, it is imperative for the state to concentrate a large amount of funds and great forces on the field of shipbuilding. Large- and medium-sized motor boats should be built on a mass scale, the existing boats be repaired and the sail boats motorized.

It is desirable that big boats should be placed under state ownership and fishermen organize co-operative organizations to utilize the boats at low cost.

Along with this, fishing tackle manufacturing industry should be markedly developed to meet the demands for fishing tackle and nets.

3) The North and the South should organize jointly pelagic and deep-sea fishing and take co-operative measures for augmenting the fish haul.

Our experiences show that the key to increasing the fish catch is to extensively organize pelagic and deep-sea fishing alongside inshore fishing, and to keep fishing boats on the sea all the year round.

However, owing to its technically poor equipment, South Korean fishing industry cannot organize the pelagic fishing and is placing the fish within its reach at the disposal of foreign fishing boats.

This being the case, the Chosun Fishery Society in North Korea and the Daihan Central Fishery Association in South Korea should organize a joint fishing fleet equipped with modern technique with their joint investments to conduct together deep-sea fishing and pelagic fishing and catch quantities of big and tasty fish such as cod, ray, lobster, yellow-tail, dolphin, whale, etc.

At the same time North and South fishery circles should jointly conduct the survey of marine resources and detect shoals, inform each other about the flow of currents and change of sea weather and ensure close co-operation in rescue work.

The fishermen and fishery workers of North and South Korea should exchange their valuable experiences they accumulated and advanced fishing methods.

4) The extremely deteriorated living of the fishermen should be stabilized at an early date.

The debts of the fishermen should be cleared at an early date at the expense of the state and a state fishery bank be set up to lend them necessary funds at a low interest.

The "fishing tax" and "ship tax" should be lowered and such miscellaneous impositions as "entrance and clearance fees," "fees for entering fishing grounds" and various kinds of commission should be abolished and thus the burden of the fishermen be markedly lightened.

The "fishery association" which exploits fishermen ruthlessly should be drastically reorganized into fishermen's genuine cooperative organization for the joint sale of fish, joint purchase of fishing tackle and material and the joint use of fishing grounds and facilities.

The hang-over from feudal oppression of fishing workers should be wiped out, such income distributing methods as 3 to 7 and 4 to 6 systems for giving lion's share of the catch to ship-owners be replaced by a wage system advantageous to workers and they should be enabled to work regularly and lead a stabilized life.

3. ON DEVELOPING SOUTH KOREAN NATIONAL INDUSTRY AND CARRYING OUT LARGE-SCALE HOUSING CONSTRUCTION

Industry is the leading branch of the national economy. The independence, prosperity and development of the country are impossible without the foundation of the national industry.

The South Korean industry, separated from the heavy industrial centres of North Korea after liberation, has been completely subjugated to the U.S. monopoly capital and devastated beyond description.

Today, South Korea is barely maintaining a few mines extracting strategic underground resources and a few light industrial branches which produce military supplies by relying on U.S. surplus raw materials.

No more than one third of the total required amount of electricity is turned out and the bulk of structural steel, timber, cement and other important materials and the total amount of bituminous coal, raw cotton, rayon, caustic soda and so on are imported. Last year, the per capita output of South Korean industry was no more than one-fifth that of North Korea in coal, one-tenth in electricity, one-one hundred twentieth in pig iron, one-twentyfifth in steel, one-eleventh in cement and one-eighteenth in lumber.

Owing to the shortage of raw materials and funds and the influx of foreign goods, the national industry is in a state of suffocation and the foundation of the national economy is crumbling.

Middle and small enterprisers are going bankrupt one after another and unemployment is steadily growing. Workers are forced to toil 10-18 hours a day on starvation wages, the lowest of all times.

Unless the serious crisis confronting the South Korean industry is overcome and industry is rapidly rehabilitated and developed, the independent development of the national economy

cannot be promoted nor can the people's living be stabilized in the slightest degree.

1) The chronic mass unemployment should be removed within the coming two or three years by ensuring the full-scale operation of the existing factories and mines and constructing many new industrial enterprises.

At present no small number of South Korean factories and mines have not yet been properly restored, and 60 per cent of all the factories and 80 per cent of the mines have suspended or curtailed operation.

Measures should be immediately taken to restore the devastated factories and mines and ensure the maximum utilization of all the production establishments.

The construction of factories and mills which has been suspended without pronounced reason after the drafting of the "plan" should be pushed ahead and many new, modern large-scale factories be built.

It is necessary to build medium- and small-scale light industrial factories everywhere on an extensive scale, along with the construction of large-scale factories.

Medium- and small-scale local industry is most advantageous in rapidly setting up many factories with small investments and drawing in enormous labour in the shortest period of time. This is expressly proved by the experiences of the northern part where the labour of over 100,000 dependent family members was drawn into production at one sweep through the construction of five or six local factories on an average in each county in a matter of a few months.

If all the suspended factories and mines in South Korea are put into operation, the construction of medium- and small-sized factories along with large ones is undertaken in a big way and big-scale nature-remaking projects of land reclamation, irrigation, afforestation and water conservancy work as well as city, harbour, railway and road construction are launched in all places, the reported two million unemployed and four million semi-unemployed will be eliminated in the main.

While carrying out energetically the above-mentioned measures for wiping out unemployment, state subsidies should be issued for the unemployed languishing on the verge of starvation so as to ensure their livelihood to the minimum extent.

Such tendency toward leaving uncared the unemployed who are wandering about in search of jobs, and forcing the employed labourers to do astonishingly long hours of labour should be done away with and a universal eight-hour workday system be enforced.

We are always ready to receive any South Korean unemployed who want to come to work in the northern part and ensure them jobs and a stabilized living.

The whole world knows that more than fifty thousand compatriots who had long led a hard life in Japan have already returned to their longed-for fatherland and are leading a worthy, hope-filled life in towns and villages of the northern part. While continuing to make efforts to materialize the desire to return home of the compatriots still in Japan, we are fully ready to receive warmly the South Korean unemployed at our factories, mills, mines and all other work places.

For the flourish of the nation and for the prosperity and development of the fatherland man is what we need in limitless numbers. There is nothing more valuable than labour in the world. This is graphically shown by the reality of the northern part where labour is bringing the bright future nearer, performing all miracles.

For the upsurge of the national economy and efflorescence of culture in South Korea "overpopulation" cannot come to question; but more work hands are needed; and birth control should not be advocated but population increase encouraged.

An immediate end should be put to the treacherous emigration plot to force the jobless people to go across the ocean to utterly strange lands, leaving their beloved fatherland where there are mountains of work to be done and where their ancestors lie buried. And the road should be opened for all the people to take part in creative labour for the prosperity of the country and their own happiness.

2) The serious shortage of raw materials and funds and marketing difficulties the South Korean national industry is undergoing should be settled immediately.

South Korea, devoid of key industrial branches, is in straits: the shortage of raw material, supplies and power causes the suspension of production and the lack of equipment makes it impossible to build factories and mills.

For tiding over such difficulties, it is necessary in South Korea to gradually build a heavy industrial base and establish new industrial branches for independently developing and utilizing the domestic resources. State funds should be concentrically invested in fuel-power industry, metal, chemical and building materials and machine-building industries and it is desirable to operate many state-run factories in such fields.

At the same time, a system should be instituted so that the state will control in a fair way the supply of important machines and materials and special attention should be directed to ensuring raw materials and supplies for medium and small enterprises.

In order to surmount financial difficulties facing the national industry, a state industrial bank should be set up and operated in the interest of medium and small enterprises and long-term loans provided for medium and small enterprisers at a low rate of interest.

In particular, sufficient funds should be allocated for constructing medium- and small-scale local light industrial factories and a state subsidy system be widely enforced for the promotion of the national industry.

The root cause of marketing difficulties in South Korea lies in the poverty of the masses of the people. If the dead stockpiling of the meagre output of commodities is to be checked, there is no other way but to enhance the purchasing power of the working masses.

Wages of workers should be immediately raised at least to the level of minimum living expenses and an end be put to the practice of keeping wages in arrears. All kinds of burdens

shouldered by the workers and the rest of the population must be markedly lightened. The predatory U.S. price system should be done away with, prices of commodities in South Korea stabilized and the people be made to buy more goods with the same income.

The infiltration of foreign commodities should be resolutely checked while all the above measures should be implemented for enlarging the dimension of the domestic markets.

Market for home made industrial goods in South Korea is blocked by the flooding influx of the surplus U.S. commodities and the Japanese goods.

No wonder that the voice of national conscience for boycotting commodities from across the ocean and protecting domestic products is ringing today higher and higher among the broad masses of youths, students, intellectuals and other citizens in South Korea.

The use of domestic goods should be actively encouraged while the import of foreign goods be brought under strict control. High tariffs should be imposed on imported goods so as to fully protect the national industry.

3) Rational division of labour should be organized between the North and South Korean industries in order to create favorable conditions for their future unified development by linking them organically.

Appropriate division of labour and close relations can be established between the South Korean mining industry and the North Korean metallurgical industry, between the South Korean salt industry and the chemical industry of North Korea and between North and South Korean machine-building industries.

Through such division of labour we can offer our structural steel and non-ferrous metals in exchange for ores of South Korea or process ores on commission for South Korea. And we can also supply caustic soda and vinyl chloride in exchange for salt. We can produce for South Korea large-sized machines, precision machines and various other machines and equipment, which can-

not be produced in South Korea, and receive from South Korea medium- and small-sized machines and accessories.

4) Housing construction should be undertaken on a wide scale to mitigate the acute housing shortage of the South Korean inhabitants.

The housing condition in South Korea today is really appalling. Even according to preliminary data, more than one million households are in need of houses, and in Seoul and other cities only dugout hovels, tent-houses, and board houses are increasing.

The demand of the South Korean people for houses is urgent.

Effective solution should be found to the housing problem, instead of only issuing eviction orders for board houses and driving the paupers out into the street without taking any measures at all.

In the northern part modern dwelling houses with a total floor space of more than 22 million square metres were built in a matter of six years after the war, and all the factory and office workers live in state-owned houses at a low rent less than one per cent of their monetary wages.

It is advisable that in South Korea also housing construction should be pushed forward actively through the investment of a large amount of state fund. The houses built by the state will be managed as state-owned houses and shall be offered at a low rent preferentially to those living in board houses and in the collective settlements and other working people without houses. At the same time, inhabitants should be provided with building lots, and sufficient fund and materials so that they can build many houses on their own.

Especially, in view of frequent fire destroying a large number of dwelling houses every year, thorough social measures should be adopted for preventing fire in parallel with the enforcement of state housing insurance to protect inhabitants from unexpected disaster.

4. ON REALIZING ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND TRADE BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH

All the above measures for the rehabilitation and development of the South Korean national economy can be successfully materialized only through economic co-operation between North and South Korea.

The resources needed for developing the national economy and improving the people's living are concentrated in the northern part of our country. Almost all the iron ore and coal and most of gold and silver ores, lead ore and graphite lie buried in the northern part and 86 per cent of the hydropower resources and over 80 per cent of the forest resources are in the northern part.

In the northern part of our country, a firm foundation of the national industry has been laid with machine-building industry as its core. Thanks to the implementation of the economic policy of the Korean Workers' Party on giving priority to the growth of heavy industry, simultaneously developing light industry and agriculture, the northern part has been turned from a backward agrarian country into an advanced industrial-agricultural country only in a few years after the war. We are already ahead of Japan in the per capita output of a number of major industrial products and are continuously racing ahead at the speed of Chullima (winged horse), inspired by the new vista of the Seven-Year Plan.

Because we have laid a foundation for industrialization, we can erect any factory of big size and create new domains at any time once we decide to do so, and we are now able to build in a brief period of time a paradise for our people.

But it is not only for the North Korean people to eat well, dress well and live well that we have constructed the foundation of socialism in the northern part. With their life becoming happier and richer as days go by, the people in the North have displayed higher creative zeal in production and construction to relieve the compatriots in the South from the untold hardships of

living, and they have anxiously awaited the day when the fruits of their labour will be shared with the brothers and sisters in the southern part. It is not only a natural but very urgent demand to use for the rehabilitation of the South Korean economy and the stabilization of the living of the compatriots in the South the electricity, coal, structural iron, timber and cement as well as machines and equipment of all types produced abundantly by the working people in the North.

Moreover, we have a great number of national technical cadres in all branches of the national economy who have expert knowledge and skill, and we have accumulated rich experiences in the building of a new society.

Nothing will remain out of the reach of our strength, if all the scientists, technicians and experts of North and South Korea pool their wisdom and talent and cooperate with each other.

In the northern part the national economy is developing in a planned way on the basis of the social ownership of the means of production. Therefore, if only economic exchange is realized between the North and the South, we can extend our greatest possible support to the reconstruction and development of the South Korean economy at any moment by regulating the economic development of the northern part in a planned way.

1) For the rehabilitation of the bankrupt South Korean national economy and the stabilization and improvement of people's living through the mobilization of all material, technical and financial resources relying on the powerful economic foundation in the northern part, we propose to cooperate in the following manner:

If the South Korean authorities consider it too heavy financial burden for them to remedy the consequences of the "agrarian reform" and liquidate the debts of the peasants and fishermen, our side can bear a part, or the total of the necessary fund.

We will supply a sufficient number of bulldozers, excavators and other machines and equipment required for reclamation projects, cement, structural iron, timber and all other materials

for irrigation projects, afforestation and water conservancy work, and tractors, lorries and all farm machines for the mechanization of farming.

To cover the shortage of draught animals felt by the South Korean poor peasants we can deliver annually 40,000-50,000 draught animals freed from work with the completion of rural mechanization in the northern part.

We can supply by yearly installments in the coming seven years 700 engine boats including 3,500 ton processing mother-boats and 400-500 ton iron-clad medium-size ships. With these, the fish catch in South Korea will roughly be doubled compared with the present.

We can also supply hot-bulb engines and diesel engines necessary for the motorization of South Korean fishing boats as well as materials for the reconstruction of fishing ports.

We can construct with our equipment and technique the following factories urgently needed for the rehabilitation of the bankrupt South Korean national economy:

Item of construction	Capacity	Period (Year)	
1. Ferrous metallurgical combinat	Iron:	1962-1964	
	200,000 tons		
	Steel:		
	200,000 tons		
2. Hydropower stations	Rolled goods:	1962-1965	
	150,000 tons		
	Choongjoo		150,000 kw
	Andong		30,000 kw
	Ryechun		20,000 kw
Chinjoo	10,000 kw	1962-1965	
3. Cement factory	400,000 tons	1962-1963	
4. Machine tool plant	1,000 machine	1963-1964	
	tools		

5. Farm machine factory	5,000 tons	1962-1963
6. Mining machine factory	5,000 tons	1962-1963
7. Fertilizer factory	200,000 tons	1962-1964
8. Sheet glass factory	3 million sq. m.	1962-1963
9. Artificial fibre factory	10,000 tons	1962-1963

Taking into consideration both the future development of the industry in the North and the prospect of the rehabilitation of the South Korean national economy, we can supply materials and equipment urgently required by South Korea as follows each year:

Item	Unit	First stage (1961-62)	Second stage (1963-66)	Third stage (1967-)
Electricity	1,000 kw	100- 150	200- 300	400
Coal	1,000 tons	1,000-1,500	2,000-3,000	5,000
Pig iron	"	50- 100	150	200
Rolled structural steel	"	50- 100	200	300
Cement	"	500	800	1,200
Timber	1,000 cu. m.	500	700	1,000
Sheet glass	1,000 sq. m.	1,000	1,500	2,000
Machine tool	1,000 tons /number	2/1,000	3/1,500	4/2,000
Vinalon	ton	—	6,000	10,000
Artificial fibre	"	8,000	10,000	15,000
Synthetic resin	"	2,000	6,000	10,000
Caustic soda	"	5,000	10,000	20,000

When electricity is supplied from the North, the requirements of industries for power will of course be satisfied, and if only the transmission and transformer setups are expanded, every house in towns and villages can be lit up with electricity. Besides, the requirements for fuel, metals, building materials, chemicals, machinery and equipment and so forth will be met and the machine-building industry with modern machine tools as a main basis will be newly established in South Korea, too.

In addition, we will build multi-storied apartments for 100,000 households within the next few years, and provide them free of rent to the most needy people in the towns of South Korea.

The economic aid from North Korea will give life to the dreary factories and mining towns of South Korea, make irrigation water flow over the length and breadth of its dried-up fields, and revive our national economy quickly into an animated organism.

2) The economic exchange and mutual cooperation between North and South Korea can be realized only through free trade between the North and South.

We propose to the South Korean authorities that with a view to ensuring a lively trade of goods between North and South Korea, close commercial ties be established by setting up a joint chamber of commerce consisting of representatives of the business circles of both sides.

Free trade of all descriptions of goods produced in the North and South should be immediately opened by way of setting up a sample fair each in Pyongyang and in Seoul, and establishing joint markets in Kaesong, Moonsan, Pyonggang, Chulwon and other major towns along the demarcation line, as well as in the provincial capitals throughout North and South Korea.

In view of the U.S. imperialists monopolizing the South Korean foreign trade and curbing its independent development, we should organize a joint foreign trade corporation co-financed by North and South Korean firms, which will enable us to explore through joint efforts markets abroad for home made goods

and, at the same time, to make joint purchases of raw rubber, crude oil, coking coal, and other important materials which cannot be obtained or are supplied short in our country.

When realized, the trade between the North and the South and their joint foreign trade will help towards tearing down, by degrees, the economic barriers between the two parts of Korea, as well as raising our nation's position higher in international life.

3) For ensuring smooth economic exchange, the ties of the North and the South should be restored at once in the fields of transport and communications.

Steps should be taken for ensuring through freight transportation across the country; through passenger train services should be opened between Shinuijoo and Pusan and between Seoul and Wonsan for allowing people free travel.

The ports of Nampo, Chungjin, Heungnam, Inchon, Mokpo, and Pusan should be opened to each other for marine transportation between the North and the South.

In South Korea traffic accidents occur frequently because of defects in the transportation facilities; between January and September of this year alone, traffic accidents caused over 7,500 casualties.

In order to help mitigate the traffic difficulty of South Korea, which is even dubbed a traffic hell, we will build an automobile repair shop in Seoul by 1962, and supply annually 1,000 rolling stock.

As a measure to ensure telegraphic communications and telephone service between the North and the South, a direct circuit should be opened between Pyongyang and Seoul and steps for exchanging mails should also be taken quickly.

When the arteries and nerve system of the fatherland, which have ceased to work between the North and the South for fifteen years, start working again, the kindred affection of our nation, which could never be broken in spite of our people living separated in the North and the South, will begin pulsating powerfully.

5. ON REALIZING INTERCOURSE AND CO-OPERATION IN THE FIELDS OF SCIENCE, CULTURE, EDUCATION AND PUBLIC HEALTH

The Korean people are a talented and resourceful nation who have created a brilliant culture through their long history of thousands of years and who valiantly drove out the enemies and defended the honour of the country whenever attacked by foreign invaders.

It is really deplorable that the Korean people, the posterity of such sagacious forefathers, are today separated in the North and the South and are unable to promote their science and technique, and culture in a unified way.

Scientists, cultural workers and artists in the northern part are ensured all necessary conditions for their research and creative activities and are devoting all their energies and enthusiasm to the progress of science and technology and to the efflorescence of the national culture. The successes made by the scientists and technicians in their research work which is closely linked with production are making great contributions to the development of the national economy, while the successes scored by men of culture and arts in their creative work have made the world hail our arts the "golden arts."

But, in South Korea, talented scientists and technicians and men of culture and arts are without research institutes or stages. It is hard for them even to find a means of livelihood, let alone displaying their wisdom and talent. It is only natural that neither progress of science and technology nor advancement of the national culture can be expected in such a place.

We consider that in this field, too, cooperation between the North and the South is urgently necessary for shoring up the South Korean science, technology and culture that are in stagnation.

1) All the South Korean scientists and technicians who are out of jobs should be drawn into scientific research and technical guidance, and the North and the South should run joint scientific

research organs to make contributions to the development of the national economy.

The more talented scientists and technicians, the better for our country in surmounting the century-old backwardness in a short space of time and reaching the level of advanced countries of the world. Now in North Korea alone about 240,000 more scientists and technicians are required to develop the national economy. For making effective use of science and technology in the rehabilitation and development of its national economy, South Korea will require at least hundreds of thousands of intellectuals engaged in that field.

However, even the little over 40,000 scientists and technicians in the southern part are mostly jobless today. Every year as many as 80 per cent of the college graduates cannot get jobs and 70 per cent of the youth who have finished their courses abroad refuse to return home.

This situation, in which capable persons with the scientific knowledge and skill are forsaken, must not continue any longer. It is, therefore, quite necessary to enlist scientists and technicians broadly in production, and at the same time, establish state research institutes and laboratories so as to press ahead with extensive scientific research in all domains.

Funds and materials and equipment necessary for scientific research as well as the living of scientists should be fully ensured by the state.

We propose to set up and run joint research institutes in order that urgent tasks arising in the course of development of the national economy may be solved through the collective efforts of scientists and technicians of North and South Korea.

In our country survey of natural conditions and resources and their research are very important.

Scientists of the North and the South should jointly conduct geological survey and prospecting, study of soil, survey of saline land as well as of power resources of the whole country.

There are many problems that should be solved through cooperation between scientists of the North and the South in de-

veloping the chemical industry by relying on the rich raw material resources at home and in mechanizing and automating production, too.

In the fields of agronomy, veterinary and zootechny, medicine and other sciences, too, urgent research problems should be solved with common efforts, which will contribute to the development of the national economy and the enhancement of the people's well-being.

It will be advisable for the North and the South to run a publishing organ jointly in order to publicize successes gained in various scientific researches, jointly translate and publish priceless classics of our nation and broadly report matters pertaining to economic and cultural exchange between the North and the South.

2) Intercourse and cooperation should be effected between the North and the South in the sphere of culture and arts.

In South Korea today the heritage of national culture is wantonly trampled underfoot and the decadent Yankee "culture" is making inroad. Priceless cultural treasures are flowing out into foreign countries and the protection of historical relics and remains are utterly neglected.

We should restore the lofty national tradition in the cultural life of the people, and culture and arts should be brought into brilliant efflorescence in South Korea, too.

Modern theatres, cinema houses, art galleries, and a large movie studio should be built in various parts of South Korea and men of culture and arts should be sufficiently provided by the state with necessary material conditions for their free creative activities and stabilized living.

The infiltration of the degenerated Yankee "culture" which is very harmful to the cultural inheritance and beautiful manners and customs of our nation should be firmly rejected and the flood of foreign films which hinders the development of South Korean cinematography be prevented.

It is desirable that films are exchanged between the North

and South and film workers of the North and the South produce films jointly.

Meanwhile, efforts should be made to exchange art troupes and athletic teams and have them participate jointly in international art and athletic festivals.

The North and the South should jointly excavate relics and remains and should take measures for repairing and preserving the devastated cultural relics and remains which can be classed as national treasure such as the South Gate, Kyungbok Palace, Changduk Palace, Bookook Temple, Sukkoolam (grotto), Chum-sungdai (observatory).

3) Education of the younger generation and training of national cadres in South Korea have to be decisively improved, and the North and the South should cooperate with each other in this sphere, too.

In South Korea, hundreds of thousands of children of school age are unable to go to school because of excessive school impositions, and many youths and students are paying their way through school by selling their blood. Schools are unable to accommodate even enrolled students and pupils due to the shortage of classrooms.

This situation forms a marked contrast to North Korea where the universal and compulsory middle school education is in force. Today, in the northern part, preparations are in full swing for the enforcement of nine-year compulsory education including technical education.

All students are receiving education free of charge and the students of secondary specialized schools and higher educational institutes are provided with state stipends.

In South Korea, too, a compulsory education system should be enforced at state expense and, at least, the universal compulsory primary education system be enforced promptly and practically.

School construction should be undertaken in a big way to cover the shortage of classrooms and teaching and experimental facilities should be fully furnished and various burdens of stu-

dents such as entrance fees, equipment fees and "parents association fees" should be removed by strictly prohibiting the commercialization of schools.

The state stipend system for the students of high schools and institutions of higher learning should be widely enforced for the purpose of ensuring the study and life of the self-supporting students.

At the same time, it is advisable to permit free movement of students and post-graduate students between the North and the South for study. We are ready to receive every year South Korean youths into North Korea and render them all conveniences to study advanced science and technique to their hearts' content at various higher educational institutions and post-graduate courses.

We are ready to take over South Korean waifs and orphans numbering 500,000 under a yearly plan and bring them up entirely on our own responsibility.

4) The public health workers in the North and the South should establish close contact and cooperate with each other to protect the people from diseases and promote their health.

In the northern part, there are hospitals or clinics not only in all cities and towns but even in each ri (the lowest administrative unit) and the working people are entitled to free medical treatment whenever they fall ill.

On the contrary, in South Korea the health condition of the people has been extremely deteriorated with the worsening of their living and, what is more, various epidemics and chronic diseases are rife due to the lack of public health measures.

There are over 500 myun without doctors, not to mention ri and dong, and as medical services there are done solely for profit, the absolute majority of the populace cannot receive treatment when they are ill.

In view of this situation, construction of hospitals should be vigorously stepped up to eliminate the doctorless myun speedily and the state medical insurance system under which the state bears part of medical fees for the inhabitants should be introduced

extensively by expanding on a big scale the network of state hospitals.

While taking drastic preventive measures against distomiasis, leprosy, tuberculosis, Japanese encephalitis and other contagious and infectious diseases, free medical service should be given to the infectious cases.

Measures should be taken for the regular exchange of medicaments and information and for the joint prevention of infectious diseases by establishing a permanent liaison organ of the North and South Korean anti-epidemic workers.

* * *

Such are our recommendations on effecting the North-South interchange and cooperation and promoting the independent development of the South Korean economy through a confederative organization or economic commission of North-South Korea.

The realization of this pressing national aspiration will open up a broad vista for the development of our national economy and a new phase in the history of our nation.

In the northern part of the country a firm material foundation for the prosperity of the nation and the flourish and development of the fatherland has been laid, and the Korean people are solidly united with the burning desire for freedom, independence and unification.

If we rely on this foundation and this united force, we will certainly be able to tide over our national disaster and sufferings, however great these may be, and save our compatriots in the South from their present condition, however difficult it may be.

We have proposed not only once the mutual economic exchange between the North and the South for relieving our South Korean compatriots from their tragic plight. However, the South Korean authorities have rejected our compatriotic proposals each time, slandering and vilifying them as "propaganda."

While developing in a planned way the economy in the northern part ever since liberation up to now, we have never

forgotten even a moment the deteriorating South Korean national economy and the people's hardships.

This proposal of ours for realizing economic exchange and cooperation between North and South Korea represents a realistic programme accurately calculated on the basis of the achievements we have already attained and the magnificent prospect of the forthcoming Seven-Year Plan.

How can one describe as "propaganda" our proposal which is backed by a firm material guarantee, proceeds from irrepresible compatriotic love and is aimed at relieving the people in the southern part?

Those who dare do so are unpardonable traitors who, currying favour with their American masters, want to sell off the destiny of the country and nation.

Anyone who loves the country and is concerned about the future of the nation cannot oppose this proposal.

Entire workers, peasants, youth, students, scientists, men of culture, industrialists, merchants, and all conscientious and sober-minded persons of North and South Korea should come out as one for the realization of the reasonable and urgent proposal.

Addressing these recommendations on realizing economic and cultural exchange and cooperation between North and South Korea and promoting the independent development of the national economy in South Korea, the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea anxiously awaits a prompt and affirmative reply from the South Korean authorities and believes that the entire South Korean people, political parties and social organizations will unanimously support them.

**The Supreme People's Assembly of
the Democratic People's Republic
of Korea**

November 22, 1960
Pyongyang

**SPEECH BY KIM IL, FIRST VICE-PREMIER, AT THE
PYONGYANG CITY MASS RALLY DENOUNCING THE
U.S. IMPERIALIST AGGRESSORS WHO ARE
STRENGTHENING MILITARY FASCIST
DICTATORSHIP IN SOUTH KOREA**

May 20, 1961

Dear Comrades!
Citizens of Pyongyang!
Entire people of North and South Korea!

On the sixteenth of this month, fascist military coup was staged in South Korea by some reactionary figures in the South Korean army under the direct manipulation of the U.S. imperialists, and the din has been continuing for several days.

Emergency martial law has been proclaimed throughout South Korea. No assembly or demonstration is allowed, not to speak of the activities of political parties and social organizations, and the press is subjected to strict censorship.

Chang Do Yung and other ultra-fascists, raising a noisy "pro-American, anti-communist" outcry, are threatening and blackmailing the patriotic forces and people. They have started a wholesale arrest. They are raiding and ruthlessly suppressing press organs and they arrested and imprisoned more than 1,000 patriotic personages and progressives in South Korea in only two days. Thus they are driving South Korea into a boiling pot of high-handed military-terror rule.

This is a premeditated, malicious, organized plot of the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

The U.S. imperialist aggressors are openly manifesting their true colours as the chief organizer of the fascist military coup alleging that the military coup is a "fait accompli" and so on.

The U.S. imperialist aggressors and the traitorous fascist elements in collusion with them are ruthlessly suppressing the South Korean people while plotting viciously to deceive and appease them.

However, the South Korean people are sneering at the folly of the U.S. imperialists and their mean servitors and are following the situation with keen attention. The military coup is connected with the total bankruptcy of the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists in South Korea and it was the last kick of the U.S. imperialists to prolong even a little longer their colonial rule which can no longer be maintained.

As their aggressive policy in South Korea has been thoroughly exposed and it has become difficult for them to maintain their colonial rule due to the ever intensifying struggle of the South Korean people, the U.S. imperialists are plotting to extricate themselves from the blind alley through high-handed military terrorism.

In the past period, the U.S. imperialists framed up the Syngman Rhee puppet regime at the point of the bayonet, covered South Korea with the network of police and jails, suppressed and disbanded a large number of patriotic political parties and social organizations and stifled the democratic rights and freedom of the people.

They massacred numerous patriots and people, drenching the land of South Korea with the blood of our compatriots.

However, no suppression could bring the South Korean people to their knees or save the U.S. imperialist colonial rule from bankruptcy.

The mass uprising of the South Korean people in April last year dealt a serious blow to the U.S. imperialists and overthrew the Syngman Rhee clique, the executor of the heinous terror rule.

Alarmed over such situation, the U.S. imperialists seated the Chang Myun clique in the puppet regime, usurping the price of the blood shed by the South Korean people.

The Chang Myun clique, under the manipulation of the U.S. imperialists, tried to deceive the masses, palavering about the

“building of a welfare society,” “economy first policy,” etc., but, in actuality, they closely followed Syngman Rhee’s policy.

Due to the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists and their plunder, today the South Korean economy has been undescribably ruined and the difficulty of living of the people has reached the extreme.

The South Korean national industry has gone totally bankrupt while the rural economy has been devastated extremely. Millions of the unemployed are roaming about the streets and millions of peasants are languishing in destitution of food. Mass famine is now sweeping the whole of South Korea. Nearly one million people in Seoul, half of its population, are going hungry, and inhabitants of towns and most of the villages of South Korea are now unable to subsist even on grass roots and tree bark.

The South Korean people have completely lost the means of living and the political, economic and social chaos has become very acute.

Through their sixteen years’ experiences the South Korean people have come to realize keenly that there is no other way out than to do away with the U.S. imperialist colonial rule in South Korea and materialize the peaceful unification of the country.

Thus the South Korean people, having reached the limit of endurance, rose up in the staunch struggle against the U.S. imperialists and Chang Myun clique under the slogan “Unification is the only way out.”

Particularly, the programme for peaceful unification advanced by Comrade Kim Il Sung at the celebration meeting of the fifteenth anniversary of the August 15 liberation and the decisions of the Eighth Session of the Second Supreme People’s Assembly concretizing the programme more clearly indicated the road the South Korean people are to follow and immensely encouraged their struggle.

Voices demanding the independent accomplishment of the peaceful unification of the country by pushing the U.S. imperialists out of South Korea and calling for negotiation and intercourse between the North and South for its realization power-

fully rose recently and the mass struggle mounted higher than ever.

Students of Seoul University and 18 other universities in South Korea came out in demand of the negotiation and intercourse of North and South Korean students, and broad public circles of South Korea rose up in response to this.

The general sentiment of the South Korean people leaned toward the self-independent peaceful unification and the spearhead of their struggle was directed sharply against the U.S. imperialists, the prime mover who imposed all misfortunes upon South Korea.

While opening a new phase for peaceful unification, the surging mass struggle changed the situation rapidly and the U.S. imperialist colonial rule was faced with total collapse.

This threw the U.S. imperialist aggressors into utter panic. This being the case, the heinous U.S. imperialists, in order to prolong their rule even a day longer, went so far as to resort to the reckless wiles of suppressing the struggle of the masses at the point of the bayonet by staging the military coup, instigating the ultra-fascist elements in the South Korean military circles.

Driven to despair, the U.S. imperialists overthrew the Chang Myun "government," which they themselves framed up and played it up as the "showcase of democracy," and have gone over to direct military terrorism. This once again brought to light the fact that the U.S. imperialists are the most vicious and crafty creatures who stop at nothing to maintain their colonial rule. The military coup is a reflection of the overall bankruptcy of the U.S. imperialist aggressive policy in South Korea and the direct organizer of the coup is U.S. imperialism.

The military coup in South Korea is one of the desperate provocations of the U.S. imperialists caused by the headlong bankruptcy of their aggressive policy in every part of the world, Asia in particular.

The armed invasion of the U.S. imperialists against Cuba ended in a shameful defeat and their aggressive policy against

Laos also is going bankrupt. In South Vietnam too, the U.S. imperialists' manoeuvres are being dealt repeated blows.

Irritated by the continued bankruptcy of their aggressive policy, the U.S. imperialists are resorting to desperate machinations. The military coup in South Korea is one of them.

This proves that the position of the U.S. imperialists is very precarious and they are thrown into complete discomfiture due to their serious defeat.

Dear citizens!

Entire North and South Korean people!

What are the U.S. imperialists plotting in South Korea after engineering the coup?

As all facts prove, they are plotting to strengthen the fascist terror regime in South Korea with armed force.

Thus they pursue the sinister aim of frustrating the cause of independent peaceful unification by the Koreans themselves and quelling the patriotic struggle of the popular masses.

Through the proclamation of the so-called "military revolutionary committee" they have rigged up, the U.S. imperialists openly declare that "anti-communism will be made the first state policy" and that the "anti-communist setup will be strengthened."

It was under the instigation of the U.S. imperialists that the Syngman Rhee clique, calling for "combating communism," ruined the South Korean economy and plunged the people into a horrible living hell.

It was under the manipulation of the U.S. imperialists that the Chang Myun clique, raving about "combating communism," drove the people deeper into poverty, famine and non-rights.

The further strengthening of the "anti-communist setup" is meant to suppress, exploit and plunder the people more ruthlessly than in the days of Syngman Rhee and Chang Myun.

The slogan of "combating communism" is the trite shield the imperialists employ when invading other countries and enslaving their peoples.

This is because the communists are the most staunch champions of their country's independence and their national interests,

and because the policy of the communists ensures genuine national independence and happy life for the people.

It was the Korean communists that fought self-sacrificingly to the last for the independence of the fatherland and national liberation in the grim days under the Japanese imperialist rule.

Under the leadership of the Korean communists, in the northern part of the Republic a firm foundation of the national economy has been built and the people are enjoying a free, happy life.

Everybody can choose his job according to his ability and wish; all youth and students receive education free of charge; and all working people are given free medical service.

There is not a single unemployed or beggar in the northern part of the Republic.

The South Korean people see clearly for themselves the different pictures of North and South Korea and know well where is the way out.

With the "anti-communist" slogan which became bankrupt long ago, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys can no longer deceive and repress the South Korean people who have had their fill of the American-style "democracy" and "freedom" which have imposed non-rights and hunger upon them.

At a time when the South Korean people are unanimously demanding peaceful unification by the Koreans themselves, the U.S. imperialists and their faithful henchmen are calling for "building up force for a showdown with communism" before unification, and have gone so far as to rave about "destruction of communism to unify the country."

This is the rehash of the overthrown Syngman Rhee's "march north for unification," and the repetition of Chang Myun's delirious talk that "division is preferable to unification."

Having openly declared they would repress and persecute those who demand peaceful unification and North-South negotiations, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have started cruel fascist terrorism of arresting right and left and jailing those who are not to their liking on the pretext of being leftists.

Those who dare to come out against the aspirations of the

Korean people for the country's peaceful unification are behaving as recklessly as a man who jumps into the fire carrying a bundle of fagots. They are bound to be swept away by the powerful tide of the masses of the people, and fall into ruin.

With the aim of hoodwinking the people, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are making an absurd attempt to describe the military coup in South Korea as a sort of "revolution" and are raising a hue and cry urging people to come out for the implementation of the "revolutionary tasks," but in vain.

If it were a revolution, an end must be put to the oppression of the nation by the U.S. imperialist aggressors, which is a matter of prime importance in South Korea. The revolutionary task of first and foremost importance for the South Korean people is to make the U.S. imperialist aggressors pull out and win national liberation.

What revolution are they talking about, while seeking to reinforce the U.S. imperialists' colonial rule over South Korea?

If it is revolution, it must above all do away with the pro-American and pro-Japanese elements, comprador capitalists, feudal landlords and reactionary bureaucrats who have allied themselves with the U.S. imperialist aggressive forces, free the South Korean people from the colonial, feudal fetters and ensure them democratic freedom and rights.

A democratic government participated in by the representatives of broad sections of the population and speaking for the people's interests must be set up; and social reforms must be enforced to give land to tillers, nationalize the factories and enterprises owned by the U.S. imperialists and comprador capitalists, protect and develop the national industry and put into effect a democratic educational system.

However, the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary circles who staged the military coup have not only taken over the Syngman Rhee and Chang Myun regime and become more reactionary, but also are suppressing patriotic personages and people. Worse still, the ultra-fascists who shrank back after the overthrow of Syngman Rhee have now come out arrogantly on-

to the scene and the reactionary bureaucrats are still hanging about in swarms.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys make empty promises to "sweep away corruption" and "resolve the difficulty of the people's living," with the aim of deceiving the people.

But so long as the U.S. imperialists' colonial rule and the reactionary government remain intact, it is impossible to end the corruption. In the present situation of South Korea where economy has hit the bottom of bankruptcy due to the U.S. imperialists' plunder, the difficulty of people's living can by no means be resolved, no matter who comes to power.

The actual condition of South Korea today eloquently bespeaks what results have been brought about by the U.S. imperialists' "aid" over a period of 16 years.

Should they draw the Japanese militarists into South Korea, as the Chang Myun clique had schemed under the instigation of the U.S. imperialists, the devastated South Korean economy will be shackled in two-fold bondage by U.S. and Japanese imperialists, and the South Korean people will be subjected to more cruel plunder.

As is clear to all the sober-minded people, the only way of rehabilitating the South Korean economy and saving the South Korean people from their dire plight lies in economic exchanges between the North and the South and in the path of independent development by relying on the powerful economy of the North.

It is no accident that the South Korean people should mock at and reject the "revolution" much advertised now by the U.S. imperialists and their bootlickers.

The South Korean people, together with their fellow countrymen in the North, should continue fighting unyieldingly for the achievement of the true revolutionary tasks of repulsing U.S. imperialist aggression, accomplishing national liberation, and casting off the colonial, feudal yoke to enjoy life in a democratic, united, independent state.

The U.S. imperialists and their servitors have made a grave mistake in their calculation. With such makeshift as the foolish military coup, they can not prop up any longer the colonial re-

gime which is shaking to its foundation, nor can they cow into submission South Korean people who have risen up.

An attempt of this sort will not help them out of the political crisis which is at its height in South Korea, but will aggravate it to the extreme.

At present the U.S. imperialists and their minions are senselessly dancing on the edge of a volcano crater.

Well aware of what road they have to follow and having learned through their own experiences that when fighting in a body they can smash any type of bulwark of imperialist reactionaries, the South Korean people, together with their brothers in the North, will certainly deal a still greater blow at the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. The American imperialists are doomed to defeat in the long run.

The military coup in South Korea will not strengthen the U.S. imperialists' position at all. On the contrary, it will serve to drive them into a crisis past salvation.

The developments in South Korea are indicative of the fact that in the struggle between the popular forces standing for self-independent peaceful unification and the imperialist reactionary forces which are against it, the former have decisively got the upper hand of the latter, and that the reactionary forces who are on their last legs are making their deathbed struggle.

This goes to prove that the time is maturing duly for the country's peaceful unification without foreign interference, that the day of peaceful unification is drawing nearer.

The military terrorism of the U.S. imperialists will not last long; the people whose strength has increased tenfold and even one hundredfold, will plunge the enemy into utter destruction once and for all.

The Korean people struggling for the peaceful unification of the country have a hopeful future before them. The day of our victory is coming nearer.

The reactionary elements belonging to the upper crust of the South Korean army who are now acting thoughtlessly under the manipulation of the U.S. imperialists must remember that their fate will be no better than that of Syngman Rhee.

The Korean people, under no circumstances, will tolerate the intrigues of any sort of the U.S. imperialists, and those who committed the crime of treachery to the nation in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists will not be able to escape the stern judgement of the people in the near future.

If they are not desirous of ruining themselves as traitors, it would be wise for them to behave with discretion even from now.

If they do not want to see themselves ruined as despicable servants of the U.S. imperialist aggressors who throw away even their faithful servants of yesterday like worn-out shoes when they become useless, they should rebuff the manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and come over to the side of the people, stopping at once their repression of the patriotic personalities and people who are calling for peaceful unification.

The only road to life lies in their refusal to commit treason.

Dear citizens!

Entire people of North and South Korea!

The situation created in South Korea today requires that the struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their ally, the reactionary forces, must be further intensified by uniting more firmly the strength of all the people.

The entire people at this grave juncture must wage a nationwide struggle to foil the sinister schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their faithful servants.

Workers, peasants, youth and students, soldiers, and the entire people of South Korea who are deeply concerned about the future of the country and destiny of the nation should rise in a body and resolutely repulse the machination of the U.S. imperialists, who are making a show of power, and their faithful henchmen.

If the entire people unite as one and wage a more daring struggle to oppose America and save the country, the machination of the imperialist aggressors is bound to be frustrated.

The Syngman Rhee clique who had been frantically exercising fascist dictatorship under the manipulation of the U.S. im-

perialist aggressors were ousted overnight when the youth, students and the people in South Korea rose up as one.

If the workers, peasants, youth and students, soldiers and the people of all sections in South Korea launch a united struggle, the U.S. imperialists will not dare to act recklessly and the people will come off victorious.

The officers and soldiers of the "ROK Army" who have participated in the military coup should frustrate determinedly the attempts of the rabid fascist elements to sell off the interests of the country and the nation, and come over to the side of the people right away, and, together with them, rise up again. They must launch a patriotic struggle to repel the U.S. imperialists and achieve the unification of the country by the Koreans themselves.

South Korean soldiers are the sons and daughters of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals

The reactionaries belonging to the upper crust of the army intend to chain you, your parents and brothers to U.S. imperialism by more cruel means than in the days of Syngman Rhee and Chang Myun, and are driving you to suppress and massacre your own parents and brothers. You must shatter the cursed schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their running dogs, and, standing on the side of your parents and brothers, must turn your guns against the vicious enemy.

You must finish off with burning national indignation Chang Do Yung and other vicious fascist elements who are suppressing and massacring the people by pilfering the sacred name of revolution.

You must flatly deny all orders issued by U.S. advisors and the malignant superiors, decline the mandate for the arrest of patriotic personages and people, and immediately release the arrested.

To be worthy of the name of a national defence army, it must become the army of the nation, fight for the interests of the nation, and must not serve as a tool of the U.S. imperialists, the sworn enemy of the Korean people.

The soldiers of South Korea, obeying the dictates of na-

tional conscience, should wage a just struggle, together with the people, against the U.S. imperialist aggressors who trample our fatherland underfoot and cruelly suppress and massacre our fellow countrymen.

Workers, peasants, youth and students, scientists, artists, and the people of all sections in South Korea, decisively rejecting the reactionary line of "Anti-communism and pro-Americanism," must follow the road of achieving unification of the nation by themselves.

By a staunch struggle you must honour the blood the youth, students and people shed for the country and the people.

The entire South Korean people must wage an active struggle for ensuring free and legal activities of all progressive and patriotic political parties and social organizations which aspire after the peaceful unification of the country and for securing the democratic rights such as freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and demonstration.

You must resolutely oppose the mandate to arrest the patriotic personages and people and struggle in demand of the immediate release of the arrested.

The soldiers and the people of South Korea must join hands to wage a struggle to reject the reactionary military terrorism, and establish a genuine people's power, and further, realize the intercourse and negotiation between the North and the South and achieve the peaceful unification of the country.

Unification is the only road to the life of the South Korean people and the road to national prosperity.

An active struggle must be waged to make the U.S. imperialist aggressors withdraw and realize the country's peaceful unification by the Koreans themselves. If all the patriotic forces of North and South, united in a body and holding firmly the destiny of the nation in their hands, come out to overcome the national crisis, we can crush any scheme of U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. imperialist aggressors must leave South Korea at once in the interests of the peaceful unification of our country. In face of the united struggle of the Korean people the U.S. imperialists will find no way but to withdraw from South Korea.

We appeal to the peoples of the whole world to condemn the outrageous, brutal atrocities committed by the U.S. imperialist aggressors who, in the 16 years since their landing in South Korea, have devastated the land of South Korea, driven the people to the mire of hunger and non-rights, finally staged a fascist military coup to arrest and imprison a great number of people, sweep the whole South Korea with cruel terrorist suppression, and are aggravating tension in Korea.

The present situation is turning decisively in favour of the Korean people.

The democratic base in the northern part of the country is becoming stronger and our revolutionary forces are growing and strengthening rapidly. Long ago the U.S. imperialists lost the old position of the "world's mightiest" and their aggressive policy is being shattered in different parts of the world.

The might of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other countries of the socialist camp is overpowering the reactionary forces of imperialism. Flames of national liberation struggle are raging more furiously in colonies of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. With all the frenzied activities the U.S. imperialists cannot reverse the current of history.

Dear citizens!

We must expedite the country's peaceful unification, prepare ourselves well for meeting the approaching great event of the country's peaceful unification, and carry on more successfully socialist construction for the prosperity of the country and happiness of the entire nation after the unification.

We must exhibit a higher degree of political enthusiasm to reinforce the material-technical foundation in the northern part of the Republic, which would enable us to restore and improve in a short space of time the devastated South Korean economy and deteriorated living of the people following the country's peaceful unification.

At the same time we should be highly vigilant against any possible provocation the desperate U.S. imperialist aggressors might put up, and maintain a strained and mobilized posture.

Final victory will be with the Korean people who stand for peaceful unification.

Let all of us firmly unite under the banner of self-independent peaceful unification and fight more bravely to realize the glorious national cause.

Long live the united Korean people!

Ruin to the U.S. imperialist aggressors!

**REPORT MADE BY COMRADE KIM IL SUNG ON THE
WORK OF THE C.C. OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF
KOREA AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE W.P.K.
(Excerpts)**

September 11, 1961

Comrades!

During the period under review tremendous changes have taken place in the South Korean situation. The great achievements in the socialist construction in North Korea have tipped the balance of forces between the revolution and the counter-revolution in Korea decisively in favour of the revolutionary forces.

The main trend in the developments of South Korea today is that while the revolutionary forces striving for the peaceful unification of the country and for democracy are growing ever stronger, the counter-revolutionary forces, isolated from the popular masses, are making the last, desperate efforts to find an outlet in the adventurous means of military terrorism.

In spring last year the South Korean people, unable to endure any longer the corruption and tyranny under the U.S. imperialists' colonial rule, rose up at last in a heroic resistance struggle for a new government and a new life and overthrew the Syngman Rhee regime. This was a great victory won by the South Korean people in their national salvation struggle and was a telling blow to the U.S. imperialists' aggressive policy towards Korea.

The April uprising marked a new turning point in the anti-American, national salvation struggle of the South Korean people. In the course of this resistance struggle the political awakening

of the South Korean people was remarkably heightened and, with the resistance as a momentum, the spearhead of the struggle gradually began to be turned against U.S. imperialism.

The popular uprising and the subsequent developments in South Korea show that the U.S. imperialists can never subdue the South Korean people by whatever bloody suppression.

In the last days of the Chang Myun regime the political and economic crisis grew extremely acute. People's living was driven into an unbearable predicament. Corruption and social disorder aggravated with every passing day.

Broad masses of the people came to realize all the more keenly that they could not free themselves from poverty, non-rights and colonial slavery, unless the peaceful unification of the country was achieved; a mass struggle was vigorously unfolded, demanding North-South intercourse, the self-dependent, peaceful unification of the country and North-South negotiation. South Korean youth and students came out with the proposal for North-South negotiation and intercourse, and broad sections of the people rose up in response to it. The general trend turned rapidly in favour of the popular masses who stood for the peaceful unification of the country.

Driven into a tight corner, the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean reactionaries took the adventurous course of setting up a fascist military dictatorship in an attempt to maintain their precarious rule.

The establishment of the dictatorial regime in South Korea testifies to the fact that the American imperialists' position in Korea is weakened, far from being strengthened. It is nothing but their last, death-bed convulsion. No matter what recourse they may have, the U.S. imperialists can never save the colonial system in South Korea which is crumbling irretrievably. The fascist military rule will add fuel to the struggle of the people and will hasten the ultimate collapse of the U.S. colonial rule over South Korea.

South Korea today has been turned into a dark land, where the slightest trace of democratic rights and freedom has been

blotted out, into a butchery of the people where wholesale terrorism and massacres are rampant. The South Korean military regime has disbanded all the political parties and public organizations, closed down all the progressive press and publication organs, and already arrested, imprisoned, or slaughtered more than 100,000 patriots and innocent people.

In South Korea political chaos and unrest are steadily mounting and contradictions and conflicts within the military circles are sharpening to the extreme. The South Korean economy is going from bad to worse, and mass starvation is sweeping the whole area of South Korea. It cannot be otherwise, so long as the U.S. imperialists lord it over South Korea.

The military rulers of South Korea are now noisily talking about "reform," "building of an independent economy", or "relief of people". But these are nothing but a trickery to placate the discontents of the people and intensify the fascist suppression. The developments in South Korea more vividly reveal that their slogans are no more than an empty promise.

In South Korea all powers are in the hands of the U.S. imperialists. So long as the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism is not abolished, the fact remains unchanged that the South Korean government, no matter who may hold the reins, represents the interests of the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices, landlords and comprador capitalists, and no improvement can be expected in the position of the South Korean people.

By means of "aid" the U.S. imperialists have seized the artery of South Korean economy, subjected it to their military purposes and completely blocked the road to an independent development of the national economy in South Korea. The South Korean economy, which has been reduced to a military appendage to U.S. imperialism, is faced with irrevocable ruin.

The South Korean industry is in a state of bankruptcy. Oppressed by the American monopoly capital and the comprador capital, the national industry is being further fragmentized and is steadily going bankrupt and ruined. The overwhelming majority of the national capitalists' economy consists of medium

and small enterprises, and more than 80 per cent of these are at a standstill or are operating below capacity.

Today the meagre light industry of South Korea is almost entirely dependent on American machines and equipment and raw materials, and the bulk of it is war industry supplementing the war supply on the spot to the American mercenaries. The masters of the war industry are the comprador capitalists under American protection.

The South Korean markets are overflowing with U.S. commodities from across the ocean. In South Korea the import through the American "aid" accounts for 80 per cent of the total amount of import equalling 20 times the total amount of export.

Thus, South Korea remains as yet a backward agrarian region without any self-supporting industry.

Along with the bankruptcy of industry, South Korea's rural economy has also been utterly devastated.

Feudal landlord system is still prevailing in the rural areas. The bulk of the "distributed land" has been massed again in the hands of landlords and rich farmers, and the peasants are subjected to ruthless feudal exploitation.

The pillage and exploitation by the U.S. imperialists and landlords have not only hampered the development of South Korea's agriculture but extremely sapped it. The arable land has been reduced by 200,000 jungbo, and the sown area, by 400,000 jungbo compared with the pre-liberation days. The U.S. imperialist aggressive troops have requisitioned for military use more than 100,000 jungbo of land from the South Korean peasants.

With the industry bankrupt and rural economy fragmentized to the extreme, the agricultural technique is in an extremely backward state.

The destruction and stagnation of agricultural productive forces have brought sharp decline in production. The grain output in 1960 dropped to two-thirds of the pre-liberation level of 1937.

Economic bankruptcy and cruel exploitation by the landlords and comprador capitalists have led the working people's living to indescribable misery.

Over six million working people, that is, half of the able-bodied inhabitants of South Korea, are chronic unemployed or semi-unemployed.

The South Korean regime annually appropriates more than 70 per cent of their budget for military expenditure and, to cover the expenses, it is further augmenting the levy of taxes.

The soaring inflation caused by the oversize military expenditure is weighing heavily on the shoulders of the working people. As of July, 1961, the volume of currency issue increased 206 times and the commodity prices 126 times compared with 1949. The tax burden of the South Korean people increased over 10-fold in the seven years after the war. The workers are forced to work 10-18 hours a day, while their wages are even less than one-third of the minimum living cost.

The broad masses of peasants have been turned into debt slaves of landlords and usurers. The amount of peasants' debts increased 20-fold in the post-war period. Each year tens of thousands of peasant households get ruined, leaving their farm land. Since the industry cannot absorb the ruined rural inhabitants, most of them are roaming about begging.

Such is the outcome of the sixteen years' rule of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges and the result brought by the American "aid" in South Korea.

The U.S. army's occupation of South Korea and the U.S. aggressive policy are the main obstacle in the way of the peaceful unification of our country and the democratic development of the South Korean society, and the root cause of all misfortunes and sufferings of the South Korean people today. The U.S. imperialists have turned South Korea into their colony and military base, are constantly menacing peace in Korea and hampering the peaceful unification of Korea through all sorts of plots. They have utterly ruined the South Korean economy, plunged the South Korean

people into the slough of famine and poverty and turned South Korea into a hell on earth of terrorism and oppression. Due to the atrocities of the U.S. robbers, countless patriotic people and guiltless compatriots are shedding blood, and our sisters are insulted and violated in South Korea.

The U.S. imperialists are stepping up war preparations on the pretense of "protecting" South Korea from "communist aggression," and are viciously scheming to drive the South Korean people to a fratricidal struggle.

U.S. imperialism is the principal target of the struggle of the South Korean people and the sworn enemy of the entire Korean people. So long as the U.S. armed forces are in occupation of South Korea, durable peace in Korea and the peaceful unification of the country cannot be expected and the South Korean people cannot win genuine freedom and liberation.

In maintaining the colonial rule in South Korea, the U.S. imperialists rely on the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats, who serve in the aggression of the U.S. imperialists as guides, as their faithful allies. The landlord class, under the protection of the U.S. imperialists, ruthlessly exploit and suppress the peasant masses, while the comprador capitalists make fortune by bringing in American commodities and capital, by plundering our country's natural resources and selling them to their masters and by supplying the American mercenary troops with war materials.

Thus, the revolution in South Korea is a national liberation revolution against imperialism, and is also a democratic revolution against the feudalistic forces. It is the basic demand of this revolution to drive out the U.S. imperialist aggressive forces from Korea, to shatter their colonial rule and to achieve democratic development in the South Korean society and the unification of the country.

Comrades!

To successfully carry on the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle and emerge victorious from it, it is necessary for the South Korean people to have a revolutionary party which takes

Marxism-Leninism as its guide and represents the interests of workers, peasants and all other sections of the broad popular masses. Without such a political party, it is impossible to set forth a clear-cut fighting programme for the masses of the people, to closely unite the revolutionary masses and carry on the mass struggle in an organized way.

Since there was no revolutionary party and no clear-cut programme of struggle, and consequently the workers and peasants, the basic masses, failed to take part extensively in the resistance, the April uprising could not be carried out thoroughly in an organized way, and the South Korean people were inevitably robbed of the price of their blood by new puppets of the U.S. imperialists. It was also due to the absence of the leadership of a revolutionary party and lack of the awakening of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers that the South Korean people failed to prevent the fascist elements in the upper strata of the army from seizing the power and organize an effective counter-attack against the enemy's onslaught on democratic rights.

The South Korean people must draw lessons from this bitter experience. They must have an independent workers' and peasants' party, a party that is deeply rooted among the broad masses, and must win its legal status.

The political party of the working people to be organized in South Korea must fight, by uniting all patriotic forces, to thoroughly put into effect an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal programme, to settle the urgent demands of the South Korean people.

It is the primary task set before the South Korean people to fight against the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists, and for the withdrawal of the U.S. aggressive armed forces.

The South Korean people must thoroughly expose and smash the sinister design of the U.S. imperialists to pit the Koreans against each other under the pretext of checking "communist aggression." The Korean people want no fratricidal struggle. There may be different ideas and different political views among us, but the difference should not throw obstacles in the

way of the country's peaceful unification, nor be a cause of war. The word "communist aggression" is invented by the U.S. imperialists to cover up their occupation of South Korea and their intention to invade the whole of Korea and to hoodwink the South Korean people. The South Korean people must rise up in a nationwide resistance to frustrate the policy of aggression and war preparations pursued by the U.S. imperialists. The youth must fight against the forcible conscription; workers must organize sabotage and strikes to obstruct the enemy production and transport of war supplies, and the entire South Korean people must struggle against the building of military bases and military establishments.

The South Korean people must resolutely condemn and curb the brigandish acts of the U.S. forces, which slaughter, plunder and insult our fellow countrymen, and bridle the aggressors so that they may not run riot.

They must resolutely refuse to collaborate in any way with the U.S. aggressive armed forces, and should not give them even a single grain of rice or a drop of water. They must let the aggressors shudder before the resistance of the indignant people. No room should be left for the aggressors to stand in this land of ours. The U.S. aggressive troops should be withdrawn as soon as possible. The shackling military and economic pacts concluded between South Korea and the United States should be repealed. Thus the South Korean people should be completely freed from the U.S. colonial fetters.

When all the patriotic forces in South Korea are united and rise resolutely in the anti-U.S. struggle, there will be no place in our territory for the U.S. imperialists to stay on, and they will be driven out at last.

At the same time the South Korean people must struggle against the exploitation and oppression by the landlords and compradore capitalists who are in alliance with the U.S. imperialists and fight for the democratic development of the South Korean society.

At present it is an urgent demand in South Korea to democratize social and political life, carry out democratic reforms in

economic and cultural fields, and settle the question of the livelihood of the people.

The South Korean military regime has completely deprived the people of even the elementary democratic rights and tied them hand and foot.

The South Korean military rulers are further intensifying the fascist suppression of people, arresting and jailing large numbers of patriots on the pretense of combating communism. They have gone so far as to sentence the reporters to death only because they stood for the withdrawal of U.S. imperialists and unification rejecting outside forces.

The South Korean people must smash the fascist dictatorship and fight for democratic freedom and rights. Freedom of speech, the press, association, assembly, demonstrations and strikes must be guaranteed and the freedom of activities of all political parties and public organizations must be restored. The barbarous terrorism of the military regime must be stopped right away; all the patriotic political prisoners and guiltless people under arrest or in imprisonment must be immediately released; and the agents of the U.S. imperialists and the national traitors must be punished.

Solution of the land problem is one of the most important tasks which confront the democratic revolution in South Korea. Without solving the land problem and without freeing the agricultural productive forces from the feudal fetters, the peasant masses, who make up more than 70 per cent of the South Korean population, cannot be saved from hunger and poverty, nor can their living be stabilized.

South Korean peasants must come out in a body in the struggle for democratic land reform and for putting an end to the system of feudal exploitation. Land should and must be owned by the peasants who till the land. Land of the landowners must be confiscated without compensation and distributed free of charge among the landless or land-poor peasants to realize the age-old desire of the peasants for land. Those who have opposed U.S. imperialism and made contribution to the cause of the peaceful unification of the country can be compensated for their land.

The land requisitioned by the U.S. occupation forces for their military use must be immediately restored to the peasants.

A thorough-going democratic land reform must be enforced, and at the same time virgin soil must be extensively reclaimed, and thus land must be divided gratis among the land-poor peasants and among those unemployed who had to leave their farm land.

The exploitation of the peasants through various kinds of usury must be banned, and the land debts of the peasants as well as all the debts of the poor peasants should be rescinded.

The liquidation of the feudal relations in the South Korean countryside will not only pave the way for the development of the agricultural productive forces and ensure the improvement of the livelihood of the peasantry, but also create favourable conditions for the development of national industry.

Without a self-supporting national industry there can be neither the promotion of people's well-being nor national independence. The factories, mines, railways, transportation means and banks owned by the U.S. imperialists, the comprador capitalists, and the national traitors should be confiscated and nationalized so as to smash the economic foundation of foreign imperialism and the internal traitorous forces and develop the national industry.

Especially the way must be opened to a free development of middle and small enterprises by protecting their economy and ensuring them raw materials, funds and market.

The South Korean workers must struggle for the enforcement of an 8-hour workday and social insurance, increase of wages and improvement of working conditions. Job must be immediately given to millions of unemployed, and wages be raised, at least, to a minimum living standard.

Prices of commodities must also be stabilized, the tax burden of the working people drastically alleviated and the miscellaneous levies must be abolished.

No work is provided for the small number of scientists and technicians in South Korea, still less the conditions and freedom for their scientific research. In South Korea the consciousness of

the people is poisoned by the reactionary, decadent American culture, while the national culture native to our country is trampled upon and is declining. Scientists, men of culture and arts must fight against the penetration of the reactionary American culture, must fight to improve their living conditions, and must courageously stand up to build a democratic national culture which serves the independent development of the nation and the interests of the people.

The South Korean youth, students and intellectuals should fight against militarization and commercialization of schools, requesting a democratic reform of the educational system. A universal, compulsory primary education system must be enforced to educate all the children of school age at the state expenses, and an extensive adult education system should be effected to open the way of learning for the working people and to eliminate illiteracy.

Today in South Korea various epidemics and chronic diseases are rampant owing to the miserably wretched living of the people and the criminal indifference of the rulers toward public health service. Innumerable patients are groaning and dying, being denied any medical treatment. A system of free medical service must be enforced to protect the health of the people, and state measures must be taken to eliminate various epidemics.

For the democratization of all aspects of life of the South Korean people it is one of the major tasks to ensure the South Korean women social status and rights equal to those of men. Women should be liberated from the humiliating position of being maltreated and looked down upon, their personal dignity should be respected and an equal opportunity for education should be guaranteed to them; they should be extensively drawn into social labour and the principle of equal pay for equal labour should be applied to them.

The U.S. imperialists are keeping 700,000 mercenary soldiers in South Korea. The command prerogative of the "ROK army" is in the hands of the U.S. imperialists: its commanders are American generals. The overwhelming majority of the South Korean army consist of peasants and workers in military uniform.

They are working youths who have been pressganged into the "ROK army" by the cat's-paws of the U.S. imperialists.

The South Korean army men are forced to level their guns at their fellow countrymen in North Korea and to fire upon their parents and brothers who fight for freedom and existence.

In North Korea there is no enemy of the "ROK army": the People's Army, army of workers and peasants, never wants to fight against their brothers in South Korea. The real enemy of the "ROK army" is the U.S. imperialists occupying our country and their lackeys.

The South Korean army should not remain any longer a blind tool of the U.S. imperialists in suppressing the patriotic and democratic movements of the people and in invading the whole of Korea, but should become a national army, a people's army, defending the interests of workers, peasants and the other broad masses of the people against the foreign imperialists. The command prerogative of the "ROK army" should be wrested from the hands of the U.S. imperialists, the anti-popular military service system should be abolished, and the fascist military system should be reformed in a democratic way.

The rank and file and junior officers of the "ROK army" must not be trapped by the sinister plot of the U.S. imperialists to make the Koreans fight each other, but must come over to the side of the people, must resolutely reject the orders of the American commanders and the upper crust traitors of the "ROK army" and must fight against the U.S. imperialists and their minions.

People can win freedom and liberation only through their struggle. The South Korean people have a glorious tradition of the heroic struggle against foreign imperialist aggressive forces and against the domestic exploiters. Liberation struggles of the popular masses, such as the Kap-o Peasant War, March 1 Movement, June 10 Independence Movement and the Kwangjoo Student Incident, have continued, striking telling blows at the oppressors. When the broad popular masses rise up in a body in a struggle against oppressors, any stronghold of the imperialists

can be smashed. The U.S. imperialists blared that the Syngman Rhee regime was the strongest anti-communist regime in Asia. But Rhee's regime was overthrown by the popular struggle of the South Korean people.

Workers, peasants, youth, students, intellectuals and the broad popular masses in South Korea must valiantly rise up in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its stooges and for democracy and the right to life.

Comrades!

The only way for the South Korean people to completely free themselves from the present dreadful situation lies in making the U.S. army withdraw from South Korea, in overthrowing the fascist dictatorship and in unifying the country peacefully. Through the sixteen years' history of tribulations since liberation the South Korean people have come to keenly realize that they cannot live with the country divided into the North and the South.

There is no other way to rehabilitate and develop the economy and improve the people's living in South Korea than to achieve the unification of the country by the united forces of North and South Korea.

The peaceful unification of the country is the unanimous desire of the entire Korean people and the supreme national task, the solution of which brooks no delay.

The standpoint of our Party is clear as to the question of the unification of Korea. Our Party has consistently maintained that the question of the unification of our country should be solved by ourselves through peaceful means, on democratic principles. The Korean people can and must materialize the country's peaceful unification by themselves.

For the complete solution of the question of the country's unification, a unified government should be established through all-Korea free elections on the basis of democratic principles without any interference of outside force. Separate elections in South Korea can not alter the situation. A unified government truly representing the people's will can be formed only through all-Korea elections in which the people in the north, and workers,

peasants and various other strata of people in South Korea take part. Only by forming such government, can the South Korean people gain freedom and rights and improve their living conditions.

We consider that such elections should be held on the principles of universal, equal, direct suffrage by secret ballot.

The unification of Korea is an internal issue of our nation to be decided by the Korean people of their own free will. There can be no expression of free will of the people so long as the country is occupied by the imperialist aggressive forces, and interference from outside is tolerated. It is the prerequisite to ensuring genuinely free elections in Korea to make the U.S. army withdraw from Korea and to reject all the interference from outside.

At the same time, freedom of political activities should be guaranteed throughout North and South Korea. All the political parties, public organizations and individual personages in North and South Korea should be enabled to openly and freely announce before the people their political platforms and views and to engage in free activities in any part of the country. Only when these conditions are ensured, can the Korean people establish a unified government through genuinely free elections.

Most reasonable, realistic, fair and square are the proposals of our Party and the Government of the Republic on the peaceful unification of the country. Our unification programme enjoys the ardent support of the entire Korean people as well as the approval of the peace-loving peoples of all countries of the world. Only the U.S. imperialists and their followers, the traitorous reactionary forces, are opposed to free, general elections throughout North and South Korea and stand against the peaceful unification of the country.

All patriotic people in South Korea, frustrating the obstructive manoeuvres of the enemy, should come out courageously in the struggle for holding general elections throughout North and South Korea.

Workers, peasants and the people in all walks of life in South Korea should wage a stubborn struggle for the with-

drawal of the U.S. aggressive armed forces and for the attainment of the independent, democratic and peaceful unification of the country.

Although the struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful unification of the country is arduous and is accompanied by twists and turns, the general trend is turning in favour of us. The entire Korean people are eagerly awaiting the great event of national unification and the day of its realization is drawing nearer.

To realize this national aspiration of the Korean people, all the forces of the North and South Korean people should be united and mobilized in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists' occupation of South Korea and for the country's peaceful unification.

It is the cardinal demand in the development of the revolution today to form in South Korea a united anti-U.S. national salvation front embracing all patriotic forces. The workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, youth, students, intellectuals and even the national bourgeoisie in South Korea are suffering alike from the partition of the country and the colonial rule of the U.S. imperialists. They are all linked up with each other by common national interests. The force of all these classes and strata should be firmly united and directed to the struggle against the U.S. imperialists, the chief enemy of the Korean people. Only by so doing can the South Korean people repel the common enemy, win victory in the struggle for liberation and achieve the cause of unification of the country.

It is of utmost importance in forming a united anti-U.S., national salvation front to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class. The worker-peasant alliance must become the political and social basis of the united front.

While consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, struggle should be waged for strengthening the solidarity with the youth, students and intellectuals.

The youth, students and intellectuals should be evermore

extensively drawn into the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle and should be made to go deep among the broad sections of the people including workers and peasants, and keep close ties with the popular masses.

Thus the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys should be thoroughly isolated, all the patriotic, democratic strata in South Korea should be rallied under the banner of a self-dependent, peaceful unification, and unity should be achieved between the patriotic, democratic forces of South Korea and the patriotic, socialist forces of North Korea.

We shall march hand in hand with all those who struggle against U.S. imperialism, without asking about their past, irrespective of their class environments, social status, political views and religious beliefs.

We will warmly welcome even those who committed crimes against the fatherland and the people in the past and enlist them also after the unification of the country, provided they stand for the peaceful unification of the country, repenting of their crimes.

Today we are living in the age of disintegration of the imperialist colonial system, in the great age of national liberation revolution. Hundreds of millions of peoples who were oppressed and exploited till yesterday by foreign aggressors have won freedom and independence, shaking off the colonial yoke. All the peoples of the world who are groaning under the oppression of imperialism are unfolding valiant struggles against the aggressors. Liquidation of colonialism is a trend of the times which no force can check.

How can our nation which has such a long history and time-honoured culture put up with the U.S. imperialist colonial rule and tolerate the national humiliation and persecution in this great age of national liberation revolution?

All those who love the fatherland and the nation should be united and stand up in the national salvation struggle for expelling the aggressors and for peacefully unifying the country.

When the entire Korean people rise up in firm unity in the struggle against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, they will defeat the enemy, no matter how wild it may run, and win a glorious victory.

The U.S. imperialists will be driven out from Korea and the cause of the country's unification will certainly be accomplished by the united might of the whole nation.

FOR THE PEACEFUL UNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY

Declaration of the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea

Fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters throughout the country!

Workers, peasants and labouring intellectuals!

Young men and women and students!

Enterprisers and businessmen!

Leaders of political parties and social organizations!

All government officials and soldiers!

Overseas Koreans!

Having carefully examined the present situation of the country and the question of achieving the cause of the country's unification, the urgent task confronting the nation, the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea appeals to you:

Sixteen years have already passed since our territory was divided and our single nation was split. This abnormal situation should not be tolerated any longer.

The artificial barrier prevents a uniform development of our country which has a history of thousands of years, hinders our nation with its time-honoured culture and brilliant talents from enjoying the prosperity as one unit.

The North and the South of one and the same country are taking diametrically different courses politically, economically and culturally, and even the language and custom of the homogeneous people of North and South Korea are being estranged from each other.

Kinsmen living within calling distance are kept from meeting each other, and on this soil of one vein, younger generation,

who have grown up without seeing a unified motherland, are already succeeding us.

In the northern part of the country, a solid foundation for the everlasting prosperity of the nation has been laid. But, owing to the artificial barrier, the people in South Korea have not been relieved from bankruptcy and slough of poverty.

Owing to the division, misfortunes and sufferings of the compatriots, brothers and sisters in South Korea have hit the bottom.

The time has come when we should put an end to this unbearable situation. The high spirits of the whole nation aspiring after unification have become a powerful torrent which no force can check.

The struggle between the Korean people who are out to achieve the unification of the country and the nation and the U.S. imperialist aggressors who obstruct the unification has become highly acute.

The Korean people have laid through harsh struggles a firm foundation for the country's unification, and their revolutionary forces have grown into an invincible might.

The great achievements in socialist construction in North Korea have tipped the balance of forces between the revolution and counter-revolution in Korea decisively in favour of the revolutionary forces.

Under the powerful impact of the revolutionary base in the northern part, the struggle of the people in South Korea against U.S. imperialism, in demand of the country's peaceful unification, is gathering momentum.

The South Korean people, unable to bear any longer the misrule of the U.S. imperialists and their puppets, rose up in heroic uprising in April last year in demand of a new government and a new life and overthrew the puppet Syngman Rhee regime, dealing a telling blow to the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism.

The April popular uprising marked another turning point in the anti-American national salvation struggle of the South Korean people. Political awareness of the South Korean people has

grown exceptionally high, and with the uprising as a momentum their spearhead is directed towards the U.S. imperialists.

With another puppet on the stage, the U.S. imperialists tried to cheat the people on the one hand, and on the other suppressed them; but the foundation of their colonial rule was further crumbling.

The idea of peaceful unification has grasped the hearts of the South Korean people, and the struggle of the broad masses for the peaceful unification has gained in strength.

Faced with such a situation, the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean reactionaries entered the adventurous path of setting up a fascist military dictatorship in an attempt to sustain their tottering rule.

Today, the whole areas of South Korea are under the sway of brutal suppression. Strict martial law has been in force for several months, and even the normal life of the population has been severely outraged.

All the political parties and social organizations have been dissolved and the people are deprived of the rights to assembly, demonstration and strike.

Innumerable press and publishing organs are raided and closed; innumerable pressmen are subjected to brutal persecution, and a single line of an article about the peaceful unification is enough to be accused of a crime for cruel punishment.

The U.S. imperialists and the military regime have in recent 3-4 months alone arrested, imprisoned or murdered more than 100,000 patriots and guiltless people, allegedly accusing them of being "pro-communists". Exploitation and plunder of the population are growing worse.

South Korea has become a land of darkness where democratic freedom and rights are totally trampled underfoot, a shamble of people where terrorism and murder are the rule, a horrible prison where famine and poverty are rampant.

The U.S. imperialists have shipped into South Korea new-type weapons and reinforcements to intimidate the Korean people, stepped up the forcible conscription of the youth and even

elderly people in South Korea, and are bent on aggravating tension in Korea by openly making military provocations.

Driven into a tight corner, the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary forces are furiously engaged in suppressing the struggle of the South Korean people to maintain their colonial rule, and viciously maneuver to hamper the peaceful unification of Korea.

The South Korean people find themselves in the worst adversity, in which the outrageous bayonet stifles everything, and the struggle of the masses for the country's peaceful unification and for existence is subjected to ruthless suppression.

The South Korean people have now the alternative to rise up to fight for freedom and liberation or to sit down and reconcile themselves to the death imposed upon them.

The South Korean people cannot live any longer in such a distressful situation. They should rise up in a nation-wide struggle to repel and smash the reckless onslaught of the counter-revolution.

For the South Korean people, the way of struggle alone is the way to freedom and liberation, the way to the unification of the country for a free and happy life.

The fascist terrorist rule in South Korea does not mean a fortification of the position of the U.S. imperialists in Korea but, on the contrary, it is proof of the weakening of their position. It is the last desperate attempt of those who are faced with downfall.

The U.S. imperialists can never conquer the awakened people, whatever suppression they resort to, nor can they save the colonial rule which is in a helpless disintegration, whatever means they may apply. People can conquer any fortress of the reactionaries, when they rise up in unity.

Fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters throughout the country!

At this grave moment, the Workers' Party of Korea calls on all of you to come out in a nation-wide struggle for the peaceful unification of the country.

For the peaceful unification of the country, it is required,

first of all, to compel the U.S. armed forces to withdraw from South Korea, and abolish the U.S. imperialist colonial rule.

The U.S. imperialist occupation of South Korea and their aggressive policy are the main obstacle to the peaceful unification of Korea and the democratic development of the South Korean society. The U.S. imperialists are the first target in the struggle of the Korean people, and are the sworn enemy of the Korean people.

All the patriotic forces in North and South Korea should stand together, united as one, to wage a national liberation struggle, force the U.S. imperialists to withdraw from the territory of our country and achieve the unification of the country.

The South Korean people must rise up to make the U.S. troops pull out, to bring an end to the political rule of and economic enslavement by the U.S. imperialists.

In solving the vital question of the South Korean people, this is the first and foremost task.

All the roots of the misfortunes and sufferings of the South Korean people are in the U.S. imperialist occupation. It is precisely the U.S. imperialists who have brought the present state of bankruptcy and downfall of the South Korean economy, who have driven the people into the mire of misery. It is precisely the U.S. imperialists who have stained South Korean soil with the blood of our compatriots, and keep on murdering them even today.

In South Korea, the puppet regime has been replaced for several times, but things remain all the same. Unless the U.S. imperialist aggressors are driven out, the way to life will never be open to the South Korean people.

Smash the enemy's suppression and launch a nation-wide resistance against U.S. imperialism and its stooges!

Check and frustrate every scheme of the U.S. imperialists and resist them at every place in every way and by all possible means to make them unable to get along!

Workers should go on strikes and sabotages to frustrate munitions production and transport of war supplies for the U.S. armed forces; youth and students should boycott forcible conscrip-

tion; and the entire people should reject the building of military bases of the U.S. armed forces.

All the shackling, unequal "treaties" and "agreements" South Korea has concluded with the U.S. must be repealed; all the U.S. imperialists' aggressive machinery and establishments in South Korea must be liquidated and their staff members and U.S. advisors in all fields must be deported.

Opposition should be offered to the economic plunder by U.S. imperialism, and the land, buildings and all valuable property of our compatriots taken away by the U.S. imperialists should be immediately taken back.

The "ROK army" of South Korea should refuse to serve U.S. imperialism as its disgraceful tool for suppressing the patriotic movement of the South Korean people and for invading Korea, and should refuse to become a tool of the reactionaries who force it to shower bullets on our parents, brothers and wives and children. It must become a national army fighting against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their puppets, a people's army championing the interests of workers, peasants and other sections of the popular masses.

The "ROK army" should resolutely refuse the command of the U.S. imperialists, take back from the U.S. imperialists the command prerogative and reject the orders and directives of the U.S. armed forces.

Decisive resistance should be made against the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries who scheme to stage a tragedy of another fratricidal conflict on this land with the spurious propaganda about "communist menace", and their war machination should be frustrated.

Propaganda about the imaginary "aggression from the North" is a deceptive manoeuvre designed to maintain their colonial rule by dividing our nation.

The "ROK army" has no enemy in North Korea. People of North and South Korea are the same nation and compatriots. They may have different ideas and political views, but why should they not work hand in hand for the unification of the country,

the paramount national task? Why should they wage a fratricidal war between them?

It is the U.S. imperialists that are thirsty for the blood of the Korean people, and the enemy of the "ROK army" and the South Korean people are none other than the U.S. imperialists.

Resolutely come over to the side of the people and stand up to join the sacred liberation struggle of the people for the expulsion of the U.S. imperialist aggressors and the liquidation of their colonial rule!

The entire South Korean people must stubbornly fight to smash the scheme of the U.S. imperialists to unleash war.

People with patriotic sentiment must all take part in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, reject the disgusting acts of fawning upon and following U.S. imperialism, and remain faithful to the nation. Everybody should so behave that he would not be branded as a traitor and would not be ashamed of himself before the fatherland and people when the country is unified.

Do not give the U.S. occupiers even a cup of water or a grain of corn, and do not permit them to stay in any part of South Korea in the face of the hatred and rejection of all people.

With our united force let us drive the Yankees from our sacred land!

The U.S. imperialists rely on the landlords and comprador capitalists in exercising their colonial rule in South Korea.

Under the aegis of the U.S. imperialists the landlord class is ruthlessly exploiting and oppressing the peasant masses of South Korea, and the comprador capitalists are getting rich by shipping in U.S. goods and capital, plundering the domestic resources to sell to their patrons and providing the U.S. mercenaries with war supplies.

In order to eliminate the foothold of aggression of the U.S. imperialists and achieve a democratic development, the reactionary forces in South Korea must be smashed. The traitors, who with the backing of U.S. imperialism betray the country and the nation, should be put on severe trial and punished by the people.

Reject and frustrate all policies of the military regime which

is furiously engaged in sustaining the U.S. imperialist colonial rule with the help of fascist terrorism, and sweep away the dictatorial regime with the powerful flames of popular struggle!

Complete freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, demonstration, strike and ideological life as well as the freedom of activities for all political parties and social organizations must be won.

Actual democratic freedom is inconceivable as long as the political parties and social organizations representing the interests of workers, peasants and other sections of the broad popular masses have no freedom of activities.

Owing to the absence of the political party of the working people, the South Korean people failed to gather the fruits of the costly struggles in the past period.

Drawing lessons from the past experiences, the South Korean people must struggle for the legalization of the activities of the most revolutionary party of the working people.

They should fight for the freedom of democratic working class and peasant movements, for the suspension of the brutal terrorism against the popular masses, for the immediate release of all patriots and guiltless people who are in jail.

They must win democratic freedom and rights and fight for the enforcement of democratic reforms.

Solution of the problem of land is one of the most important tasks of the immediate democratic revolution in South Korea. The enforcement of democratic land reform alone will emancipate the peasants, who make up the absolute majority of the South Korean population, from feudal exploitation and boost agricultural production.

Land must be owned by the peasants who till it. South Korean peasants must unite and form the peasant committees by themselves, and confiscate the land of the landlords and traitors to distribute it among themselves.

They must reject the expropriation of land and forcible collection of grains, refuse to pay all kinds of exacting levies and sundry taxes, refuse to pay back all sorts of debts including the debts to the usurers, and demand the relief of foodless peas-

ants and the peasant families which have left their farm lands.

They should rise up holding high the banner of struggle in all villages of South Korea and acquire land and freedom by beating back the machination of the U.S. imperialists and landlords.

Building of national industry is necessary for an independent development of the economy and for the promotion of the welfare of the population.

They should fight to confiscate and nationalize the factories, mines, railways, means of transport and banks owned by the U.S. imperialists, comprador capitalists, pro-American elements and national traitors, and should demand protection and promotion of medium and small enterprises.

Workers and all other labouring people of South Korea should fight for an 8-hour workday for factory and office workers, for the social insurance paid by the state and employers and for increase of wages guaranteeing their minimum standard of living at least.

They should demand jobs for the unemployed and an end to the unstable employment for the workers, and refuse to pay all kinds of taxes which squeeze the working people.

For the development of national culture, scientists and men of culture in South Korea should oppose the influx of the reactionary, decadent American culture and demand freedom of academic research, freedom of scientific, cultural and art activities, and demand necessary material conditions.

The youth, students and all other sections of people of South Korea must demand the enforcement of democratic national education and universal compulsory primary school education at state expenses, should struggle for the democratization of schools and full employment of school graduates.

South Korean women must free themselves from the humiliating status subjected to maltreatment and insult and win social status and rights equal with men, and must demand state protection of mothers and children.

For the protection of the health of the population, the entire

South Korean people must demand the enforcement of free medical service for the extremely poor as well as the state measures for wiping out virulent diseases and various epidemics.

Our people have a brilliant revolutionary tradition of the long valiant, triumphant struggle against foreign aggressors. In the past, Korean patriots fought, overcoming all difficulties, crossing deep forests of Mt. Baikdoo and going over the Changbaik mountains, for the restoration of their fatherland, and won the victory routing the Japanese imperialist robbers.

Our patriotic people rose up in the March 1 Uprising, June 10 Independence Movement and many other mass struggles, striking fear into the hearts of the Japanese imperialists.

Our history is full of vigorous struggles of workers against the oppressors, of peasants including the Peasants War of Kabo and of the gallant struggles of the youth and students including the Kwangjoo Student Strike.

The South Korean people vigorously fought against the U.S. imperialist occupiers and their puppets and finally overthrew at a stroke the reactionary Syngman Rhee regime.

Wage a persevering struggle for liberation of yourselves and for peaceful unification of the country, cherishing the nation's honour and lofty revolutionary spirit!

Peaceful unification of the country should be achieved by driving the U.S. aggressive armed forces out and forming a unified government through free North-South general elections on a democratic basis without foreign interference.

Separate "election" in South Korea is nothing but a machination of the U.S. imperialists to perpetuate the division of Korea and legalize their colonial rule. Separate "election" in South Korea brought South Korea only lawlessness.

"Election" farce in South Korea by the U.S. imperialists and their puppets must be smashed and a struggle must be waged to form through North-South general elections a unified government representing the will of the entire Korean people.

Establishment of a unified government is the only way for the South Korean people to get out of the hell on earth and enjoy a happy, free life.

General elections should be held in an atmosphere of complete freedom that will ensure the popular masses full expression of their will. Withdrawal of the U.S. forces and the rejection of the interference from outside are the prerequisite for this.

Prior to the general elections, the popular masses must be accorded democratic rights and freedom and all political parties, social organizations and individual persons of North and South Korea should have complete freedom of political activities in any part of Korea.

General elections should be conducted by universal and equal suffrage, and they must be democratic elections fully guaranteeing the secrecy of the ballot.

For the achievement of the peaceful unification of the country, all patriotic forces in South Korea should form an anti-imperialist united front against U.S. imperialism and its stooges, and wage a struggle in an organized way, and the people of North and South Korea should stand together all the more closely.

South Korean working class must strengthen the unity of its ranks to increase its leading role in the anti-imperialist struggle, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, rally all forces except the reactionary ones, to mobilize them to the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Unity is the powerful weapon in the revolutionary struggle of the masses. Unity adds to our might infinitely. To win victory, we must unite and unite.

We will go hand in hand with anyone who comes out for the peaceful unification of the country, regardless of his past activities, class status, social position, political views and religious belief. We will welcome those who, though committed crimes against the fatherland and the people in the past, come out for the peaceful unification of the country repenting their wrongs, and will go invariably hand in hand with them also after the country's unification.

Men who treasure the destiny of the country and the nation must take part in the anti-American national salvation struggle without any hesitation,

Today, the flames of the anti-imperialist national liberation struggles of the peoples in colonial and dependent countries for freedom and independence are vigorously flaring up in every part where the imperialists have set their foot.

Aggressive policy of the imperialists is going bankrupt everywhere and the colonial system is falling apart. Liquidation of colonialism has become the irresistible trend of the time.

Today in the powerful current of the time, how can we, as a nation with so long a history and so old a culture, a nation full of patriotism, further tolerate the vicious aggression of U.S. imperialism?

The situation at home, too, is developing definitely in favour of the Korean people. In the northern part of the country, a powerful base of national liberation, that can never be destroyed by any force, has been built and a firm foundation for an everlasting prosperity of our nation has been laid.

Remnants of colonialism of the past have been totally wiped out, an advanced social system has been firmly established and a firm foundation of a self-supporting national economy has been laid.

A powerful modern industry for an everlasting prosperity of the country has been built, while agriculture, equipped with the latest technique and free from crop failure, is advancing.

Confronted with the U.S. imperialist aggressive forces, the revolutionary base in the northern part stands imposingly as a grand bastion which fully guarantees freedom, independence and new life of the nation. It has been provided with all the means necessary for the rehabilitation and development of the South Korean economy and culture after the unification, and for the general prosperity of the unified country.

The powerful might of the revolutionary base in the northern part is the sure guarantee of the bright future of the nation and it sentences U.S. imperialist aggression in Korea to final collapse.

In the international arena, our struggle for the peaceful unification of the country enjoys positive support and encouragement of the broad progressive mankind.

Our struggle is traversing a tortuous path, but the day of the country's unification is approaching step by step. Let us unite firmly and fight resolutely! Then the U.S. imperialists will be forced to quit and the cause of the unification of the country will be realized.

Fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters throughout the country!

Respond enthusiastically to this patriotic call of the Workers' Party of Korea, and rise up!

The future destiny of the country and the nation is in the hands of the Korean people, and the driving force of the development of the situation of our country is also in the hands of the Korean people.

No enemy can curb the burning desire of our people to live a harmonious life in the bosom of a unified country. Only the final defeat is in store for the U.S. imperialists.

Let us vigorously march ahead to hasten the arrival of the momentous day of unification which will herald a brilliant epoch in the history of our country, for freedom and happiness of our generation and for the prosperity of the generations to come!

Long live the unified and united Korean people!

September 17, 1961