

with untiring vigor is the most brilliant embodiment of the mass line of our Party.

The Chollima movement is a mass drive which organically links collective innovation in economic and cultural construction with the work of educating and remolding the working people. Through the Chollima movement all the wisdom, enthusiasm and creative energy of our people are brought into full play, innovations are effected in all spheres of economy, culture, ideology and morality, and the building of socialism in our country is greatly accelerated.

The Chollima movement is the general line of our Party in socialist construction. The essence of this line is to unite the entire working people more firmly around the Party by educating and remolding them with communist ideas, and to give full scope to their revolutionary zeal and creative talents so as to build socialism better and faster.

We will continue to develop the Chollima movement both in scale and in depth and thus expedite still more the building of socialism in the northern half of our country.

VI.

THE SOUTH KOREAN REVOLUTION

BEING A revolution for liberating one half of our country's territory and the two-thirds of its population still held in bondage by foreign imperialists, the revolution in South Korea is an important component part of the Korean revolution as a whole. For the unification of our fatherland and the victory of the Korean revolution, it is necessary to strengthen the revolutionary forces in South Korea while promoting socialist construction in the North.

Since the first days of their occupation of South Korea, the U.S. imperialists have pursued the policies of military aggression and colonial enslavement. As a result, South Korea has been turned entirely into a colony, a military base of U.S. imperialism.

The South Korean "government" is a puppet regime set up with the armed support of the U.S. imperialists: it is nothing but a tool faithfully executing the instructions of its U.S. overlords.

Through this puppet regime and with the use of so-called "aid" as a bait, the U.S. imperialists have placed all the political, economic, cultural and military affairs of South Korea under their control.

In the name of "joint defense" they have directly thrown their aggressive troops, nearly 60,000 strong, into South Korea. Moreover, in the guise of so-called "Commander of the U.N. Forces"

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the U.S. Army commander has absolute authority over the South Korean army.

Having occupied South Korea, the U.S. troops have barbarously assaulted and massacred innocent people in South Korea. They have introduced nuclear and rocket weapons, thus turning South Korea into their military base for aggression, and constantly jeopardized peace in Korea.

The U.S. imperialists' "aid" to South Korea is a major means of aggression and plunder.

They gave some \$12 billion of "aid" to South Korea between 1945 and 1964, of this \$3.6 billion was for economic "aid" and the remainder for military "aid."

The military "aid" goes to meet part of the military expenditure for the upkeep of the puppet army of South Korea, more than 600,000 strong. The South Korean army is a mercenary army serving entirely the U.S. policy of aggression. And the support of one division of South Korean puppet troops costs the U.S. imperialists only one twenty-fifth of the expenditure necessary for the maintenance of a U.S. army division. Thus, by conscripting the youth of South Korea for their aggressive purposes, the U.S. imperialists are saving large military expenditures while imposing heavy burdens on the South Korean people. Also by employing this huge puppet army in place of their own troops, they give the South Korean army an air of serving some sort of national interest.

The economic "aid" is also nothing but a means for subordinating the economy of South Korea to the ends of imperialist military aggression and colonial plunder. By incorporating "aid funds" into the budgetary system of the puppet government, the U.S. imperialists have obtained a tight grip on its budget and, through the allocation of these funds, control the banking organizations and enterprises in South Korea. In this way they control 45 to 50 per cent of South Korea's financial budget and 30 per cent of its banking funds, and monopolize 70 to 80 per cent of the supply of raw materials and 80 per cent of the imports. Today the South Korean economy is entirely dependent on the United

States; financial and economic organizations and enterprises in South Korea are in a situation where they will have to stop operations the moment U.S. "aid" is suspended.

All this demonstrates that U.S. imperialism is the real ruler in South Korea.

In order to secure a more favorable foothold for their colonial domination following occupation, the U.S. imperialists reorganized part of the socio-economic structure in South Korea.

In their aggression against South Korea, the U.S. imperialists attached prime importance to the fostering of the comprador capitalist, who was to play the role of middleman in the disposal of their surplus goods, act as fingerman for the infiltration of U.S. private capital, as agent in their plunder of the country's resources and as local purveyor of certain war materials.

They bolstered up the position of comprador capital by handing over to private capitalists and speculators, for a mere token payment, the properties formerly owned by Japanese imperialists, by enabling them to rake in exorbitant profits through their monopoly over the purchase and sale of the "aid" goods dumped by the United States in South Korea, or by other methods. The share of South Korea's comprador capital in key industries under the rule of the Japanese imperialists was barely six per cent, but today some 500 comprador capitalists have seized about 40 per cent of South Korea's manufacturing industry, around 80 per cent of its mining industry and more than 50 per cent of its foreign trade.

The U.S. imperialists have preserved the feudal system of exploitation in the South Korean countryside, which is favorable to their colonial domination and pillage. They imposed the so-called "agrarian reform," but this was only a piece of trickery designed to quell the demand for land by the South Korean peasants who had been inspired by the land reform in North Korea. Even after the enforcement of the "agrarian reform" the feudal relations of exploitation continue to hold sway in the South Korean villages and the peasant economy has become even more fragmented than before.

Today, about 100,000 landlords hold 40 per cent of the total arable land and exploit 1,400,000 peasant households in South Korea. The peasants have to pay land rent amounting to 50 to 60 per cent of their harvest, and most of them are shackled by debt to the landlords and rich peasants through usury.

U.S. imperialism has thus set up a system of colonial rule following its occupation of South Korea and, on this basis, has been enforcing an unprecedented military dictatorship over the South Korean people.

In South Korea, policemen and bureaucrats alone number more than 155,000. At present, 370,000 special political agents are rampant against the people.

This colonial-type social, political and economic system has become a weight which curbs the development of the economy and the democratization of social life.

Today the national economy of South Korea is totally bankrupt and its industrial output stands at no more than 85 per cent of that at the time of Liberation.

South Korea's agriculture is likewise in an acute crisis. Agricultural output has dropped to two-thirds of what it was at the time of Liberation. South Korea, once the granary of our country, has been turned into an area of chronic famine which now has to import 800,000 to 1,000,000 tons of cereals every year.

Today there are roughly seven million unemployed and semi-unemployed in South Korea. And each year more than one million peasant households suffer from lack of food during the lean spring months.

The national culture and the good manners and customs, peculiar to the Korean people, are trampled underfoot and the decadent and *fin-de-siècle* American way of life is corroding all that was sound in social life.

The people are entirely denied political rights and are exposed to terrorism and tyranny.

The economic catastrophe in South Korea and the wretched social position of its people have produced sharp social, class and national contradictions.

The basic contradiction in South Korean society at the present stage is that between U.S. imperialism and its accomplices—landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats—on the one hand, and the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeois and national capitalists on the other.

Therefore, to attain freedom and liberation, the South Korean people must drive out the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression and overthrow the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats who are in league with them. U.S. imperialism is target No. 1 of struggle for the South Korean people.

There can be neither freedom and liberation for the people in South Korea, nor progress in South Korean society, nor the unification of our fatherland, unless the U.S. imperialist aggressive troops are driven out and colonial rule is abolished.

Thus the revolution in South Korea is a national liberation revolution against the foreign imperialist forces of aggression, and a democratic revolution against the feudal forces.

The motive force of this revolution in South Korea is the working class and its most reliable ally—the peasantry—together with the students, intellectuals and petty bourgeois who are opposed to the imperialist and feudal forces. The national capitalists, too, may have a share in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle.

Our Party, with the support of the socialist forces of North Korea, has all along been waging a stubborn struggle to carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution in South Korea by mobilizing all its patriotic, democratic forces.

The course of the South Korean revolution is beset with numerous difficulties and obstacles.

The occupation of South Korea by the forces of U.S. imperialism and its policy of aggression are the underlying factors of the complex, arduous and protracted nature of both the revolution in South Korea and the Korean revolution as a whole.

The U.S. imperialists need South Korea not merely as a market for their surplus goods or as a supply base of strategic resources. They also need South Korea as the military operational base for

the occupation of the whole of Korea, as a bridgehead for attack on the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic and aggression on the Asian continent, and, further, as an important strategic point for world domination.

That is why the U.S. imperialists have stationed in South Korea more than half of their Pacific ground force, although they are floundering in tight corners in all parts of the world today.

Thus, the revolution in South Korea has as its target of struggle a powerful enemy, the most ferocious and treacherous of all imperialists.

South Korea is the assembly ground and the den of the domestic reactionaries.

In contrast to what happened in North Korea, the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism were not liquidated in South Korea after Liberation. In order to establish a foothold for their colonial domination the U.S. imperialists actively protected and rallied the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism. The former pro-Japanese forces have now turned pro-American and have grown.

Moreover, as the revolutionary struggle was intensified in North Korea and the counter-revolutionary elements there sustained heavy blows, some landlords, comprador capitalists, pro-Japanese lackeys, traitors to the nation, vicious bureaucrats and fascist elements fled from the North to the South to join the reactionary forces.

In addition, not a few reactionary forces that had been scattered in foreign lands crawled back to South Korea.

The domestic reactionaries thus brought together, formed the counter-revolutionary core in collusion with outside forces, and turned against the revolutionary forces.

"Anti-communist" ideas are also deeply rooted in South Korea. For 36 years Japanese imperialism had malignantly infused "anti-communist" ideas, and after Liberation U.S. imperialism and its lackeys stepped up "anti-communist" propaganda, in a situation where the petty bourgeoisie made up the overwhelming majority of the population and the cultural level of the masses was very low.

During the Fatherland Liberation War the People's Army, when it advanced into South Korea, ideologically enlightened the people in the liberated areas to a certain extent, but the influence was not great because their stay in these areas was short.

As a result, a considerable proportion of the people in South Korea are still taken in by the "anti-communist" propaganda of the enemy. This is a serious obstacle to the development of the revolution there.

All this has created very difficult conditions for the revolution in South Korea, which has to go through many turns and twists.

This notwithstanding, the South Korean people have been waging a stubborn struggle, ever since Liberation, against the colonial fascist rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, in defense of their right to live, for democracy and the unification of the fatherland.

Immediately after the August 15 Liberation the working-class movement surged forward rapidly in South Korea, and under its impact the struggle of the people in all walks of life mounted.

Inspired by the successes of the revolution in the North, the people in South Korea fought stubbornly against the U.S. imperialist policy of colonial enslavement, for the sovereignty and independence of their fatherland, and for democratic reforms of the kind that had been carried out in the North.

The general strike in September 1946 staged by the South Korean workers—who demanded food, higher wages, and an immediate halt to cruel suppression of every description by the U.S. military government and enforcement of a democratic labor law—developed into an all-people, anti-U.S. resistance in October, involving about 2,300,000 patriots.

In the years that followed, the anti-U.S., national salvation struggle of the people in South Korea—such as the February 7 (1948) national salvation struggle against the entry of the "UN Commission on Korea," which was rigged up by U.S. imperialism, and the struggle against the May 10 separate elections, so ruinous to the country, went on vigorously.

Struggles were waged by the soldiers of the puppet army, too. For example, in October 1948 there was a mutiny at Ryosu in

protest against the barbarous suppression and slaughter of the people by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, in which even the local civilians joined. They smashed the puppet administration offices, and for a time they were in complete occupation of the city of Ryosu.

These struggles showed that the people in South Korea were resolutely opposed to the U.S. imperialist policy of colonial enslavement and the traitorous acts of the domestic reactionaries, and were firmly demanding the freedom and independence of the fatherland and the establishment of a democratic system. They demonstrated dramatically the revolutionary spirit and great strength of the masses of the people.

But the people's struggle in South Korea entered a period of temporary ebb owing to the setting up of a puppet, separate regime in South Korea in May 1948 and to the policy of fascization pursued thereafter by U.S. imperialism and the Syngman Rhee clique.

The U.S. imperialists and the Syngman Rhee cabal mobilized U.S. army units equipped with up-to-date arms to put down the mass movement, and perpetrated barbarous acts, arresting patriots at random, imprisoning and murdering them.

The U.S. imperialists also resorted to a crafty scheme designed to split and break up the revolutionary forces from within, by using the factionalists and spies who had sneaked into the leadership of the Workers Party of South Korea. As a result, at that time the Party organizations were totally destroyed and the revolutionary forces were split.

During the postwar years the people's struggle in South Korea embarked gradually upon the road leading to new advances.

Inspired by the successful socialist construction in the northern half, the people in South Korea in the postwar period have been fighting persistently against U.S. imperialism and its stooges and for democratic freedom and rights.

The massive Popular Uprising in April 1960, in which students and youth of South Korea played the central role, overthrew the puppet government of Syngman Rhee, the old minion of U.S.

imperialism. This was the initial victory of the South Korean people's struggle and dealt a heavy blow to U.S. colonial rule.

The collapse of the puppet Syngman Rhee government signified, in the first place, the bankruptcy of all its anti-popular policies and the notorious "march North" clamor.

In this heroic struggle the people demonstrated their revolutionary mettle, gained valuable experience, learned important lessons and were greatly enlightened politically.

After the April Popular Uprising, the situation in South Korea developed rapidly in favor of the revolution. The militant spirit of the masses, fighting against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys for the independent peaceful unification of the fatherland, ran high.

Thus, the struggle of the people in South Korea under the slogan, "Unification is the only way to life," began to develop into a movement for tearing down the barrier between the North and the South.

The U.S. imperialists, greatly alarmed by developments after the April Popular Uprising, engineered a military coup by aiding and abetting the fascist elements within the military, and subsequently stage-managed an insidious plot for the replacement of Chang Myon, who headed the second puppet government, with the Pak Jung Hi military fascist regime.

This, however, has only resulted in the further aggravation of the crisis in the U.S. imperialist machinery of colonial rule.

Last year witnessed another large-scale anti-imperialist, anti-fascist struggle of the students and youth in South Korea.

The struggle started in opposition to the reemergence of Japanese militarism and had as its purpose the shattering of the South Korea-Japan talks. Gradually it assumed an anti-"government" nature and developed into a struggle for toppling the Pak Jung Hi regime.

This patriotic, progressive struggle of the students and youth, which lasted over 70 days, from March 24 to June 5, dealt another heavy blow to the Pak Jung Hi clique and the U.S. imperialists.

While internally intensifying the policy of fascist repression

and terror to crush the advance of the students, youth and the masses of the people today, externally the U.S. imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi regime are hastening to team up with the Japanese militarists. Furthermore, they are trying to establish an "anti-communist" Northeast Asia joint defense system.

None of these maneuvers, however, will enable the U.S. imperialists and Pak Jung Hi regime to cope with the ever-worsening crisis of their colonial rule, nor can they break the patriotic spirit of the people of South Korea who oppose U.S. imperialism and are striving to achieve the freedom and independence of their fatherland.

In South Korea today the conflict between democracy and reaction, between the patriotic revolutionary forces and the imperialist forces of aggression is growing more acute. The imperialist and reactionary forces are being isolated and weakened with each passing day.

The national and class awakening of the people is increasing gradually, their anti-U.S. sentiments are mounting and the trend toward independent peaceful unification is growing daily. The people in South Korea are being steeled constantly in the struggle, are accumulating rich political experience and becoming united in a more organized way.

At the present stage the basic line of the revolution in South Korea is to preserve the revolutionary forces from suppression by the enemy and, meanwhile, to accumulate constantly and strengthen these forces in preparation for the forthcoming great revolutionary events.

Most important in this connection is to firmly build a revolutionary Party and prepare the main force of the revolution in South Korea. To build the main force of the revolution means uniting around the Party the basic classes that can be mobilized for the revolution, namely, the workers and peasants.

In South Korea at present, the ranks of the revolutionary core armed with Marxism-Leninism are growing, the class consciousness of the workers and peasants is being heightened and their revolutionary strength is growing constantly.

It is important to form a united front embracing all social circles and strata on the basis of building a revolutionary Party and closely uniting the workers, peasants and all other working people.

The South Korean revolutionaries are directing special attention to combining the struggle of the workers and peasants with that of the youth, students and intellectuals. At the same time, they are endeavoring to form a broad anti-U.S., national salvation united front embracing all social circles and strata.

The growth and strengthening of the revolutionary forces and the formation and consolidation of the anti-U.S., national salvation united front can be realized successfully only under the condition of extensive mass struggle. Our Party supports actively, encourages and inspires all forms of the progressive, patriotic mass movements waged in South Korea.

In the final analysis, the revolution in South Korea can triumph only through the growth of the revolutionary forces of the people in South Korea and by their decisive struggle. Through struggle the people in South Korea further will be awakened and steeled and eventually will grow into an invincible revolutionary force. In this way, when the time comes they will surely drive out the U.S. imperialists and throw their lackeys overboard, thereby winning victory in the revolution.

The revolution in South Korea, no matter what method is employed, can be victorious only when the revolutionary forces are strengthened. Needless to say, once U.S. imperialism is driven out and the revolution triumphs in South Korea, the unification of our fatherland will be accomplished peacefully.

It is the duty of our Party to do everything in its power to expedite the growth of the revolutionary forces in South Korea and to assist the South Korean people in their revolutionary struggle.

It can be said that the unification of our fatherland and the countrywide victory of the Korean revolution depend, above all, on the preparation of three major forces.

First, further to strengthen our revolutionary base politically,

economically and militarily by successfully building socialism in the northern half of the Republic;

Second, to strengthen the revolutionary forces in South Korea by politically awakening and closely uniting the people;

Third, to strengthen unity between the Korean people and international revolutionary forces.

Our Party is striving unremittingly to strengthen these three revolutionary forces.

It is of great importance for the victory of our revolution that the Korean people strengthen unity with the international revolutionary forces and isolate and weaken the U.S. imperialist aggressors internationally.

Our Party adheres steadfastly to the line of uniting firmly with the peoples of the socialist countries, and of actively supporting and strengthening unity with the peoples of the newly-independent nations fighting against imperialist aggression and the peoples of all countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting to free themselves from the yoke of imperialism. We are endeavoring to strengthen solidarity with the progressive peoples of the whole world.

In this connection, it is of great importance to strengthen unity with the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and, in particular, to fight in unity with the entire Asian people to drive the U.S. imperialists out of Asia.

VII.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

A FIERCE struggle is going on in the international arena today between socialism and imperialism, between the forces of revolution and of counter-revolution. The socialist forces and the national liberation, working class and democratic movements continue to grow on a worldwide scale.

The flames of the liberation struggle are fierce, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Imperialism is meeting with determined resistance by the peoples and is being dealt severe blows in these areas. The peoples who have risen in the struggle are winning fresh victories in their revolutionary cause of smashing the old world of imperialism and colonialism and creating a new world.

The growth of the revolutionary forces of the world headed by socialism and the collapse of the colonial system have weakened significantly the forces of imperialism. The internal contradictions of imperialism have become more acute and the discord among the imperialist powers has been aggravated. The imperialists are suffering telling blows from within and from without and are getting still deeper into hot water.

The revolutionary movement cannot be free from vicissitudes in the course of its development, but the general situation is

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