

DOCUMENTS ON THE GENEVA CONFERENCE



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APPEAL

of the Central Committee of the United Democratic Fatherland Front

Dear compatriots, brothers and sisters!

All members of patriotic political parties and public organizations in North and South Korea!

Entire patriotic persons who aspire after the peaceful unification of the fatherland and the establishment of a democratic and independent state!

In total disregard of the great hope and aspirations of the entire Korean people and of the peace-loving peoples of the world for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the American imperialists, on June 15, unilaterally frustrated the discussions on the Korean question at the Geneva Conference by coercing the delegates of the countries which follow its lead.

The American imperialists and the puppet Syngman Rhee gang hampered the solution of the Korean question at every step, keeping up their shameful machinations and absurd insistence from the beginning of the conference until the very last moment when they wrecked it.

However, with a view to eliminating the artificial obstacles put up by the American delegation and attaining a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the delegations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China exerted their sincere and the utmost efforts.

At the Geneva Conference the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea presented a most fair, reasonable and practical proposal for the peaceful solution of the Korean question.

This proposal proceeded from the point that the Korean question was first of all a matter for the Koreans themselves and that it envisaged a general election to a National Assembly throughout North and South Korea with the free expression of the will of the people, and the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic all-Korean government.

In order to safeguard this, our delegation further proposed that the American army, as well as all other foreign armies, be withdrawn from the Korean territory; an All-Korean Commission consisting of representatives from both North and South Korea be formed and appropriate steps taken for conducting general elections to a National Assembly; contact between North and South Korea be effected and arrangements made for economic, scientific, cultural and art intercourse between the people; and an international guarantee of the countries interested in the peace and security of Asia given for the peaceful development of Korea.

This proposal which reflects the true will and hopes of the Korean people was accorded the full support of the entire Korean people, the delegations of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China as well as the peace-loving peoples the world over.

The delegations of America and her satellite countries blindly opposed this proposal but were unable to present any grounds whatsoever for denying its reasonableness.

Harbouring always in their minds their one object of wrecking the conference, they opposed the holding of all-Korean free elections by the Koreans themselves; refused the formation of an All-Korean Commission; rejected economic and cultural intercourse between the people of North and South Korea; insisted upon the continued stationing of U.S. troops in South Korea; and submitted the so-called "16-nation declaration" as a final counter proposal which aimed at extending the Syngman

Rhee fascist rule to North Korea through elections under the “U.N.” supervision.

The delegations of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China put up an unwavering struggle for the continuation of the conference against the unscrupulous plot of the American imperialists who were determined to undermine it, and exerted great efforts to utilize every possibility however small it might be.

The Soviet delegation confirmed the principles on which all the participants in the conference had either reached agreement or near-agreement and tabled a 5-point proposal on principles that envisaged the continuation of the discussions on the rest of the questions. However, the American delegation again arbitrarily turned it down.

Taking into consideration the fact that the western delegations rejected any measure directed toward the peaceful unification of Korea, the delegation of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea put forward a new proposal for the examination of questions relative to the tasks of solidifying the Korean Armistice and the gradual transition from the Armistice to lasting peace. Supporting this proposal in its entirety, the delegation of the People’s Republic of China proposed to discuss measures for solidifying peace in Korea by convening a limited conference, and the Soviet delegation proposed the adoption of a joint statement envisaging the guarantee of peace in Korea as a supplement to the proposal of our government.

But the American imperialists, who have lost reason and conscience, are frenziedly scheming a new war and the western delegations, bound under their spell, unconditionally opposed our proposal without even troubling to read it to say nothing of carefully studying it, and announced their so-called “16-nation declaration,” hoping thereby to break up the conference.

As a move to prevent the final breakdown of discussions, the delegation of the People’s Republic of China placed a proposal before the con-

ference asking for an agreement among countries concerned to make continued efforts for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. However, the American side, as in previous cases, turned down this proposal too without any plausible reason, not only unilaterally wrecked the discussions on the Korean question but denied the possibility of continuing the talks on the peaceful adjustment of the Korean question.

The position of the American delegation at the Geneva Conference sufficiently proves that they did not have the least intention, from the very beginning to the end, of reaching an agreement on the Korean question.

Therefore the entire responsibility for disrupting the discussions rests upon the bellicose American ruling circles and on those who drafted the so-called “16-nation declaration” under the fiendish pressure of the Americans.

On behalf of the members of the patriotic parties and public organizations and of the entire Korean people, the Central Committee of the United Democratic Fatherland Front condemns the American imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Klee clique who wrecked the discussions on the Korean question at the Geneva Conference as the most heinous, sworn enemy of our nation, and the enemy of peace, whose crime will not be blotted out for generations to come.

Dear compatriots, brothers and sisters!

All members of patriotic political parties and public organizations in North and South Korea!

Entire patriotic persons who aspire after the unity, independence, freedom and democracy of the fatherland!

Why did the American ruling circles break off the discussions on the peaceful solution of the Korean question, which is the aspiration of the whole Korean people?

Why did they oppose the withdrawal of American army from Korea and the all-Korean elections based on the free expression of the will?

Why are they afraid for the Koreans to sit down at the table together to settle the Korean question?

Why do they fear broad contact between the people of the North and South—people who have the same blood in their veins, the same history, the same language, the same culture and the same aspiration—and economic, scientific and cultural and art intercourse?

The anti-popular rule of the traitorous Syngman Rhee regime which was fabricated under the signboard of the “U.N.” observation brought unfathomable sufferings, unspeakable misery and deplorable poverty to the people of South Korea.

The fascist terror system robbed the masses of the people of their political rights and freedom; and due to the bankruptcy of the national industry and under the system of merciless exploitation, the toiling masses such as the labourers and peasants are wandering about in a state of unemployment and starvation, while the middle and small capitalists and enterprisers are within in the grip of their ruinous fate.

As a result of the American colonial rule the hatred, indignation and resistance of the masses of the people against the American imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique are being intensified as the days go by.

Today the people of South Korea are watching with boundless hope and expectation the democratic system established in North Korea, the national economy which is rapidly recovering and developing, the people’s living that is being stabilized and improved daily, and the brilliant achievements of the florescent and developing national culture, arts and science.

Being more and more convinced that only this will guarantee their freedom and happiness and, being encouraged by these things, they are putting up bolder fights against the colonial policy of the American imperialists and the traitorous rule of the Syngman Rhee gang.

Therefore the American imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique who are being further isolated from the people every day and are resorting to

police and terror in an attempt to strangle the democratic movements of the people, quite naturally fear the contact with the North Korean people and the economic and cultural intercourse between North and South Korea.

If the American army is withdrawn, if the American protection of sabres and bayonets disappears, if political freedom is given to the masses of the South Korean people enabling them to enjoy their political rights, and if elections are held under conditions where there is a free expression of the will, the establishment of a unified, independent and sovereign regime which does not permit the intervention of foreign aggressors would be feasible. It is crystal clear that such regime is not to the taste of the American ruling circles, who make war and aggression their daily business.

And herein lies the reason why the American imperialists stubbornly refuse the withdrawal of the U.S. army, free all-Korean elections, and obstinately insist upon the general election under the supervision of the "U.N."

Another reason for the American ruling circles' objection to the withdrawal of their army from Korea and their plot to wreck the discussions on the Korean question at Geneva is that they are very desirous of not only turning South Korea into their permanent colony and leaving our country artificially divided, but of again transforming South Korea, which has already become an American military base, into a spring-board for invading the northern part of our Republic and opposing the People's Republic of China and the U.S.S.R., aggravating the international tension and carrying on provocations for a new war.

Hence the loudly advertized "futility of the conference" before the conference actually started; the loud clamour of the traitorous Syngman Rhee bandits about the "march to the North" and "no other way to unite Korea except by military power," and their insane military aggrandizement while the question of the peaceful settlement of the Korean issue was being discussed in Geneva; and the public announcement of the

South Korean puppet delegate right the next day after the breakdown of the Geneva Conference that they had “no further obligation to observe the terms of the Korean Armistice.”

Especially the American delegation’s attitude at the Geneva Conference in turning down unconditionally the Soviet delegation’s proposal concerning the maintenance of peace in Korea stripped bare the real character of their aggressive policy towards Korea; the 5-Nation Military Conference which was recently held in Washington under the auspices of the American merchants of war, and the manoeuvre for organizing the Pacific Alliance which embraces South Korea, Formosa and Japan—all these shed lurid light upon the policy of the war monger of the American imperialists.

The people of Korea, who enjoy the positive support and encouragement of the peace-loving democratic camp of the world headed by the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China are filled with resolution to smash any attempt of the U.S. imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique to provoke a new war, and they have strength enough to consolidate the armistice in Korea. The United States imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique should keep in mind how great is the strength of independent people who have risen up to defend truth and freedom, national independence and honour, and that the people of the People’s Democracies headed by the great Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China and all peace-loving peoples the world over are always on the side of the Korean people who are fighting for their just cause.

Our heroic Korean people, shoulder to shoulder with the brotherly Chinese People’s Volunteers, under the support and encouragement of the people of the Soviet Union and all freedom-loving peoples the world over, have safeguarded our legitimate right for freedom and independence through three years’ hard-fought war, and have demonstrated our invincible force.

We Korean people do not want war; we desire the peaceful unification of our fatherland and peaceful construction. In the one year since the cease-fire our people have achieved huge results in reconstructing the war-devastated national economy and in restoring or establishing the ruined cities and villages, schools and hospitals and other cultural facilities.

If the U.S. imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique should forget their lesson from the past war, breach the armistice in Korea, and hazard another war, we will reply by a thousandfold vengeance upon the enemy and will never give up until we deal them a death blow.

The Central Committee of the United Democratic Fatherland Front, expressing its firm faith that our persistent struggle for the peaceful unification and democratic independence of our fatherland will win victory, appeals to the members of all the patriotic parties in North and South Korea, public organizations, all the patriots and public figures and the whole Korean people:

Rise up as one man, you who desire the peaceful unification and independence of our fatherland, regardless of sex, occupation, religion and political views, to oppose to the United States imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique who scuttled the talks on the Korean question at the Geneva Conference and are frenziedly preparing for a new war; rise up for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question by the Koreans themselves!

Korea is a single nation; Korea belongs to the Korean people. Through our long history, the Korean people have lived in the same family as a single nation. The Korean people do not wish to live under the condition of the artificially divided North and South Korea. We desire as ever to live in the same family, we have fought for it and will fight more unswervingly.

All the people of North and South Korea! Fight for settling your most vital questions through negotiation!

Fight for the economic, scientific, cultural and art intercourse between North and South Korea!

Expose and condemn the criminal acts of the U.S. warmongers and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique who are attempting to perpetuate the national, territorial division, to provoke an internecine war and to force a bloody tragedy upon us!

Fight for consolidating the armistice in Korea and for the transition from the truce to a lasting peace!

As was shown in the Korean war, we were able to achieve the armistice because our strength was great and the armistice can be consolidated only when our strength is unbreakable.

The struggle for strengthening the democratic base of North Korea is the only way for the unification, independence and democratic development of our fatherland.

Render distinguished services in the struggle to fulfil and overfulfil the three-year plan of the post-war rehabilitation and development of the national economy for the strengthening the democratic base!

Fight for further strengthening our glorious armed forces, who protect the fruit of the people's creative works and democratic construction and defend our fatherland from aggression of the enemy. Fight for further strengthening and developing our national defence power!

Rise up for the struggle of the peaceful unification and independence of our fatherland in accordance with the peace-loving foreign policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea!

Fight for the simultaneous withdrawal of the United States army and all foreign forces from the territory of Korea!

If the United States army had not been stationed in South Korea, the Korean question itself would not have been raised and the Korean people would have been living in their unified, independent country for the past few years. Fight for the withdrawal of the United States army!

Hold at all times your mobilized, strained attitude, and watch closely every movement of the enemy!

Be always ready to smash perfidious aggression at a stroke!

The Central Committee of the United Democratic Fatherland Front is firmly confident that you will rally more closely around the Korean Workers' Party, the government of the Republic and our beloved leader Marshal Kim Il Sung, and will expose and smash at every step the enemy's intrigue of unleashing a new war, and will win a glorious victory in the struggle for the peaceful unification and independence of our fatherland.

Long live the united and independent Korean people!

Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—our glorious fatherland, the hope and symbol of the happiness of the people of Korea!

*The Central Committee of the
United Democratic Fatherland Front
of the D.P.R.K.*

June 22, 1954

Statement by NAM IL at the Geneva Conference

May 22, 1954

Mr. Chairman and Delegates, in the course of the discussion of the Korean question nearly all the participants in this conference have made statements setting forth their views on a peaceful settlement. And it is evident that the efforts of the representatives of the United States and of countries which follow its lead are aimed at justifying the American intervention against the Korean people and at imposing the anti-democratic South Korean regime upon North Korea, though it should be clear to them that such attempts must inevitably fail.

Many of these representatives, in opposing the proposals of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, endeavoured to induce us to recognize the United Nations' decisions on Korea. But it is well known that the decisions and actions of the United Nations in regard to Korea were adopted on United States pressure and in violation of the Charter and principles of that international organization and in the absence of representatives of the K.P.D.R.

We cannot understand how certain delegates can get up and demand that the Korean people respect the actions and decisions of the United Nations on the Korean question. How can the Korean people respect such actions of the United Nations as the lending of its flag to the American interventionists, who for three years tormented our country and inflicted such dreadful misery and privation on our people? The Korean people never have recognized, and never will recognize, the legality of those unjust decisions of the United Nations, which ignore our national interests and are designed to establish in our country the domi-

nation of the Syngman Rhee clique and, with it, the domination of the United States.

Precisely because the United Nations bowed to American pressure and adopted a one-sided attitude from the very first, it has proved absolutely incapable of settling the Korean question. Moreover, no fine phrases can conceal the fact that the United Nations is a belligerent. It figured as a belligerent party in the Korean armistice talks, and it was as a belligerent party that it signed the armistice agreement. Consequently, the United Nations cannot be impartial on the Korean question, and cannot demand that we recognize the legality of its decisions on that question.

It is therefore obvious that other ways and means of settling the Korean question must be sought, ways and means that would, above all, take account of the national interests of the Korean people and the actual state of affairs existing today both in North and South Korea.

As the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, V.M. Molotov, rightly emphasized on May 11, the national unification of Korea can be achieved only on democratic principles, by working out at this conference terms of agreement which would enable the Korean People's Democratic Republic to retain its democratic gains, and, which at the same time, would take account of the peculiarities of the situation as it has taken shape in South Korea.

In the proposals it submitted on April 27, the delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic outlined the means by which Korea could be restored as an integral, independent and democratic state, and the entire Korean question settled peacefully. The proposals of our delegation have been unanimously approved by the Korean people, as reflected in the statement issued on May 4 by the Central Committee of the Korean United Democratic Fatherland Front.

We consider it necessary to dwell on certain statements made in the discussion of our proposals.

Some delegates, though they asserted they were in favour of the Koreans themselves settling all questions involved in the creation by peaceful means of an integral and democratic Korea, insisted on the continued occupation of South Korea by the American forces. That such an attitude is inconsistent is quite obvious. Indeed, what serious talk can there be of the people freely expressing their will, if the occupation regime is preserved in South Korea, if foreign armies remain in the country, armies which over the course of a number of years sowed death and destruction and struck terror into the hearts of the Korean civilian population, and which served, and continue to serve, as the prop of the South Korean police regime?

If the delegates here present really want to assure the Korean people the opportunity freely to express their will, then measures must be taken which would prevent any interference in the country's internal affairs and any pressure from outside. And that implies, first and foremost, withdrawal of foreign troops from the entire territory of Korea, so that its people may exercise in full measure their sovereign right of deciding their country's internal affairs as they see fit. The K.P.D.R. delegation continues to adhere to the opinion that the presence of foreign troops in Korea is incompatible with the holding of free all-Korean elections and with unification on democratic principles.

Withdrawal of the foreign forces from Korea is an urgent matter which the Geneva Conference must settle. Some delegates assert that withdrawal of foreign forces would inevitably lead to armed clashes in Korea. We do not share that gloomy view. That assertion is all the more unfounded, since Korea's peaceful development can be ensured if the countries most interested in the maintenance of peace in the Far East assume obligations to that effect. As to Syngman Rhee's stereotyped threats about a march into North Korea, after the lessons he has received in the past few years he would have desisted from that long ago, had he not been encouraged from outside by those who find it necessary to maintain international tension.

In our statement of May 3, we stressed that a particularly important role in assuring Korea's peaceful development could be played by the Great Powers, and that they should, by mutual agreement, undertake definite obligations to ensure Korea's peaceful development and non-interference in its internal affairs. The representatives of two of the Great Powers—the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic—have already announced their readiness to assume, together with other states, appropriate obligations to ensure Korea's peaceful development. But the representatives of the United States, Great Britain and France prefer to keep silent regarding that proposal.

I consider it necessary to deal with the war prisoner question. More than 48,000 POWs of the Korean-Chinese side, including 34,000 North Koreans, were, in violation of the armistice agreement, forcibly detained in South Korea and have been unable to return home to this day. There can be no justification whatever for this brutal attitude to human beings.

The representative of the Chinese People's Republic stated on May 3 that that question cannot be evaded by this conference, and, in agreement with our delegation, submitted a proposal aimed at securing its settlement. The assertion of the Canadian and British representatives that the POW question has already been settled is contrary to actual fact.

Our delegation hopes that this conference will give due attention to the proposals of the C.P.R. delegation, the adoption of which would lead to a just settlement of the POW question.

The representative of the Syngman Rhee regime has made the slanderous and absurd allegation here that several thousand South Korean inhabitants are being detained in North Korea. It should not be difficult to see that the object of that clumsy move is to divert the conference from settling the question of the prisoners of war forcibly detained in South Korea.

As to the ludicrous allegation of the South Korean representative that North Korea is being settled with Chinese, it is not worth refuting and only testifies to the extreme ineptitude of its author.

The discussion of our proposals has revealed that many delegates agree that all-Korean elections are a cardinal measure for realizing the Korean people's legitimate aspiration for a united and independent state. The delegates of Great Britain, Australia, Colombia and other countries spoke in favour of free general elections throughout Korea. The South Korean representative, however, has insisted that elections be held only in North Korea, declaring, moreover, that they must follow the South Korean pattern. It does not require much penetration to see that this attitude of the South Korean rulers is due to the fact that, in kowtowing to the United States, they have set themselves in opposition to the people, and are afraid to allow them the opportunity freely to express their will.

The South Korean representative, when he opposed free all-Korean elections, did so on the plea that South Korea had already held what he described as "free" and "democratic" elections. What the true character of those elections was, we demonstrated, on the basis of facts, in previous statements. We showed that, by means of police terrorism, coercion of the electorate and direct interference by the American authorities, even the slightest attempt to oppose Syngman Rhee's semi-fascist regime was ruthlessly suppressed. We may be quite sure that the representatives of that regime, with the support of the U.N. Commission, will boost the latest elections, held in South Korea on May 20, as a model of "democracy." However, there is nothing to distinguish these elections from the fraudulent South Korean elections of 1948 and 1950. The latest elections to the South Korean National Assembly were, like the previous ones, held in an atmosphere of gross suppression of democratic liberties, violence, police persecution and acts of terrorism against opposition voters and candidates.

In order to create an atmosphere of fear, browbeat the voters and thus influence the result of the elections, the Syngman Rhee government, we are told by the foreign press, proclaimed a state of emergency in South Korea and put the entire police force in combat readiness.

A United Press message from Seoul, broadcast by Radio Tokyo on May 20, said that opponents of Rhee's government were accusing the South Korean police of having interfered in the National Assembly elections, demanding that voters should not support President Rhee's principal political opponents. Members of the opposition National Democratic Party charged that all the more important polling stations in East Seoul were flooded with uniformed and plain clothes police who urged the electors to vote for the government party, the Liberals, and not for Sin Ik Hi, who was president of the last National Assembly and is an open opponent of Syngman Rhee. One of Sin Ik Hi's agents declared that police and Liberal Party supporters had invaded polling booths and told electors to vote for the Liberal candidates, who were personally recommended by President Rhee.

The South Korean press admits that the election campaign proceeded in an atmosphere of unbridled police terror. On May 18, *Tonga Ilbo*, a newspaper controlled by Kim Seung Soo, Rhee's chief rival for power, gave the following description of the state of the country on the eve of the poll:

"The present atmosphere of brutal repression can be likened only to the time when the Japanese colonial authorities conducted their 'controlled elections' in Korea." And the newspaper added that, instead of staging a noisy election farce, it would be better if the members of the "National Assembly" were simply appointed by the governors, the chiefs of police or the leaders of Syngman Rhee's party.

On May 18, the New York Times carried a message from Seoul stating that Sin Ik Hi, president of the South Korean National Assembly, and a leader of the National Democratic Party, had declared that the police were forcing voters to give up their support of National Democratic

Party candidates and vote for Rhee's candidates. Sin Ik Hi reported that some fifteen of his supporters in the Kwangju constituency were already in jail, and that more than fifty had been imprisoned in other parts of South Korea.

Facts about the brutal terrorism and violence which accompanied the South Korean elections were also reported on May 17 in a United Press message from Seoul. It said that several opposition candidates had already declared that police threats and interference had compelled them to refrain from an active campaign, that opposition candidates accused the government of incompetence and corruption, and that some of the more prominent candidates had told newspaper correspondents that they had fallen into heavy disgrace for having condemned the government.

Another UP message from Seoul, broadcast by Radio Tokyo on May 19, said that the election campaign was being marred by violations and accusations of murder, and that after the state of emergency was proclaimed the police confiscated opposition election leaflets and did not interfere when hooligans beat up the distributors of these leaflets. The message drew particular attention to the fact that even prominent political figures and members of the Rhee government were beaten up if they were in disagreement with Syngman Rhee on any point. Candidate He Den, for instance, was brutally manhandled by Rhee terrorists on May 11. He Den is well known as one of the leaders of the Right-wing National Democratic Party, and since 1948 held various ministerial posts in Syngman Rhee's government, and in the latter part of 1951 was appointed acting Prime Minister.

Further, according to the same UP message, He Den's campaign speakers were beaten up on May 18. His campaign manager died after a night of brutal beating in prison. Forty South Korean journalists of the Kukche Sinbo newspaper, which reported his murder by the police, were arrested.

These facts show that even the meagre information that seeps through from South Korea testifies that police tyranny and terror reign there and

that the people are denied the elementary democratic rights and liberties. These facts also demonstrate the real character of the present anti-democratic South Korean regime, which some have attempted here to depict as a model of “democracy” and “liberty.”

Obviously, the Korean people cannot recognize “elections” of this nature; they legitimately demand the opportunity to express their will in genuinely free elections.

Some delegates gave a wrong presentation of our proposals concerning the procedure for preparing and holding the elections. They asserted, for instance, that our proposals ignored the principle of proportional representation. They confused two entirely different things, namely, the representative All-Korean National Assembly which is to be formed as a result of nation-wide elections, and the bilateral provisional all-Korean body which is to prepare and carry out the nation-wide elections.

I consider it necessary, therefore, to give some additional explanations.

We propose that an All-Korean Commission composed of representatives of North and South Korea, be set up to prepare and conduct free all-Korean elections to a Korean National Assembly, and to adopt urgent measures for establishing close economic and cultural relations between North and South Korea. Our proposals provide that the representatives to the Commission be elected respectively by the Supreme People’s Assembly of the People’s Democratic Republic of Korea and the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea. That Commission might also include representatives of the bigger democratic public organizations both of North and South Korea.

Some delegates alleged that by democratic public organizations we mean only Communist organizations. That is a perversion of the meaning of our proposal. What we have in mind is broad representation in the All-Korean Commission of public organizations of various political trends both in North and South Korea.

Some delegates objected to questions being decided in this Commission by mutual agreement of the two sides. They suggested an All-Korean Commission in which the number of members from each side would be proportionate to size of population, and questions would be decided by a majority vote. That would mean that South Korea could simply dictate its demands in the Commission and, consequently, impose its will on North Korea. It is impossible to agree with that view, because it does not take account of the actual situation that now exists in Korea.

It is no secret that social, economic and political conditions in South and North Korea differ.

The population of the Korean People's Democratic Republic have set up a popular government, under whose guidance they have registered big achievements in building up a free democratic state, in developing the national economy and national culture, and in improving their living conditions. These democratic achievements of the people of the K.P.D.R. were described in our statements of April 27 and May 3, and in the statement of the head of the Soviet delegation of May 11.

A profoundly revolutionary agrarian reform has been carried out in North Korea, which abolished the estates of the Japanese and the Korean landlords and put an end to the parasitic land-leasing system. The land was turned over to the peasants free of charge. Thanks to this measure, and to the constant assistance of the government, conditions were created for systematically raising peasant living standards. Radical democratic reforms were also carried out in industry, as a result of which the big industrial enterprises passed into the hands of the people and conditions were created ensuring the workers permanent employment and systematic rise of real wages. State-financed social insurance was introduced.

The people of North Korea also secured broad opportunities for developing the Korean national culture. Free elementary education was instituted. The majority of the students of higher educational institutions

and technical colleges are in receipt of government stipends. Much is being done to abolish adult illiteracy, and today only a small percentage of the North Korean population are still illiterate.

The democratic achievements of the North Korean people were given legal consolidation in the Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. Under the Constitution, all organs of authority, from the local People's Committees to the Supreme People's Assembly, are elected by the people on the basis of universal, equal and secret suffrage. The Constitution guarantees the citizens freedom of speech, press and assembly and the right to form public organizations. The people's democratic rights and liberties are guaranteed by the state.

Entirely different is the situation in South Korea, where a semi-fascist police regime has been set up by the Americans. The rule of the Syngman Rhee clique has led to economic decline and impoverishment of the people. Land reform in the interests of the peasants has actually not been carried out in South Korea. The so-called reform introduced by the Rhee government plunges the peasants into even deeper bondage, because of the unbearably heavy payments they have to make for the price of the land, amounting, according to official South Korean data, to as much as 300 per cent of the annual crop.

For an idea of the position of the South Korean peasants, one might cite the Monthly Statistical Survey of the Bank of Korea, No. 56, June 1953, where we find the following statement:

"The deplorable fact must be pointed out that 271,578 agricultural labourers are still without land. It is to be regretted that this year—the third since the reform—the peasants are compelled to sell their rice on the stalk to usurers.... Since the amount of land allotted to the peasants dooms them to starvation, in the Chonin district there were 1,080 cases of peasants abandoning their land in one week alone." The survey further says: "The land abandoned by the peasants is seized by local officials and the rural rich, who then rent it to the peasants on more onerous terms than existed before the reform."

Far from having been rehabilitated since the expulsion of the Japanese, South Korean industry has been falling into deeper and deeper decline. By the close of 1948, more than half the industrial enterprises which existed prior to the arrival of the Americans had gone out of operation. Formerly well-developed industries, like textiles and chemicals, have sharply reduced production. The result is a systematic increase of unemployment and decline of the people's living standards.

According to the South Korean Year Book for 1953, real wages at the end of 1949 were only about one half of the 1936 level. Syngman Rhee's Ministry of Public Works stated that in May 1953, there were about two million unemployed in South Korea.

The hard lot of the South Korean population is further aggravated by the tyranny of the authorities, unbearable imposts, and corruption. We have, in particular, the testimony of the American journalist, Mark Gayn, who had been to South Korea and who wrote in *The Nation*, March 13, 1954: "Official corruption in South Korea is on a fabulous scale, and it reaches both high and low levels... To some Americans in Korea the scene presents a frightening resemblance to China in the last years of Kuomintang rule. There is the same autocratic rule, the same corruption, the same indifference to misery... Rhee's shadow lies heavy over this unhappy landscape."

To this it should be added that the inhabitants of South Korea are denied the elementary democratic rights and liberties. That is convincingly shown, in particular, by the elections just held in South Korea, evidence of the fraudulent character of which we have already given.

Such is the real character of the Syngman Rhee regime in South Korea. Yet it was this regime which the American interventionists and the South Korean authorities attempt to force on North Korea. As we know, that attempt failed. It should not be difficult to understand that, having upheld their conquests in battle against the forces of intervention, the people of North Korea will not agree to accept the Syngman Rhee regime, which would lead to the return to the landlords of the land giv-

en to the peasants, to the restoration of property to the servitors of the Japanese invaders, who robbed the people, and to depriving the inhabitants of North Korea of the democratic rights and liberties.

When drawing up measures for uniting Korea and peacefully settling the Korean question—in particular, when drawing up the agreement on the All-Korean Commission—the specific conditions existing in each part of Korea must not be overlooked. It should be borne in mind that if these specific conditions are left out of account, it will be impossible to work out any agreement that would be acceptable to both sides. It stands to reason that we cannot allow the South Korean side to enjoy a privileged position in that Commission and be able to force upon North Korea such decisions as Rhee and his followers may think fit.

It is quite obvious that the work of the All-Korean Commission can be fruitful only if its participants, whatever part of Korea they may have been appointed from, sincerely strive to find such ways and means of bringing together and uniting the two parts of the country as would be acceptable both to South and North Korea. And it is natural, also, that the Commission's decisions must be adopted by agreement of the two sides.

But it must not be forgotten that the All-Korean Election Commission is a temporary body whose chief function it will be to settle matters pertaining to the preparation and holding of free all-Korean elections.

The proposals of the K.P.D.R. delegation provide for the holding of the elections simultaneously throughout Korea, that is, both in the North and in the South. We further envisage that the All-Korean National Assembly formed as a result of the democratic elections will be genuinely representative of all the Korean people. Its representative character would be ensured by so arranging the constituencies that the number of inhabitants in each of them would be the same all over Korea, and all of them would have equal representation in the future National Assembly. What we envisage is that the All-Korean Commission will decide how many inhabitants are to elect one deputy. Proportional representation is

the principle we follow, for instance, in the elections to our Supreme People's Assembly. That principle is laid down in the Constitution of the Korean People's Democratic Republic. Article 35 of the Constitution reads: "Members of the Supreme People's Assembly are elected on the basis of one member from each 50,000 inhabitants."

Consequently, the assertion made by certain delegates that our proposals ignore the principle of proportional representation in the elections to the All-Korean National Assembly is entirely without foundation.

Many spoke here of the necessity for international supervision of the Korean elections. I should like to touch upon this question. First of all, we cannot shut our eyes to the specific conditions in which the Korean people find themselves as a result of three years of sanguinary war between the northern and southern parts of the country. The war has naturally caused bad blood between North and South Korea and created additional difficulties in the matter of bringing them together and uniting the nation. Though an armistice has now been concluded, much still remains to be done before a state of peace is established and the consequences of the war are finally eliminated.

It is our duty not to ignore anything that may possibly help the All-Korean Commission to cope with the difficulties it will encounter in its practical work of conducting the all-Korean elections.

With these considerations in mind, the K.P.D.R. delegation expresses its agreement with the proposal made by the delegation of the Chinese People's Republic that, with a view to assisting the All-Korean Commission in conducting elections throughout Korea, a Neutral Nations Commission be appointed to supervise the all-Korean elections. We take it as assumed that international supervision will not impair the basic principle of our proposals—namely, non-interference of foreign states in Korea's internal affairs, which must be settled by the Koreans themselves.

In conclusion, I should like to express the confidence that this conference will examine our proposals objectively and find ways and means of creating conditions for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question in the interests of the Korean people.

Statement by NAM IL at the Geneva Conference

June 5, 1954

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, the discussion on the Korean question has revealed two approaches to the problem of the national unification of Korea and the establishment by peaceful means of an integral, independent and democratic state.

On the one hand, the delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea submitted at the very opening of the Geneva Conference, on April 27, concrete proposals for the National Reunion of Korea and Free All-Korean Elections. These proposals provide for the holding, on the basis of an agreement between North and South Korea, of all-Korean elections in conditions of freedom which would preclude foreign interference or pressure on the electorate by local authorities or terroristic groups. Our delegation acted on the premise that the national interests of the Korean people must be ensured and the actual situation in Korea taken into account.

On the other hand, the South Korean delegation advanced proposals of its own on May 22. They provide for the holding of elections while South Korea is occupied by foreign forces, and for the imposition on North Korea the order of things established with the help of these forces in South Korea. The sponsors of these proposals display not the slightest disposition to take a sober view of the situation actually existing in the two parts of Korea. The fact alone that the South Korean delegation made its proposals only after a month had elapsed since the opening of the Geneva Conference is proof that the South Korean authorities are

not interested in a businesslike examination of a Korean peace settlement.

The proposals of the South Korean delegation all revolve around one fallacious idea, the basis of which is the desire of the United States and the countries that follow its lead to bring the People's Democratic Republic of Korea under the Syngman Rhee regime. This is clearly revealed by an examination of the proposals made by the South Korean representative.

The South Korean proposals entirely ignore one of the most cardinal questions, namely, the setting up of some all-Korean body to prepare and conduct the elections, and also to work out agreement between the two parts of Korea on matters pertaining to the restoration of cultural and economic relations. It should be clear that, unless such an all-Korean body is set up, no progress whatever can be made in working out agreements acceptable to both parts of Korea.

Inasmuch as two governments exist in Korea, each with its own legislative bodies, none of the afore-mentioned questions can be settled on the basis of the laws or regulations in force in only one of the parts of Korea. Yet the South Korean delegate proposes, for instance, that the elections to an All-Korean National Assembly should be held, not on the basis of an electoral law acceptable to both sides and framed by an all-Korean body, but in accordance with the so-called "constitutional procedures" of South Korea.

The South Korean delegate and a number of other delegations objected to the setting up of an all-Korean body on the untenable excuse that it would supersede the functions of the government bodies and force upon them unacceptable unilateral decisions. That possibility is precluded primarily by the fact that the body is conceived only as a bilateral one, all of whose decisions must be adopted, not on the dictation of the representatives of one of the sides, but by the common consent of both sides. Some of the delegates, anxious to prevent agreement on an all-Korean body, continue to insist that it be based on the principle of

proportional representation, that is. that the number of members from each side be proportionate to size of population, and that its decisions, accordingly, be adopted by a majority vote. In amplification of what we have previously said concerning the untenability of that position, we might remind the delegates of a few historical instances when that principle was by no means recognized as essential even in the creation of legislative bodies which served as a transitional step from the divided state of a nation to its unification, that is, in circumstances resembling those which have arisen in Korea today.

We might remind the United States representative, in particular, of an instance in the history of his own country. We know that when the American Confederation was formed at the close of the eighteenth century, the body proclaimed as its central authority was the Congress, consisting of representatives of the member states of the Confederation, and that in the decision of questions in the Congress the states enjoyed equal rights. Yet the populations of the states were far from equal. Virginia, for instance, in 1790 had a population of 747,000, the population of Pennsylvania was 434,000, and that of Delaware only 59,000. That did not prevent the representatives of these states enjoying equal rights in Congress.

There have been other instances in history of a similar nature. In Switzerland, for example, the cantons which participated in the unification of the country, in 1815 set up a Diet, as the central authority, likewise on the basis of equal representation of the cantons, though their populations differed very substantially: for example, the population of Berne was approximately 23 times greater than that of Zug, and 30 times greater than that of Uri.

These examples from history provide added proof of how untenable are the arguments of those who oppose formation of an all-Korean body.

Instead of helping the conference devise ways of bringing about a rapprochement between North and South Korea, of reaching mutually

acceptable agreements on disputed issues which are of vital importance to the Korean people, some of the delegates continue to misrepresent the essence of our proposals by asserting that they would have the effect of one of the sides imposing its will on the other. Yet, as we have explained again and again, the substance of our proposal is that neither side shall be in a position to impose its will on the other, that the all-Korean body shall adopt decisions only with the consent of both sides. But that, apparently, does not please those delegates who come forward here and advocate that the Syngman Rhee regime be given the right to dictate decisions on matters which ought to be settled by agreement between North and South Korea.

The South Korean delegate proposes that the elections be supervised not by a commission composed of representatives of neutral countries, as has been suggested by the C.P.R. delegation and supported by us, but by the United Nations, which, as we know, is a belligerent and therefore cannot act as an impartial body for Korea especially in such a matter as all-Korean elections. In other words, the South Korean representative is opposed to supervision of the elections by a really impartial international body, which might be formed of representatives of states that took no part in the intervention in Korea. It stands to reason that the K.P.D.R. delegation cannot agree to the proposal that the all-Korean elections be controlled by the United Nations; it is unquestionable that impartial supervision of the Korean elections can be ensured only by a neutral nations commission.

The South Korean representative proposes that the American forces remain in Korea, but that, on the other hand, the Chinese People's Volunteer units be withdrawn. That proposal most glaringly reflects the fear of the South Korean authorities of being left face to face with the Korean people, reflects their desire to have their anti-democratic policy backed by the bayonets of foreign armies. The proposal of the South Korean representative is in effect an attempt to put the K.P.D.R. in an unequal position and to create conditions which would make possible

another attempt to impose the South Korean regime upon North Korea. We have already in previous statements demonstrated that that proposal is absolutely untenable and unacceptable.

If the elections are to be really free, if the South Korean voters are to be able freely to express their will, it is necessary that the American armies be withdrawn from South Korea simultaneously with the withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers from North Korea. The presence of American forces lends added tensivity to the political situation in South Korea, which is tense enough as it is, prompts, inspires and instigates the South Korean police force, and the semi-fascist bands which collaborate with it, to the commission of acts of tyranny, violence and terrorism against the population. Clearly, unless the American forces are withdrawn from Korea, there can be no guarantee of a free expression of will by the voters.

As to the idea suggested by some of the delegates that all foreign forces be withdrawn from Korea by stages, we do not object to that in principle, provided the principle of proportionality is observed. What we proposed, specifically, was agreement on the time limits for the withdrawal of all the foreign forces from Korea.

It must be observed that the South Korean representatives were particularly malicious in their attacks on our proposal that Korea's peaceful development be guaranteed by appropriate obligations undertaken by the states most interested in the maintenance of peace in the Far East. The South Korean representative countered this proposal of ours, which provides that the Great Powers shall play a particularly important part in guaranteeing Korea's peaceful development, with a proposal that "the integrity and independence of the united, independent and democratic Korea shall be guaranteed by the United Nations." The South Korean proposal that "the integrity and independence of the united...Korea" be guaranteed by the United Nations can only be regarded as an attempt to divert the conference from the adoption of a decision on maintaining and consolidating peace in Korea.

We consider that the question of guaranteeing peace in Korea cannot be postponed until Korea is united. The conference would fail to perform one of its cardinal duties if it did not pass a definite decision on the matter of guaranteeing Korea's peaceful development and eliminating the danger of a resumption of the war in Korea.

The South Korean delegate proposes that the future All-Korean National Assembly shall be bound in advance by a number of obligations, the purpose of which is, in effect, to preserve the South Korean regime and, more, to extend it to the whole of Korea. In particular, it follows from his proposal that the united Korean state must adopt the South Korean constitution as its fundamental law.

In this connection, we must declare, in the first place, that the future constitution of Korea, and other internal matters, such as the election of the President and so on, cannot be a subject for examination and decision by this conference, since they come entirely within the jurisdiction of the Korean people themselves and of their future legislative bodies.

However, inasmuch as in this matter, too, the South Korean representative is quite obviously seeking to secure a decision which would make it easier to impose on North Korea the laws and the personalities with whose help a policy of oppressing the people is now being pursued in the south of the country, we should like to make a few observations on the South Korean constitution.

What is the nature of that constitution, which the South Korean representative suggests should be foisted upon the Korean people?

Despite all its pseudo-democratic phraseology, the constitution adopted by the South Korean National Assembly in July 1948 is essentially anti-democratic and inimical to the people.

The South Korean constitution is a cover for deception and robbery practised against the peasantry. Article 86 of the constitution hypocritically proclaims that the land shall be divided among the peasants. But right there and then it makes the reservation that "the manner of distribution, the size of the holdings, the nature of the tenure and limitations of

property rights shall be defined by legislation.” It is clear from this article that the constitution does not turn over the land to the peasants, but leaves the decision of this question to the arbitrary will of the ruling Syngman Rhee clique, which consists of landlords, big businessmen and their patrons. Under the pretence of instituting land reform, the ruling clique have not only failed to turn over the land to the peasants, but have engineered a new robbery of the peasants.

In contrast, the constitution of the K.P.D.R. has settled the land question in the interests of the peasantry. Article 6 of the K.P.D.R. constitution reads: “Land which belonged to the Japanese state or to Japanese, as well as to Korean landlords, is confiscated. The land leasing system is abolished forever. The land belongs solely to those who till it with their own labour.”

Can the South Korean representative really think that the peasants of North Korea will surrender their land and voluntarily don the oppressive yoke of South Korean landlordism?

The same applies to the mills and factories in South Korea. Today, as under the Japanese, the mills, factories, power stations, banks, etc., belong to big magnates, while the workers live in poverty, are denied the elementary rights and are ruthlessly exploited: social insurance and labour protection are nonexistent, and wages are at the lowest possible level.

Who in North Korea would consent to turn over the mills, factories and banks, which are the property of the people, to the big monopolists, only because such an order of things exists in South Korea by virtue of its constitution?

Eighteen of the 22 articles in the section of the constitution defining the rights and duties of citizens contain reservations which in advance render the implementation of these articles impossible. What, one asks, remains of the fundamental law, if nearly every one of its provisions can be—and actually is—limited by order of the police administration or the government? Article 13, for instance, reads: “No one shall be sub-

ject to limitation in the exercise of freedom of speech, press, assembly and association, with the exception of cases provided by law.” In South Korea, as we know, all democratic organizations and parties which in any way endeavour to protect the interests of the people are proscribed. Hence, the declaration that no one is subject to limitation in the exercise of freedom is a fraud, and the truth is that all who endeavour to exercise freedom of speech, press, assembly, etc., are subjected to brutal police persecution.

The South Korean representative waxed ironical here over the suggestion that the democratic rights in Korea must be conferred on all citizens, irrespective of nationality. These rights are not, indeed, provided by the South Korean constitution. But what does that indicate? Only the profoundly reactionary character of the South Korean constitution. Recognition of the equal rights of citizens of all nationalities inhabiting a given country is an elementary rule of modern democratic constitutions. Only the German and Japanese fascists denied the right of citizenship to persons of other nationalities.

As the U.N. Commission on Korea pointed out in its official report to the Fourth General Assembly, the South Korean constitution “makes no workable provision for enforcing Executive responsibility to the Legislature.”

Thus the South Korean constitution, which it is proposed to force upon the Korean people, guarantees the complete dictatorship of Syngman Rhee, who, as President of South Korea, meekly carries out the will of overseas monopolies.

The proposal of the South Korean representative that the South Korean constitution be extended to the whole of Korea cannot be examined at this conference. The Constitution of Korea must be framed and approved by a National Assembly of Korea, elected through all-Korean elections. It would therefore be wrong to impose upon the future National Assembly of Korea commitments which run counter to the interests and democratic aspirations of the Korean people.

The K.P.D.R. delegation believes that if this conference really wants to solve the Korean problem by peacefully uniting the country on democratic principles, a good basis for this is provided by our proposals, as well as the proposal of the Chinese People's Republic that elections be held throughout Korea under the supervision of a body composed of representatives of neutral countries which did not take part in the Korean war.

Statement by NAM IL at the Geneva Conference

June 11, 1954

When this conference first opened, the delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea submitted proposals for a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem on democratic principles. In the course of the discussion of a peace settlement, proposals were also put before the conference by the representatives of some of the other countries.

Though the discussion of our proposals revealed the existence of different views, some of the delegates expressed the opinion that a way to agreement might be found on some of the fundamental principles of a Korean peace settlement. We share this opinion, and consider that the adoption of a preliminary decision on the general principles of a peace settlement might facilitate the work of this conference and help the search for areas of agreement on issues upon which the delegations are divided.

We fully agree with the opinion of the head of the Soviet delegation, V. M. Molotov, that it would be advisable to adopt a preliminary decision on the general principles of a Korean peace settlement.

With a view to the peaceful unification of Korea on a democratic basis, our delegation, when this conference first began its deliberations, suggested that the population of all Korea be given the opportunity freely to express their will through all-Korean elections to a National Assembly, which would then set up a single government of Korea. The majority of the delegations share our view on this question.

As to the setting up of an all-Korean body to prepare and conduct the general elections, when we made that proposal it was on the ground that

the reunion of divided Korea in a single state through all-Korean elections is a matter for the Koreans themselves, and that the preparations for the general elections must be made throughout Korea. We consider that, if there is a desire to unite Korea peacefully on a democratic basis, and if it is recognized that the unification of the country calls for the arrangement of all-Korean elections by the Koreans themselves, there are no grounds for opposing the setting up of an all-Korean body to prepare and conduct the elections.

It is admitted by the delegates at this conference that a cardinal measure for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question is the withdrawal of the foreign forces from Korea. In order that foreign interference may be eliminated during the restoration of peace in Korea and the general elections held for the purpose of forming a single government for all Korea, and in order, also, that the elections may be held in conditions of real freedom, all foreign forces must be withdrawn from the whole territory of Korea. To this end, we proposed that all the foreign forces be withdrawn from Korea before the elections. Taking into consideration what was said by some of the delegates, we stated here that the time limit for the withdrawal of the foreign forces might be fixed by agreement, and also that we did not object in principle to their being withdrawn by stages, provided that the principle of proportionality were observed.

We agreed with the proposal made by Foreign Minister Chou En-lai that an international commission, composed of representatives of neutral nations which took no part in the Korean war, be set up to supervise the Korean elections. In doing so, we were mindful of the observations made by some of the delegates who likewise consider it necessary to appoint an international body to supervise the all-Korean elections. It may, consequently, be recorded that there is agreement also on this fundamental question.

No objection has been offered at this conference to the assumption by the states most interested in the maintenance of peace in the Far East of

appropriate obligations guaranteeing Korea's peaceful development—if we leave out of account the objection of the South Korean representative, and of his backer, the U.S. representative, who oppose every proposal aimed at a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem. The majority of the delegates have recognized the necessity of creating conditions which would eliminate the possibility of a resumption of the war and would guarantee Korea's peaceful development.

We consider that this conference must settle a question of such importance to the Korean people as the maintenance of peace in Korea, so as to guarantee them the possibility of working in peace for the rehabilitation of their war-shattered economy.

That is necessary both for the sake of Korea and for the maintenance of peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

Consequently, the conference has every ground for adopting a preliminary decision on the general principles of a Korean peace settlement. Our delegation, therefore, supports the resolution moved by the Soviet delegation on June 5, in the belief that it would, if adopted, help the conference in accomplishing its task of arranging peace settlement in Korea.

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from touching on the statement made by the U.S. representative on June 5, in which he declared that the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Korea is unable to perform its functions owing to the attitude taken by the Polish and Czechoslovak members of the commission.

It may be admitted that the Supervisory Commission could function more effectively if the American military authorities did not violate the armistice agreement and create all sorts of obstacles to the operation of the commission and its inspection teams.

The conference is well familiar with the statements addressed by the Polish and Czechoslovak members to the Korean Military Armistice Commission on April 15 and 30 and May 20, which show that it is the

American military authorities who are seeking to paralyze the activities of the NNSC.

I should like to present to the conference a few facts in corroboration of this. It is recorded in the NNSC's minutes of September 15 and October 9, 1953, for instance, that the American authorities refused to allow the Pusan inspection team the right to inspect cargoes on board ship, to open crates and to examine cargo lists.

That the United Nations command has been unlawfully importing strategic materials into South Korea in violation of the armistice agreement is widely known. One might cite, in illustration, a special report submitted to the NNSC by its Pusan team on September 11, 1953, where it is stated that the American side, without notifying the NNSC imported into South Korea 318 crates containing 106 disassembled mortars. That fact was discovered by the inspection team.

In contrast, it may be shown from the minutes that the inspection teams operating in North Korea have been receiving every assistance from the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers. From August 18, 1953, when they began to function, till May 1954. the inspection teams in North Korea carried out 953 check controls, which may be taken as evidence that in North Korea normal conditions for their activities have been created. The fact should also be mentioned that, at a meeting of the NNSC on September 23, 1953, the Swiss member, General Rhyner, and the Swedish member, General Grafstrom, admitted that the inspection teams were receiving all necessary assistance from the North Korean authorities.

It is quite obvious from this that what the U.S. representative says about the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission is not in conformity with the facts.

Statement by NAM IL at the Geneva Conference

June 15, 1954

Mr. Chairman and Delegates, it has become clear by now that the delegations which follow the lead of the United States disapprove of the proposals for the unification of Korea on democratic principles submitted by the K.P.D.R. delegation on April 27. Those delegations have shown that they are prepared to agree only to such conditions for the unification of Korea as would enable them to place North Korea under the sway of the South Korean regime.

The unwillingness of those delegations to agree to a democratic solution of the Korean problem was very glaringly manifested when they rejected the basic principles for a Korean peace settlement proposed by U.S.S.R. Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov on June 5, despite the fact that the proposals of the head of the Soviet delegation might facilitate agreement on the points on which the views of the delegates differ.

The statement made at the conference by the delegates of the countries which took part in the three-year armed intervention in Korea under the flag of the United Nations have shown that they are at present averse to the peaceful unification of Korea. They evidently want, as things now are, to keep Korea partitioned, in order to take advantage of an opportune moment for another attempt to extend the South Korean regime to North Korea.

That alone can explain the intention of the delegations which take their cue from the United States to break off the talks on the Korean question at the Geneva Conference, as was very clearly manifested at the plenary meeting on June 11.

We, however, are of a different opinion.

We consider that, although there is substantial disagreement on a number of important points, it is nevertheless necessary to continue our effort to reach mutually acceptable decisions.

If we are unable at present to agree on matters pertaining to the holding of elections with a view to uniting the country, we should endeavour to reach agreement on other important questions, primarily, on the preservation of peace in Korea, bearing in mind that the preservation and consolidation of peace would facilitate the unification of the country in the early future.

Consolidation of peace in Korea is demanded both by the people of the North and the people of the South. It is demanded by the peace lovers in all countries, because they know that settlement of the Korean problem would conduce very largely to relaxation of international tension.

From these considerations, the K.P.D.R. delegation deems it necessary to invite the conference to examine questions pertaining to consolidation of the truce and gradual transition to a state of peace.

The cruel war forced upon the Korean people from outside has spelled for them incalculable suffering and misery. The danger of another such war in Korea has still not been eliminated. The South Korean rulers are not desisting from their threats to resume hostilities. On American orders, large-scale war preparations are being made in South Korea, in disregard of the terms of the armistice.

According to official South Korean reports, the South Korean army has already been increased since the signing of the armistice from 16 to 20 divisions, or by four divisions, and it is planned in the early future to form 15 additional infantry divisions and large air formation's.

If the United States and South Korea, and the countries which support them, are really anxious to preserve peace in Korea, the Geneva Conference might pass appropriate decisions ensuring consolidation of

peace in Korea and a gradual transition from a state of truce to firm peace in our country.

First of all, we consider that it will be hard to secure relaxation of tension and a transition from a state of truce to firm peace as long as there are foreign forces in Korea. We therefore propose that this conference recommend the governments of the countries concerned to withdraw their forces from Korea within a definite time limit by stages, with observance of the principle of proportionality.

An important measure for effecting the transition from a state of truce to a state of peace would be the reduction of the present Korean forces in the North and in the South to a minimum.

In our opinion, if there is no intention to resume hostilities, there is no necessity for the maintenance of large armies in the two parts of Korea. The demobilized Korean soldiers could devote themselves to the peaceful work of rehabilitating the war-shattered economy. Moreover, reduction of expenditure on the maintenance of the armies would make it possible to increase the appropriations needed for economic rehabilitation and improvement of the conditions of the people.

It would be advisable, in the opinion of the K.P.D.R. delegation, to set up a commission composed of the representatives of the North and South to control the withdrawal of the foreign troops and reduction of the armed forces of North and South Korea. That commission might also consider measures for the gradual liquidation of the state of war, including the placing of the forces of both sides on a peacetime footing and the drafting of proposals for a corresponding agreement between the government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the government of the Republic of Korea.

When examining measures for the consolidation of peace in Korea, the conference cannot ignore the fact that the government of South Korea and the government of the United States have concluded a so-called "mutual defence" treaty, which gives the United States the right to maintain armed forces in South Korea for an unlimited period. In other

words, that treaty implies American occupation of South Korea without time limit. That treaty is designed not for the promotion of a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, but for the launching of further war-like ventures, and it is therefore incompatible with the consolidation of peace in Korea.

To bring South and North Korea closer together it is necessary to establish economic and cultural relations (trade, financial settlements, transport, frontier matters, freedom of movement and correspondence, cultural and scientific intercourse, etc.) between the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Republic of Korea.

The fact that Korea is not yet politically united cannot, in the opinion of the K.P.D.R. delegation justify a refusal to adopt practical measures to assist the resumption of relations between the two parts of our country. For the furtherance of such measures, we consider it necessary to set up an all-Korean commission composed of representatives of North and South Korea.

It is beyond doubt that the appointment of such an all-Korean body would be a substantial practical step towards rapprochement between the two parts of our country in the interests of our people. Contact between representatives of North and South Korea, and examination of vital and urgent matters in whose settlement both parts of the country are interested, would undoubtedly help to do away with the abnormal situation existing in Korea today.

The continued blockade of the North Korean coast by the United States is absolutely incompatible with the consolidation of peace and the economic rehabilitation of the country. The people of North Korea cannot reconcile themselves to this arbitrary action of the United States, and insist that the unlawful blockade of our coast be removed.

We consider it necessary to stress the point that the guaranteeing of Korea's peaceful development requires that the states participating in the Geneva Conference assume definite obligations. What we have in

mind is that these states shall undertake not to allow armed conflicts in Korea and to assist Korea's speedy national unification.

Guided by these considerations, the delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic submits the following proposals for the consideration of our conference:

“Ensurance of Conditions of Peace in Korea

“The states participating in the Geneva Conference have agreed to continue their effort to achieve agreement on a peaceful settlement of the Korean question based upon the establishment of a united, independent and democratic Korean state.

“For the purpose of ensuring conditions of peace in Korea:

“1. The governments of the countries concerned shall take measures for the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from Korean territory as speedily as possible with observance of the principle of proportionality.

“The time limit for the withdrawal of the foreign forces shall be settled by agreement among the participants in the Geneva Conference.

“2. The armed forces of the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Republic of Korea shall within a period of not more than one year be reduced to a limit not exceeding 100,000 men on each side.

“3. A commission composed of representatives of the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Republic of Korea shall be set up to examine the creation of conditions for the gradual liquidation of the state of war and the placing of the forces of both sides on a peacetime footing, and to submit to the government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the government of the Republic of Korea proposals for an agreement to this effect.

“4. Treaties between either side of Korea and other states involving military commitments shall be recognized as incompatible with promotion of the peaceful unification of Korea.

“5. With a view to bringing North and South Korea closer together, an all-Korean committee shall be set up to work out and put into effect agreed measures for the establishment and development of economic

and cultural relations between the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Republic of Korea (trade, financial settlements, transport, frontier matters, freedom of movement and correspondence, cultural and scientific intercourse, etc.).

“6. It shall be recognized that the states participating in the Geneva Conference must guarantee Korea's peaceful development, thereby creating conditions facilitating the speedy peaceful unification of Korea as an integral, independent and democratic state.”

We are confident that the measures envisaged in our proposals, if adopted, would ensure a transition from the state of truce to stable peace in Korea, thereby facilitating the peaceful unification of the country.

Statement by NAM IL, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the D.P.R.K.

On the Results of the Geneva Conference for the Peaceful Adjustment of the Korean Question

July 6, 1954

The talks on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, one of the most acute problems in Asia today, was conducted at the Geneva Foreign Ministers Conference from April 26 to June 15. Participants in this conference were the Five Great Powers—the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the United Kingdom, France and the United States—the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Philippines, Turkey, Greece, Netherlands, Colombia, Belgium, Ethiopia, Thailand, and Luxembourg.

It is indicative that the Five Great Powers—the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the United Kingdom, France and the United States—met for the first time in recent years in a conference.

It is, too, of vital importance for further development of the international relations that the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, together with the Soviet Union, took part for the first time in an international conference.

One of the main tasks of the conference was to consolidate peace in Korea, to attain the peaceful unification of Korea on democratic basis and to settle other problems relating to the Korean question.

The accomplishment of the task would be of great significance to the maintenance of peace in the Far East and the world and the reduction of international tension.

The delegations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, proceeding from the interests of the Korean people and the peace-loving peoples the world over, have, from the beginning to the end, made every effort to settle the Korean question peacefully in line with the consolidation of peace in the Far East and the world.

However, despite our efforts, the conference could not fulfil its task on account of the stubborn objection on the part of the delegations of the United States and its followers—South Korea and other satellites—who did not want the peaceful settlement of Korean question and were engrossed in scheming new military ventures and in directing the conference toward ultimate disruption.

The cease-fire in Korea was realised thanks to the initiative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, and possibilities were created for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. This is a great contribution towards the relaxation of international tension.

The conclusion of the Armistice Agreement marked the first step toward the realisation of the peaceful unification of Korea on democratic lines. But the armistice does not imply a complete peace.

With the achievement of cease-fire, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, proceeding from its peace-loving policy, immediately undertook, and carried into effect, all necessary measures to rehabilitate the war-devastated national economy, to stabilize and improve the living conditions of the people, and to effect the general conversion of our national and social system to a peacetime footing.

The government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has concentrated all its energy upon the total change-over from the war-time

basis to that of peace, and upon the peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

The Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the People's Democracies, striving to maintain peace in the Far East, are rendering tremendous aid to the Korean people in their struggle for the peaceful construction and peaceful unification of the fatherland. Since the armistice, the American ruling circles and Syngman Rhee clique have followed different paths. The ruling circles of the United States and South Korea have no liking for the consolidation of peace in Korea and its unity; and fearing the relaxation of international tension, they have adopted the road of new military ventures.

To prove this fact it will suffice to mention that, for the purpose of launching new aggressive military ventures, the United States government, after the armistice, concluded the so-called "Mutual Defence Treaty" with the puppet Syngman Rhee government and acquired the right of the prolonged occupation of South Korea, and the Syngman Rhee clique is clamouring louder than ever for a "march northward" and at the same time expanding the puppet army on a large scale.

The Korean people and the peace-loving peoples the world over are in urgent need of eliminating threats which may greatly affect the maintenance of peace in the Far East and the world.

The Armistice Agreement provided for the convocation of a Political Conference through which the Korean question was to be peacefully settled. For fear of the lessening of international tension, the U.S. ruling circles blocked the convening of the Conference.

At the initiative of the Soviet Union, an agreement on the convening of the Geneva Conference was reached at the Foreign Ministers Conference in Berlin, thus paving the way for discussing the peaceful adjustment of the Korean question.

All Asian people as well as the Korean people followed with a keen interest the progress of the Geneva Conference. They expected that the conference would adopt agreed decisions conducive to the relaxation of

international tension by ensuring the swift settlement of the Korean question and thereby establishing a united, independent, democratic state.

Two basically different positions were taken and two different assertions expressed at the Geneva Conference by the states participating in the process of the peaceful adjustment of the Korean question.

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has consistently maintained and will maintain that the Korean question should be peacefully settled in full accord with the interests of the Korean people and the peace-loving peoples the world over, and that the work of achieving the peaceful unification on democratic lines should be left to the Korean people themselves because this is a matter which chiefly concerns them. Such stand taken by our delegation, which had the full endorsement of the delegations of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, and at the same time enjoyed the unanimous support of all the people concerned with the maintenance of peace in the Far East and the world, has given vivid expression to its proposal "Restoration of the national unity of Korea and free all-Korean elections" put forward by our delegation in the early part of the conference—April 27.

First. Our proposal envisaged that, on the basis of free expression of the will by the population of the whole of Korea, all-Korean elections to a National Assembly, which would set up a single government of Korea, should be held. This proceeded from the stand-point that the conduct of all-Korean elections should constitute an important phase in realising the Korean unity.

This task should be accomplished by the Koreans themselves through negotiations between North and South Korea. It was therefore envisaged that the All-Korean Commission should be composed of the representatives of North and South Korea.

The All-Korean Commission should undertake as its primary duties to prepare a draft for an all-Korean electoral law which would ensure a

truly democratic character of the general elections in a free atmosphere, and take necessary measures to guarantee every citizen freedom of assembly and press and freedom of recommending candidates to the legislature.

It also envisaged that the All-Korean Commission would create conditions necessary to realise the national unification of Korea, and, to accelerate its realization, would take immediate necessary steps for the economic and cultural intercourse between North and South Korea.

Second. Our proposal envisaged that all foreign armed forces be withdrawn from the territory of Korea within a specified time. The restoration of peace in Korea and its peaceful unification is impossible under the condition of occupation by such an aggressive army as the American, that inflicted untold torment and disaster on the Korean people. Hence all foreign forces, according to our proposal, should be withdrawn from the territory of Korea prior to the all-Korean elections.

Third. By our proposal it is deemed necessary that the appropriate countries most concerned about the maintenance of peace in the Far East should undertake to ensure the peaceful development of Korea and thus create conditions conducive to the rapid accomplishment of the task of unifying Korea peacefully as an integral, independent and democratic country. An agreement on this point reached among the states-participants will be immense value for the Korean people. Only by such an agreement can all attempts at manoeuvring new military ventures in Korea be frustrated and peace in Korea be ensured.

The delegations of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, in full support of the proposal put forward by our delegation, made statements to the effect that they would be prepared to participate with other states in undertaking the obligations to ensure the peaceful development of Korea.

Our proposal proceeded from the point that the national unity of Korea on democratic lines would be possible only when the national interests of the Korean people and peculiarities of conditions existing in

North and South Korea be taken into account. We considered that, if steps were taken to preserve the democratic achievements of the Korean people and the necessity is recognized of reckoning with the specific situation in South Korea, the national unity of Korea could be attained.

The proposal put forward by our delegation afforded a clear-cut and immense possibility for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. With this proposal we can ensure the establishment of a united and independent Korea on democratic lines and the preclusion of every outside interference in the internal affairs of Korea. At the same time we can create external conditions for ensuring the unification of Korea as an integral, independent, democratic state under the conditions of a lasting peace.

The representatives of the United States, Syngman Rhee clique and other its followers objected from the very first to the proposal submitted by our delegation.

Our suggestions concerning the formation of an All-Korean Commission for the arrangement and conduct of all-Korean elections and for the carrying out of measures in relation to the economic and cultural rapprochement between North and South Korea, met with the greatest opposition at the Geneva Conference.

The delegates of the United States and its followers objected to the setting up of an All-Korean body on the untenable excuse that it would supersede the functions of the government bodies and force upon them unacceptable, unilateral decisions.

It was glaringly evident that their fear of the formation of an All-Korean Commission was utterly groundless, because such a body would be conceived only as a bilateral one, all of whose decisions must be adopted, not at the dictation of the representatives of one side, but by the common consent of both sides.

Some of delegates opposed the settlement of all disputes by unanimity between the two sides of the All-Korean body. To deny the necessity of an agreement between both sides in the All-Korean Commission not

only precludes even the possibility of unifying North and South Korea on a democratic basis, but also implies the futility of the attempt to impose the will of one side upon the other. It is a well-known fact that the U.S. ruling circles could not succeed in realising such a design even by armed forces.

The United States, the Syngman Rhee clique and their supporters have never wanted, and do not today want the Korean question to be solved by the Koreans themselves.

They came out in disregard to the sovereign right of the Korean people, alleging that the question of the Korean unification should be settled, not by the Koreans themselves, but by foreigners. With this purpose in mind, they held fast to their absurd stand that the all-Korean elections should be conducted not only by the Koreans themselves, namely an All-Korean Commission composed of representatives of North and South Korea, but by the South Korean puppet government and the United Nations. In the name of the U.N. they attempted to persuade us.

It is clear to all that prestige of U.N. has been seriously undermined by the American ruling circles, that the American aggressors brought upon the Korean people such unprecedented misery of war under the flag of the United Nations, and that they are still abusing the name of the United Nations to inflict unbearable hardships and disaster upon the Korean people.

Precisely because the United Nations under U.S. pressure has taken a one-sided stand from the very first, it forfeited all its moral warrant and authority, and it has proved absolutely incapable of settling peacefully the Korean question. The United Nations as a belligerent took part in the Korean armistice talks and signed the Armistice Agreement.

All these facts prove that the United Nations can not act as an impartial international body in the solution of the Korean question.

It is only too evident that, in order to settle the Korean question, first of all the interests of the Korean people and the realities of North and

South Korea should be taken into consideration and new ways and means be explored. The United States and its followers refused to do so. Some of delegates expressed their views that, with the opposition between North and South Korea, there would exist certain difficulties in holding elections under the supervision of an All-Korean Commission which should be composed of Koreans.

The three years of sanguinary war naturally caused bad blood between North and South Korea, and created additional difficulties in the matter of bringing them together and uniting the nation.

Guided by these considerations and with a view to making use of every minimum possibility for overcoming more easily difficulties arising from the practical work of the All-Korean Commission in conducting the all-Korean elections, the delegation of the People's Republic of China proposed that the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission whose task would be to assist and supervise the All-Korean Commission responsible for the conduct of all-Korean elections, be formed of neutral nations that took no part in the Korean war.

Taking into consideration the views of other delegations on international supervision, we agreed to the proposal; we accepted on the assumption that the setting up of international supervision would not impair the principles of non-interference of foreign states in the internal affairs of Korea that must be managed by the Koreans themselves.

The United States and the Syngman Rhee clique, as well as others supporting them, rejected this proposal and repeated their sufficiently repudiated insistence on the supervision of all-Korean elections by the United Nations.

Without offering any worthy argument for rejecting the reasonableness and fairness of the setting up of a National Election Commission, they indulged only in distorting the facts, as if the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Korea were completely incapable and could play no positive role.

It is a well-known fact that, in concluding the Korean Armistice Agreement, the belligerents reached an agreement on the formation of a supervisory commission composed of neutral nations which took no part in the Korean war.

Since the conclusion of the Korean Armistice, the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission has played a positive role in assisting the implementation of the Korean Armistice Agreement.

The Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission encountered in its work not a few difficulties caused by illegal acts of the United States side. Nevertheless, the contribution and achievements of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission cannot be denied.

Since such an international body as the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission has undertaken to supervise the implementation of the Korean Armistice Agreement, it is entirely untenable that such an organization is not entitled to effect a proper supervision over free all-Korean elections.

At the Geneva Conference our delegation held that the presence of foreign troops on the territory of Korea is incompatible with the conduct of free all-Korean elections and the carrying out of the task of unifying the country on democratic basis. The foreign troops first of all should be withdrawn from the territory of Korea in order to ensure for the Korean people the full exercise of their sovereign right to conduct their internal affairs.

The continued presence in Korea of the U.S. army not only constitutes a threat to peace and security in Korea, but also leads inevitably to foreign interference and makes it impossible for the Korean people to express their free will in all-Korean elections.

Therefore the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of Korea was an urgent matter to be settled at the Geneva Conference.

Raising objection to our proposal, the United States and the Syngman Rhee clique as well as other countries supporting them maintained the absurd and contradictory stand that the Chinese People's Volunteers

units be withdrawn from North Korea but the U.S. army remain in South Korea.

To justify their assertions, they advanced the argument that the United States forces are different in character from the Chinese People's Volunteers. Certainly, they are different. But the difference lies in that the U.S. armed forces came to Korea for aggressive purpose, whereas the Chinese People's Volunteers came to Korea to fight aggression.

The aim pursued by those who objected to the simultaneous withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from Korea is quite obvious. Above all, the representatives of the United States and the Syngman Rhee clique came forward with a strong opposition.

Rhee's representative under U.S. manipulation did not hesitate to reveal its true aim; they demanded at the conference the further strengthening of the American intervention in Korea. This tells us clearly that the Syngman Rhee's fascist police regime can be maintained only with sabres and guns of the U.S. army. This means the continued occupation of South Korea by the U.S. army is necessary for the existence of the puppet Syngman Rhee clique.

The arguments advanced by the representative of South Korea could be supported only by those like the American delegation who are attempting to provoke a new military adventure in Korea.

Some of the Western delegates held that the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Korea would lead to the recurrence of war. Advancing such untenable arguments, they refused to admit the fairness of point 3 of our proposal which envisages that the appropriate countries most interested in the maintenance of peace in the Far East assume obligations to ensure the peaceful development and to prevent recurrence of military actions.

In opposition to our proposal, the representative of South Korea and its supporters clung to the insistence that the question of ensuring the peace of Korea could be raised only after the unification of Korea and

“the territory and independence of a united, independent, democratic Korea had been secured by the United Nations.”

It was more clearly shown that what they sought was, in support of the established policy of “unification by force,” to deny the maintenance of peace in Korea, to be free from any restrictions which might impede attainment of their objectives, and to drive Korea into a perpetual domination of the United States under the flag of the United Nations.

Their sole purpose was to break off the conference by refusing any sign of reaching agreement through negotiation; they repeated all the same the untenable arguments that they would obliterate the achievements gained by the Korean people in North Korea and subjugate North Korea to the Syngman Rhee regime, which is under the rule of the United States. This is not accidental, for, with the peaceful settlement of this problem, they could not, they feared, place the Korean people under their colonial enslavement; their attempt to perpetuate the national disruption of Korea and to provoke new military adventures in Korea would be utterly frustrated and the keeping up of international tension and the strengthening of arms drive tending toward procurement of surplus profit by the monopoly capitalists would be deterred.

It is clear from the lesson of the Korean war that the attempt of the American ruling circles to extend the colonial regime established in South Korea to the whole of Korea, can in no way be realized.

The population of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea will never give up their democratic achievements which they defended at the cost of stupendous sacrifices. And no one can compel them to renounce their gains.

The Korean people have come to realize which of the regimes—that of North Korea or South Korea—is more in accord with their interests. This is the reason why the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea won victory in the heroic fight against the aggression of the United States and the Syngman Rhee clique.

When Korea was delivered from the Japanese colonial yoke, opportunities were opened for the Korean people to create their new history. In North Korea the people have become masters of the country, and have taken the sovereignty into their hands. The living standard of the people, under the guidance of the real people's power, has been radically improved.

As a result of land reform effected in North Korea, the peasants in the north have become for the first time in our history the masters of the land, and their conditions, material and cultural standards have been greatly ameliorated.

Entirely different is the position of the peasants of South Korea under the occupation of the U.S. army. In the south, land reform has not yet been carried out in keeping with the interests of peasants. The so-called "Agrarian Reform" introduced by the Syngman Rhee clique invited no other results than reducing the peasants to enslavement and destitution.

The establishment of the people's democracy in North Korea led to the transfer to the people of the important industrial enterprises, to the introduction of an 8-hour working day, and to the creation of economic conditions under which the working man and woman need have no fear of unemployment and starvation, thus bringing about the development of the national economy and the rapid improvement of the people's living. But far from having been rehabilitated after the Japanese were expelled from the territory of Korea, South Korean industry has been falling into deeper and deeper decline.

In South Korea the situation of the labouring population has been even more aggravated than what it was under the domination of Japanese imperialism. So long as the Syngman Rhee regime remains in South Korea, the population there has no hope of a better lot.

Under the people's democratic system in North Korea rapid development has been made in the field of national culture. On the contrary, the South Korea regime has undertaken no measures of any significance for the good of the people either in the economic or cultural spheres.

Whereas the people of North Korea, as masters of the state, enjoy freedom and happiness, the people of South Korea, under the fascist police terroristic Syngman Rhee regime have been deprived of elementary democratic rights and freedom, and are groaning under a yoke of terror, starvation and darkness. All this tells us why the Korean people fought to the end for defending their right against the American aggressors, with such heroism and bravery. Furthermore the facts mentioned above testify that anyone who attempts to deprive the Korean people of their achievements can not but meet with resolute resistance on the part of the Korean people and suffer defeat.

In order to find a way of solving the problem relating to 48,000 Korean and Chinese captured personnel who have been, in gross violation of the Armistice Agreement, forcibly detained in South Korea, the Chinese delegation, in agreement with our delegation, submitted a proposal. The delegations of the United States and its followers even refused the examination of this proposal.

Before the convening of the Geneva Conference, the American ruling circles and the Syngman Rhee clique began clamouring that the conference would get nowhere. As a matter of fact, their attitude which reduced the conference to such fruitless one, found vivid expression in the proposal put forward by the South Korean representative. According to this proposal, elections should be held under the occupation, and with the support of foreign troops, and further, on a basis which would subjugate North Korea to the South Korean regime established with the help of foreign troops. They went so far as to try to impose the anti-popular constitution of South Korea upon the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

It was further exposed that the drafters of the said proposal in disregard of the interests of the Korean people, attempted to use the Geneva Conference in the interests of the U.S. interventionists. The one fact that the delegation of the Syngman Rhee clique submitted the proposal one month later than we made first our proposal, suffices to testify that the

United States, South Korea and their supporters had originally no interest in the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. They made the proposal not from the motive of settling the questions, but only for the purpose of entirely undermining the basis of negotiations.

One of the most urgent problems in relation to the peaceful settlement of the Korean question was to organise an All-Korean Commission whose function would be to arrange and conduct elections, and to reach an agreement on the restoration of economic and cultural relations between North and South Korea. Nevertheless the Syngman Rhee clique entirely ignored this problem in their proposal.

The representative of the Syngman Rhee clique insisted that all-Korean elections should be held not by the Koreans themselves but under the supervision of foreign troops—namely, the United Nations. At the conference he did not represent the interests of the Korean people but rather upheld the colonial policy pursued by the American ruling circles.

This was more manifest at the moment when they were so dementedly opposed to the withdrawal of the U.S. army from South Korea and to the assumption of corresponding obligations for ensuring the peaceful development of Korea by the states most interested in the preservation of peace in the Far East.

In the course of examining our proposal, the different approaches of the states-participants came to the surface. Some delegations following the lead of the United States had the audacity to seek the break-off of the talks on the Korean question at the Geneva Conference.

Taking into account the situation, the Soviet delegation, who always desires the final settlement of the Korean question in accordance with the interests of the Korean people and the peace-loving peoples the world over, submitted its proposal for the consideration of the conference on June 5. This proceeded from the point that, for the purpose of finding a better way of resolving the differences, fundamental principles

should be established where concurrence and near-concurrence have been obtained.

The substance of the proposal put forward by the Soviet delegation set forth the following fundamental principles:

1. Free elections should be held throughout Korea within six months in accordance with the principle of proportional representation.
2. For the purpose of preparing and conducting the free all-Korean elections, an All-Korean Commission should be set up composed of representatives of North and South Korea.
3. All foreign armed forces should be withdrawn from Korea prior to the holding of elections.
4. An appropriate international commission should be formed to supervise the all-Korean elections.
5. The necessity shall be recognized that the states most interested in the maintenance of peace in the Far East assume obligations for ensuring the peaceful development of Korea.

For this the delegations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China expressed their full support. However, the delegations of the United States and its followers rejected without any justification the proposal submitted by the Soviet delegation. This only showed their hasty attempt to wreck the conference in order to prevent any agreement from being reached on the Korean questions.

Entirely different was the position of the delegations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Although there were divergent views on a number of important problems, it was our stand that we should continue our efforts to reach mutually acceptable decisions.

On account of the unreasonable attempt of the United States and its followers to refuse entirely negotiations, the Geneva Conference could

not advance a step further in discussing the peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

Although as yet we have been unable to reach agreement on the fundamental problems pertaining to the conduct of election for the unification of Korea, it was necessary to reach agreement on other important problems, primarily the question of the maintenance of peace in Korea. This is the prerequisite to fulfilling the tasks, for the unification of Korea.

In accordance with the vital interests of all the people who desire the maintenance of peace in Korea and the Far East and the relaxation of international tension, the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea submitted on June 15 the proposal: "On the ensurance of peaceful conditions in Korea," for considering the question connected with the task of consolidating the armistice and of the transition to a state of peace.

In face of the fact that the menace to peace in Korea has not yet been eliminated and the plot of military ventures is still brooding in South Korea, the examination of this proposal was urgently important.

"The states-participants in the Geneva Conference agree that they will continue their efforts with the view to reaching agreement on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question on the basis of creating a united, independent and democratic Korean state.

In the interests of ensuring peaceful conditions in Korea they agree:

1. To recommend to the governments of the appropriate states that measures should be taken to withdraw from the territory of Korea all foreign armed forces as soon as possible with observance of the principle of proportionality.

The time-limit for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea is subject to agreement by the participants in the Geneva Conference.

2. To reduce within a period not exceeding one year the strength of the troops of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Repub-

lic of Korea and to establish the limit of troop strength for each of the sides to a number not exceeding 100,000 men.

3. To form from the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea a commission to consider the question of creating conditions for the gradual liquidation of the state of war, of the transition of the troops of both sides to a peacetime basis and to submit to the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and to the government of the Republic of Korea the proposals for the conclusion of an appropriate agreement.
4. To recognize as incompatible with the interests of the peaceful unification of Korea the existence of treaties between either part of Korea and other states in so far as such treaties involve military obligations.
5. For the purpose of creating conditions for the rapprochement between North and South Korea, to form an All-Korean Committee to work out and implement agreed measures for establishing and developing economic and cultural relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea (trade, settlement of accounts, transport, frontier relations, freedom of movement and correspondence, cultural and scientific intercourse.)
6. To recognize the necessity for the states-participants in the Geneva Conference to guarantee the peaceful development of Korea and to create thereby conditions facilitating the speediest solution of the task of the peaceful unification of Korea in a united, independent and democratic state."

Supporting our proposal, Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, proposed that restricted session participated in by the seven states—the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States, France, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea—be called to discuss measures relating to the consolidation of peace in Korea. Anyone, who is

concerned about the preservation of peace in Korea, in the Far East and in the world, would not dare to object to our proposal.

Only those who bluntly and openly express their unwillingness to maintain peace in Korea can take a rash attitude. Such indeed were the United States and its followers, who came out against our proposal that was fully endorsed by the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

They made no counter proposal but rejected our proposal without studying it. This showed more plainly that they do not in the least desire the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Their only intention is to unite Korea by force.

After the break-off of discussions at the Geneva Conference, the Syngman Rhee clique became more noisy than ever in their usual clamour for the "march North." The next day after the Geneva Conference was wrecked the representative of the Syngman Rhee clique made the statement that they no longer felt obliged to abide by the Armistice Agreement. Further he stressed that the South Korean government would be free to take any action it wished, and to "march North" at some propitious time. The Korean people and the peace-loving peoples the world over will never tolerate their provocations.

At the last meeting of the Geneva Conference, in the hope that the Korean question should be peacefully settled on democratic principles, and peace in Korea not be threatened until the realization of unity of Korea, V. M. Molotov, Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, put forward the following proposal:

"The states participating in the Geneva Conference have agreed that pending a final settlement of the Korean question based on the establishment of a united, independent and democratic Korean state, no action shall be taken which might jeopardise the maintenance of peace in Korea.

“The participants in the conference are confident that both the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea will abide by the present Declaration in the interests of peace.”

The enemy of peace refused to consider even this proposal which aimed at maintaining peace in Korea and ensuring the peaceful development of the Korean people, thus contributing to the preservation of peace in the Far East and the world.

The United States and its followers expressed openly their attempt to prevent the Geneva Conference from reaching any agreement on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and finally to break off the conference.

Even though that was the situation, Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister of the People’s Republic of China, holding that efforts towards the peaceful settlement of the Korean question should be continued, submitted the following proposal:

“The states participating in the Geneva Conference agree that they will continue their efforts towards achieving an agreement on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question on the basis of establishing a united, independent and democratic Korea.

“As regards the question of the time and place for resuming appropriate negotiations, it shall be decided separately by the states concerned through negotiation.”

Those whose aim is to obstruct the peaceful unification of Korea rejected even this proposal. Such action served only to lay bare their real purpose in coming to Geneva.

At the conference the so-called 16-nation declaration was read, which was drafted under U.S. pressure by the delegations who took part in the U.S. aggressive war against Korea under the flag of the U.N.

They declared unilaterally that with the 16-nation declaration the conference for discussing the peaceful settlement of the Korean question was ended.

The delegations of the United States and its followers, being placed in the awkward position of not being able to offer any worthy argument, much less making counter proposals to those of the delegations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China, read the prepared declaration.

In the so-called 16-nation declaration there was no evidence of any effort on their part to strive for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question on democratic basis. Furthermore, they made an attempt to defend the tactics of the U.S. interventionists who obstructed the settlement of the Korean question under cover of the utterly discredited U.N. decisions.

The so-called 16-nation declaration which was read out at the conference served no other purpose apart from exposing before the world the desperate opposition of its sponsors to the peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

The afore-mentioned facts lead us to the following definite conclusion: The whole process of the conference has exposed thoroughly that the United States ruling circles and their followers did not wish the relaxation of international tension and obstructed arbitrarily the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. It has been proved that the United States ruling circles, at the Geneva Conference, even refused to admit the epoch-making changes in the historical development of the Asian people, and still attempted to preserve the disintegrating old imperialist colonial regime in Asia. As a matter of fact, they regarded it as their task to shield a handful of reactionaries condemned by the people everywhere in the world as their enemies. Furthermore they refused to accept the lesson drawn from the miserable defeat suffered in their aggressive war against the people of Korea.

Through the Geneva Conference for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, it was laid bare more clearly that the United States ruling circles are the enemies not only of the Korean people, who long

for the peaceful unification of their fatherland, but also of all peoples who are anxious for peace in the Far East and the world.

The peoples the world over have realized that the standpoint of the government of the U.S.S.R., the People's Republic of China, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which are fighting persistently and resolutely for the accomplishment of the peaceful unification of Korea on the basis of peace and democracy, and for the easing of international tension, corresponds fully to their own interests.

From beginning to end, the delegates of the great Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China at the Geneva Conference safeguarded the national interests of the Korean people and made every effort to make positive progress toward the peaceful unification of Korea by the Korean people, as an independent and democratic state as soon as possible, and for its peaceful development.

The delegates of the U.S.S.R., the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, overcoming all the complications and difficulties caused by all the provocative acts and dilatory tactics of those who are opposed to the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, have made persistent and unflagging efforts to facilitate the progress of the conference.

The stalling tactics of the United States ruling circles and their followers has not allowed the Geneva Conference to perform its duty.

Nevertheless, the fact should be recognized that the Geneva Conference for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question has gained certain achievements.

Without the participation of our delegation it is impossible for any international conference for settling the question in connection with the interests of the Korean people to perform its duty. This explains precisely why the participants in the Geneva Conference had to consider seriously the proposals and statements of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea who participated in the conference on equal footing with other countries and as a full-fledged member had a deci-

sive say on the question concerned. It is especially important that the People's Republic of China participated in the capacity of one of the Five Great Powers; it was not only of great significance for further development of the international relations but also has created a possibility for the fair adjustment of the questions concerning the international disputes, world peace and the maintenance of peace in Asia in particular.

As the international conference in Geneva has shown, without the participation of the great Chinese People's Republic, it is impossible to settle any international questions, especially questions of national interests of the Asian peoples and the maintenance of peace in Asia.

We have once again demonstrated to the people the world over that the stand taken by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, which is fully in accord with the sovereignty and national interests of the Korean people, reflects a consistent and just stand for the peaceful unification of Korea. On the other hand, it has been fully exposed that the opposite stand of the representatives of the United States ruling circles and their lackeys, South Korea and a number of the Western delegates was opposed to peace and in favour of maintaining the United States colonial policy in Korea.

Although there are yet some serious divergent views on basic principles concerning the peaceful settlement of the Korean question on a democratic basis, the course of the Geneva Conference has proved the possibility of reaching an agreement on some of the fundamental questions. We must continue our efforts to have the problem of the Korean unification settled through negotiation.

We are firmly confident that the unanimous desire and the persistent struggle of the Korean people who are longing for the peaceful unification of our fatherland and encouraged by the peace-loving peoples all over the world, will find the means of clearing away the temporary bar-

rier erected between North and South Korea, and of bringing them together and unifying our fatherland by means of negotiation.

The policy of military adventures pursued by the United States ruling circles and their lackeys in South Korea, who are scheming to drive Korea again into the horrors of war, must and will, without fail, be smashed by the decisive struggle of the entire people of North and South Korea and by the opposition of the peace-loving peoples the world over.

The transition from the state of truce in Korea to one of lasting peace must be made and our country unified peacefully on a democratic basis.

This is the unanimous demand of the Korean people who love their fatherland and the common hope of all peoples who desire peace in the Far East and the world. The people of Korea have risen up as one man in the struggle for reconstructing and developing the war-devastated national economy.

The Korean people's struggle for consolidating the democratic base will create the material foundation for the peaceful unification of our fatherland and accelerate its realization. The peoples of the great Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies are on the side of the people of Korea who are fighting for the peaceful unification of the fatherland, and all peace-loving peoples of the world are supporting and encouraging us.

All the obstacles blocking our march toward the peaceful unification of our fatherland will be removed by the persistent struggle of the Korean people, and our fatherland will, without fail, be peacefully united.