

STALIN, TRUMAN
HANDS OFF KOREA

By

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FOREWORD

In the last week of June, 1950, the Northern Korean Government manned by the Korean Stalinists and wholly controlled by Stalin, launched a war of aggression against South Korea.

Immediately, parties and groups of all shades of Stalinism, starting with the Stalinist stooges of the C. P. I. and ending with the camouflaged Stalinist wing of the Forward Bloc which trails behind the Indian Stalinists dutifully but has the cheek to call itself Marxist, cried themselves hoarse in justification of the Stalinist aggression on South Korea directed through the government of North Korea.

These 'leftists' hailed the Stalinist aggression on South Korea as an example of a glorious effort of the people of Korea for the unification of Korea! But the same gentlemen opposed frantically all moves for the unification of India, artificially and unnaturally divided into two zones—India and Pakistan—by the wily British imperialism! Stooges and opportunists are almost always irrational and cowardly.

Of all the leftist parties and groups, it is only the Revolutionary Communist Party of India that at the very commencement of the war in Korea in June, 1950, came out with the battle-cry of the revolutionary masses of the world—Stalin, Truman hands off Korea.

The Stalinist stooges, open and camouflaged, attacked R. C. P. I. with a hysteric vehemence which invariably characterises the bought-overs, the irrationals and the opportunists. At first, they camouflaged the Stalinist aggression as the struggle for the unification of Korea and later on they covered up the same aggression with the tattered rags of the Peace (I) Conference.

They could easily bamboozle the gullible middle class intelligentsia which has developed a martyr-complex and simply loves to be duped.

Here in this brochure we have laid bare the sinister conspiracy of Stalinism with Anglo-American imperialism for thrusting a four-nation trusteeship on Korea and the division of Korea into two artificial zones. Here it should be noted that Stalinism has followed the same counter-revolutionary policy vis-a-vis Germany. In 1943, Molotov told Benes, the President of Czechoslovakia that "Germany must be divided but at present we must not reveal our intention because we would only be assisting Hitler." Litvinov had said the very same thing to Harry Hopkins in March, 1943. At Yalta Conference Stalin insisted on the dismemberment of Germany and he forced its acceptance by Roosevelt and Churchill.

The foreign policy of Stalin since the World War II has orientated itself towards the policy of dividing up a country into zones, and this is all for the benefit of the Stalinist bureaucracy ruling in Soviet Russia.

For the people of any country fighting for socialism and democracy, Stalinist expansionism is as great a menace as the imperialist expansionism of the U. S. A. and Great Britain.

February, 1951

The Author

THE BACKGROUND.

By the treaty of Portsmouth, (1905) which ended the Russo-Japanese war, Japan got a free hand in Korea. In 1905, Japan took the control of Korea's Foreign Policy and put a Resident-General of Japan in Seoul. In 1907, Japan forced the Emperor of Korea to abdicate in favour of his half-witted son, and in 1910 took full control of Korea. And Korea became a colony of Japan. Korea was systematically and mercilessly exploited by Japanese imperialism. Rice, fish, gold, mineral products, all were drained out of Korea for the benefit of Japan and Japanese goods were dumped in Korea.

This was Korea's position in the world when the second World War broke out in 1939.

On December 7, 1941, Japanese air force attacked and destroyed the American navy stationed at Pearl Harbour. Japan declared war against U. S. A. and Great Britain.

The first six months were the months of great victory for Japan. Japanese forces took Hongkong, Singapore, the Philippines, Malaya, Dutch East Indies and Burma and threatened India.

Nazi forces under Rommel were at the same time delivering hard blows to the British forces in Egypt and were almost at the gates of Alexandria. The main body of the Nazi army had in the meanwhile overran Caucasus, seized Stalingrad and reached Volga.

The tide of war turned in favour of the Allies from the middle of 1942. Quite a formidable portion of the

Japanese navy as destroyed won 3rd June, 1942. In October, 1942, British forces defeated and pushed back Rommel's forces in Egypt and finally drove them away from North Africa in May, 1943. In November, 1942, fresh Soviet forces came to the succour of the heroic defenders of Stalingrad and ultimately forced the Nazis to surrender on 3rd February, 1943.

When the tide of war had turned in favour of the Allies, Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang-Kai-Shek conferred in Cairo from November 22nd to November 25th, 1943. The declaration issued jointly by the three Powers which met at the Cairo conference stated the following amongst other things: "Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed. The aforesaid three Great Powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent."

Here the dangerously vague words "in due course" should be carefully noted.

The heads of the Governments of the U. S. S. R., the U. K. and the U. S. A. met at a conference in Yalta in Crimea from February 4 to 11, 1943. In this conference the question of territorial trusteeship in relation to "territories detached from the enemy as a result of the present war" (Protocol of proceedings of Crimea conference) was discussed and a multi-power trusteeship over such territories was decided. Soviet Russia which at that time was not at war with Japan secretly agreed to enter into the war against Japan on the side of the Allies "on certain conditions and in two or three months after Germany has surrendered and the war in Europe has terminated", and gave its assent to the suggestion of a multi-power trusteeship over Korea. Later on Soviet Russia agreed to the proposal of a four-power (Chinese, American, Russian and British) trusteeship over Korea

for a short period till Korea had made a fair start on the road to independence and democracy. The Potsdam Conference of the three heads of the Government of U. S. A., U. K. and U. S. S. R. held from July 17 to August 2, 1945, once more examined the proposal of territorial trusteeship and approved of it. All these agreements, so far as the Soviet Government was concerned, were of a secret nature, for reasons already stated.

THUS, quite a while before Soviet Russia had actually declared war against Japan (August 8, 1943) she had supported the Cairo Declaration on Korean Independence "in due course".

Immediately after the declaration of war against Japan the Soviet First Eastern Army stationed at bases near Vladivostok marched into Korea in the second week of August, 1945. Japan surrendered on the 14th August, 1945, and on September 8th, 1945, the forces of the United States landed at the port of Inchon. The military occupation of Korea had thus divided Korea into two zones. Byrnes, Secretary of State for U. S. A. had put the thing quite correctly when he stated that "for purposes of military operations the occupation of Korea was divided north and south of latitudes 38 into Soviet and American areas". It was agreed between the Governments of the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. that the Soviet army would accept the surrender of the Japanese troops north of the 38 parallel and the U. S. A. would do the same, south of the 38 parallel.

The division of Korea into zones was therefore a purely temporary, artificial and military make-shift, agreed upon by the two governments for the specific purposes of carrying out the surrender of Japan.

The Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the U. K., U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. met in Moscow from December 16th to 26th, 1945. In this conference the following decision on Korea was agreed upon :

"1. With a view to the re-establishment of Korea as an independent state, the creation of conditions of developing the country on democratic principles and the earliest possible liquidation of the disastrous results of the protracted Japanese domination in Korea, there shall be set up a provisional Korean democratic government which shall take all the necessary steps for developing the industry, transport and agriculture of Korea and the national culture of the Korean people.

"2. In order to assist the formation of a provisional Korean government and with a view to the preliminary elaboration of the appropriate measures there shall be established a Joint Commission consisting of representatives of the United States command in Southern Korea and the Soviet command in Northern Korea. In preparing their proposals the Commission shall consult with the Korean democratic parties and social organisations. The recommendations worked out by the Commission shall be presented for the consideration of the governments of the U. S. S. R., China, the U. K. and the U. S. A. prior to final decision by the two governments represented on the Joint Commission.

"3. It shall be the task of the Joint Commission with the participation of the provisional Korean democratic government and of Korean democratic organisations to work out measures also for helping and assisting (trusteeship) the political, economic and social progress of the Korean people, the development of democratic self-government and the establishment of the national independence of Korea. The proposals of the Joint Commission shall be submitted following consultation with the provisional Korean government for the joint consideration of the governments of the U. K., U. S. A. Union of Soviet Socialist Republic, and China for the working out of an agreement concerning a four-power trusteeship of Korea for a period of up to five years.

"For the consideration of urgent problems affecting both Southern and Northern Korea and for the elaboration of measures establishing permanent co-ordination in administrative and economic matters between the United States' Command in southern Korea and the Soviet command in northern Korea, a conference of the representatives of the United States and Soviet Commands in Korea shall be convened within a period of two weeks".

It is clear from the above-quoted decision on Korea arrived at in Moscow Conference between the U. S. A., the U. K., and the U. S. S. R., that Soviet Russia not only agreed to the zonal division of Korea, made purely for military purposes during the surrender of Japan but also agreed to the perpetuation of this artificial and temporary division, so harmful to Korea's political and economic interest, till the provisional democratic government was set up in Korea. The Soviet government also was a party to the agreement of foisting a four-power trusteeship over Korea for a period of five years.

In January and February, 1946, a preliminary conference was held between the representatives of the Soviet and American armies for economic and administrative co-ordination between the two zones, but it failed to arrive at an agreement. In March, 1946, a full-dress session of the Joint Commission was begun but it also failed to arrive at any agreement and it adjourned sine die on the 8th May, 1946.

Representatives of both the armies of occupation accused each other of disrupting the session.

The Americans complained that the Russians wanted to keep the representatives of all those parties who had opposed trusteeship out of the proposed provisional Korean Government and the Russians counter-charged that the Americans were shutting out the representatives of a number of major democratic organisations of South Korea from participating in the formation of the

proposed Provisional Korean Government. The second session of the Joint Commission in Seoul begun on the 22nd May, 1947. But after protracted session deadlock was created on the issue of the parties in South Korea to be consulted for the formation of the Provisional Korean government. Out of nearly 425 groups in Southern Korea, the representatives of the Russian army of occupation wanted to consult only 118 groups. By the middle of July, 1947, a complete deadlock was reached. Proposals and counter-proposals were hatched and rejected by both the sides. On 28th August, 1947, the government of U. S. A. proposed to the Soviet government that a conference be held on 8th Sept., 1947 and in Washington, of the four powers who were to form the multi-power trusteeship on Korea. The U. S. A. proposal also suggested the the holding of election in Korea under the supervision of the U. N. O. On behalf of the Soviet government, Molotov rejected the proposals of the government of the U. S. A.

Behind all the proposals and counter-proposals the design of two super-powers of the post-war period—Soviet Russia and the U. S. A.—to keep Korea in their respective sphere of influence was more than patent. The zonal division made temporarily and for purely military objectives came to stay as a permanent division due to the game of power-politics between these two super-powers.

In the American zone an American Military Government was set up by the American occupation army. The People's Republic which came into existence at the time of the surrender of Japan was suppressed because of its leftist tendencies and the Korean Provisional Government organised by the reactionary rightist elements headed by that stooge of Yankee imperialism Dr. Syngman Rhee, was encouraged to reorganise itself as a political party.

In the Soviet zone "People's Committees" were set up under Russian command, and a Provisional People's Committee for North Korea was organised in the beginning of February, 1946, as the central governing organ. The New People's party was formed by the fusion of a number of political parties and a cabinet comprised of Koreans only was formed with Kim Il-sung a well-known Stalinist as its head. Here the masses were drawn in by agrarian reforms to support a bureaucratic Stalinist terror-regime manned by the local Stalinists who were just page-boys of Stalin.

Both the regimes thus set up were primarily instruments for furthering the interests of the two super-powers, with this differences only that while the agents of American imperialism exhibited amazing naivete and unimaginative stupidity in their dealing with the Korean people, the Stalinists with a much more developed sense of political manoeuvre broad-based their totalitarian regime on the Korean masses by roping them in with economic concessions.

After the complete breakdown of the Joint Commission, the 38th parallel became actually the frontier between the two warring states. The request of the American Government to establish consulate at Pyongyang, the capital of the North Korean Government was turned down by Soviet Russia and the American Military Government in its turn forced the Russian consular staff to quit Seoul.

When all efforts to come to an agreement failed, the government of U. S. A. informed the Soviet government that the case of Korea would be referred to the General Assembly of the U. N. O. On the 17th October, 1947, the Korean question came up before the General Assembly and on the 5th November, 1947, the Political Security Committee of U. N. O. accepted by 46 votes to nil the creation of a United Nations' Temporary

Commission on Korea to expedite the unification of Korea and the establishment of her independence.

On 14th November, 1947, the General Council of U. N. O. adopted the resolution on a United Nations Temporary commission on Korea by a vote of 43 to nil.

The Soviet Government opposed the American proposal of entrusting the settlement of the Korean tangle in the hands of the U. N. O. and boycotted the voting on the resolution.

The resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the U. N. O. on 14th November 1947, runs as follows :

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"In as much as the Korean question which is before the General Assembly is primarily a matter for the Korean people itself and concerns its freedom and independence, and,

"Recognising that this question cannot be correctly and fairly resolved without the participation of the representatives of the indigenous population :

"The General Assembly,

"1. Resolves that elected representatives of the Korean people be invited to take part in the consideration of the question ;

"2. Further resolves that in order to facilitate and expedite such participation and to observe that the Korean representatives are in fact duly elected by the Korean people and not mere appointees by military authorities in Korea, there be forthwith established a United Nations' Temporary Commission on Korea, to be present in Korea with right to travel, observe and consult throughout Korea.

"The General Assembly,

"Recognising the urgent and rightful claims to independence of the people of Korea ;

Believing that the National independence of Korea should be re-established and all occupying forces then withdrawn at the earliest practicable date ;

Recalling its previous conclusion that the freedom and independence of the Korean people cannot be correctly or fairly received without the participation of representatives of the Korean people, and its decision to establish a United Nations' Temporary Commission on Korea (hereinafter called the "Commission") for the purpose of facilitating and expediting such participation by elected representatives of the Korean people.

1. Decides that the Commission shall consist of representatives of Australia, Canada, China, El Salvador, France, India, Philippines, Syria and Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic,

"2. Recommends that the elections be held not later than 31st March, 1948, on the basis of adult suffrage and by secret ballot to choose representatives with whom the Commission may consult regarding the prompt attainment of the freedom and independence of the Korean people and which representatives, constituting a National Assembly may establish a National Government of Korea. The number of representatives from each voting area or zone should be proportioned to the population and the elections should be under the observation of the Commission.

"3. Further recommends that as soon as possible after the elections the National Assembly should convene and form a National Government and notify the Commission of its formation,

"4. Further recommends that immediately upon the establishment of a National Government, the Government should in consultation with the Commission, (a) constitute its own national security forces and dissolve all military or semi-military formations not

included therein, (b) take over the functions of Government from the military command and civilian authorities of North and South Korea, and (c) arrange with the occupying Powers for the complete withdrawal from Korea of their armed forces as early as practicable and if possible within ninety days ;

"5. Resolves that the Commission shall facilitate and expedite the fulfilment of the foregoing programme for the attainment of the national independence of Korea and withdrawal of occupying forces, taking into account its observations and consultations in Korea. The Commission shall report with its conclusions, to the General Assembly and may consult with the Interim Committee (if one be established) with respect to the application of this resolution in the light of developments ;

"6. Calls upon the Member States concerned to afford every assistance and facility to the Commission in the fulfilment of the responsibilities ;

"7. Calls upon all members of the United Nations to refrain from interfering in the affairs of the Korean people during the interim period preparatory to the establishment of Korean independence, accept in pursuance of the decisions of the General Assembly ; and thereafter, to refrain completely from any and all acts derogatory to the independence and sovereignty of Korea."

Soviet Russia as we have seen boycotted the November 14 sessions of the General Council of the U.N.O. declaring that the Korean question should not come before the United Nations and that Soviet Russia would not accept the U.N.O. resolutions on Korea. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as expected, refused to participate in the Temporary Commission. The U.N. Temporary Commission met in Seoul on 29th January, 1948. Dr. K. P. S. Menon, the chairman of this Commi-

ssion, informed the command of both the occupation armies of his intention to visit them. Mr. Gromyko, in reply asked the Commission to remember the "negative attitude taken by the Soviet Government" towards the Commission and thereafter all the attempts of the Commission to visit North Korea proved abortive.

Menon reported his failure to visit North Korea or to meet its leaders to the U. N. Headquarters, and it was decided that elections would take place "in such parts of Korea as were accessible to it, not later than May 10, 1948."

The elections took place in due course and on 30th June, 1948, in the meeting of the Korean National Assembly formed as a result of the elections, Mr. M.A.P. Valle, then chairman of the Commission informed the Assembly "that the result of the ballot of May 10, 1948, was a valid expression of the free will of the electorate in those parts of Korea which were accessible to the Commission."

On 7th December, 1948, the U. N. General Assembly adopted a resolution which declared that "lawful government with its seat at Seoul was established in that region of Korea which is south of the 38 parallel occupied by the United States forces ; and that it is the only such government in Korea."

The resolution further provided for the establishment of a "Commission on Korea" which would exert its good offices to bring about the unification of Korea and would observe and verify the withdrawal of the armies of occupation. It was "authorised to travel and consult throughout Korea."

As in the previous case, this time also the Soviet government opposed the resolution adopted by the U. N. General Assembly.

The artificial splitting up of Korea into two zones for military purposes now crystallised into two separate

states with two separate governments. In the Southern zone, the Republic of Korea sponsored by the American imperialism was established which according to the resolution of the General Assembly of U. N. O. was the only lawful government in Korea and in the Northern zone the Democratic People's Republic sponsored and controlled by Soviet Russia came into existence.

The rivalry of the two super-powers, the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. had artificially split up Korea into two zones, broken up the national economy of Korea into rival economic areas and definitely stood in the way of the unification of Korea.

By this super-imposed political and economic polarization Korea mirrored in her own way the ever-growing tension and rivalry between the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A.

After two separate governments had been set up in the two zones, the question of the withdrawal of the occupation forces of the U. S. A. came to the forefront. The complete withdrawal of Russian troops from North Korea was announced by the Soviet government on 30th December, 1948. The U. S. A. government likewise announced the complete withdrawal of American troops from South Korea on 29th June, 1949.

THE WAR IN KOREA

In the last week of June, 1950 the troops of the Democratic People's Republic of North Korea invaded the territories of the Republic of Korea. The Security Council of the U. N. O. was hastily summoned. It demanded the immediate ceasefire and the withdrawal of the troops of the government of North Korea. The demand of the U. N. O. being ignored by the North Korean government the U. N. O. Security Council with overwhelming majority brahded the North Korean

government as an aggressor and the U. N. O. entered the war in support of the government of South Korea against the aggressor. The details of the ups and downs of the war are known to all, and for the purposes of this brochure they are not of primary importance. Here we are concerned with the determination of the political causes that led to the war in Korea. Essentially, the post-war rivalry between the powers has been reduced to the rivalry between the Stalinist totalitarian regime in Russia and Yankee imperialism. The other powers hardly count; England has been reduced to a vassal of Yankee imperialism: China is called a big power by courtesy, France, is prostrate and Germany is victim of post-war partition between the powers.

We have seen earlier how purely for military purposes Korea was divided into zones. How the worldwide rivalry between the government of Soviet Russia and the government of U. S. A. led step by step to the perpetuation of this artificial zonal division of Korea, and how the refusal of the Soviet government to have an election in Korea under the supervision of U. N. O., led to the formation of two separate governments in the two zones.

THE POLITICAL CUASES

The during-the-war fellow-travellership of Stalinist Russia and the imperialist powers came to a sudden end with the termination of the World War II. Fellow-travellers once more came out in their true colours of fellow-freebooters. Stalinist expansion in Europe was ferociously opposed by Yankee imperialism which had assumed the role of the god-father to the Korean bourgeoisie and had come to bolster up the none-too-good morale of the European bourgeoisie.

Cold war was fought with ever-increasing fury between the Soviet government on the one hand and the 'democratic' governments of Europe aided by Yankee imperialism, on the other. Thanks to the treachery of Stalinist Russia pursuing a national-socialist (socialism in one country) and class-collaborationist policy vis-a-vis the revolutionary working class movement in Europe, the working class of Europe had failed to take advantage of the virtually total prostration of the European bourgeoisie in the post-war period and to establish the toiler's governments in the various countries of Europe. Lest the impact of the proletarian revolution in Western Europe shakes the very foundation of the bureaucratic Stalinist regime in Russia, Stalin created the class-collaborationist governments of the "New Democracy" (the latest Stalinist nomenclature for class-collaboration) variety in Central European countries and foisted bureaucratic regimes of the local Stalinists on the people of these countries. All genuine revolutionaries in these countries who believed in proletarian revolution were murdered and thus were removed all the hindrances to the perpetuation of the totalitarian regimes of Stalin's stooges in Central European countries. They to primarily, were serve the interest of Stalin's bureaucratic regime in Russia.

For the continuation of the Stalinist bureaucratic regime in Russia territorial expansion is an inevitable necessity. The opposition of the Russian workers to the utilisation of the industries for the benefit of the ever-growing Stalinist bureaucracy could be obviated only by capturing new markets and new sources of profit where the Stalinist bureaucracy could reap rich harvest without being observed, criticised and opposed by the Russian proletariat.

The expansionist moves of Stalin succeeded each

other in an unending series in Eastern and Central Europe, and regimes entirely subservient to the Stalinist regime in Russia were set up in these countries. The industrial development of these countries were made entirely subservient to the interest of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the masses were denied all political rights for the furtherance and defence of their own interests. Moreover the bourgeois classes in these countries particularly and in Europe generally were not only given every facility by the Stalinists to regain their political foothold, they were made partners of the "New Democracy" governments set up by the Stalinist Soviet bureaucracy in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe.

Thus, class-collaboration and expansionism is of the essence of the present Stalinist bureaucratic regime in Russia. It dose not trust the working class of Russia or of any other country. It knows that its policy of nationalistic expansionism will be opposed by the revolutionary working class in each and every country. It also knows that only the bourgeoisie of each country, threatened by the proletarian revolution will be the willing collaborator of the Stalinist bureaucracy in its economic exploitation of the masses of that country, provided the national bourgeoisie is also given a share in the exploitation. So, in its own interest, with the specific object of opposing and thwarting the toiler's revolution in each country, the Stalinist Soviet bureaucracy foisted class-collaborationist governments in Eastern and Central Europe.

This expansionist policy of Stalin grabbing country after country in Europe could not obviously be allowed to go unchallenged and unopposed by the predatory American imperialism, the only other power besides Soviet Russia that has emerged as a

super-power after the war. The European bourgeoisie which had received its first succour from Stalin and his Soviet bureaucracy, now got all possible help from American imperialism so that it could stand on its own legs and confront both the Stalinist Soviet bureaucracy on the one side and the toiling masses of Europe on the other. Once the masses had been held back and betrayed by Stalinism, and aid was forthcoming from Yankee imperialism, the European bourgeoisie saw no reason why it should share with the Stalinist Soviet bureaucracy the profit accruing from the exploitation of the masses of Europe.

U. S. A. knew that by various economic aids and loans it would be possible for Yankee imperialism to keep the European bourgeoisie and its bourgeois democratic governments in a state of virtual vassalage to U. S. A. Under these circumstances clash between the two super-powers—the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. was inevitable. Both want to extend its own sphere of influence on the entire world, and both are determined to oppose the expansion of the other. Yankee imperialism had been a helpless witness to the feats of Stalin's territorial gluttony. In the post-war period, Stalin's Russia had swallowed practically the whole of central and eastern Europe. But that process has got to be checked someday and somewhere if European capitalism is to survive. American imperialism could not allow Stalin to grab the whole of Germany as that would mean the complete subjugation of Europe by him. England, France, Italy and other European countries would fall an easy prey to Stalinist expansionism, once Germany had succumbed to it. The U. S. A. therefore could not afford to lose Germany—the political axis round which the whole of Europe revolves.

In the post-war period Germany has been polarised into two zones—the Soviet Zone and the Anglo-American

French zone. Two separate governments function in the two zones. In eastern Germany a government manned by the German Stalinists and controlled entirely by the Stalinist Russian bureaucracy has been established. In western Germany, a bourgeois democratic government backed by the west European capitalist states and American imperialism has been established. In this tussle of power-politics, the city of Berlin also had been split up into two zones—the Soviet zone and the Anglo-American zone. The blockade of food supplies, cutting off of electric power and water supply—in short all pressures imaginable were brought upon the western sector of Berlin by the Stalinist bosses of Berlin's eastern sector, but all to no avail. Ultimately, the Stalinists threatened to march into the western sector of Berlin but they were told in unambiguous terms by the western Powers what they were to expect if they entered west Berlin. The Stalinists halted as they knew that the warning they had received was a real one and their march would be opposed by the armed forces. This time the Stalinist bluff was called and Stalin realised that he could not expect to proceed further in his 'drang nach westen' at that time. So he shifted his field of operation from Europe to Asia. Korea, which was already divided into two zones, and was split up into two separate governments appeared to Stalin to be the most suitable place for carrying out his policy of expansionism.

Stalin's wrong estimation of the co-relation of world-forces.

But Stalin erred and erred grievously. The co-relation of forces had changed in favour of the bourgeoisie—thanks to Stalin's treacherous policy and the treachery of Social Democracy. The post-war revolutionary tide of the masses had ebbed away, after it had

been held back by the dam of Stalinism (neo-menshevism) and Social Democracy. When the mass-tide was on, Stalinism put every obstacle imaginable to force it back, when it was at its lowest ebb, Stalinism forced the working classes of France and Italy to go on general strike. The working classes of France and Italy, victims of Stalinism, fought at the wrong moment and were badly mauled by their enemies. Stalinism in the post-war period not only rehabilitated the European bourgeoisie, it moreover helped the bourgeoisie to beat back the European proletariat and to gain confidence in its own strength. By 1949, the co-relation of class-forces had entirely changed in Europe. The European bourgeoisie was once more on its legs and was on the offensive. The working class of Europe which was in full offensive in the first three years after the termination of the second World War, was once more in the defensive.

Stalin's wrong strategy and tactics.

Stalin started on his Korean adventure at a period when the European proletariat not only halted its offensive but had been forced to be in the defensive. Excepting China, where a People's government had recently been established, reaction was triumphant all the world over and the revolutionary wave was at its lowest ebb.

Stalin forced the government of North Korea which is manned by Korean Stalinists and is entirely controlled by the Russian bureaucracy to launch an attack against the territories held by the government of South Korea. Stalin imagined that he would get away with the aggression this time, and not only North Korea, but the whole of Korea will be his as a booty.

But Stalin had erred grievously. He as we have already shown had wrongly estimated or of because

of excessive territorial greed wilfully ignored the co-relation of class-forces in the world at the present time. Backed by Yankee imperialism, the world-bourgeoisie was in the offensive everywhere. It was not ready to allow Stalin to carry out his plan of territorial expansionism without opposition. The world-bourgeoisie led by U.S.A. and under the cover of U.N.O. jumped into the fray. The war in Korea—a war between Stalin and the world bourgeoisie led by U. S. A. started in right earnest.

Stalin should never have started this war in Korea at the present moment. The victory of the Chinese people's struggle against the foul Chang-Kai-Shek regime has been only very recent. It is true that the tide of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle was held back and was not allowed to flow on to its logical end due to the pronounced Stalinism of Mao Tse Tung and other leaders of that struggle, never-the-less the victorious People's movement in China was reaching the shores of every country in Asia and was bringing a new resurgence in the revolutionary mass-movement of the Asiatic countries.

Unless Stalin was zealous of the growing prestige of the People's Republic of China amongst the people of Asia and the world, and through jealousy wanted to play down revolutionary China, he should have allowed the People's Republic of China some time to consolidate itself. The consolidation of the People's Revolution in China would have meant so much access of strength to the revolutionary mass-movements of Asia and the world.

The People's Republic of China would have then easily kicked out that arch-criminal Chang-Kai-Shek from Formosa. In this connection the hard fact must be remembered, the Stalinist false propaganda for the

justification of Stalin's faux pas not with-standing, that the government of the U. S. A. had written off Chiang-kai-Shek as a bad investment and had decided not to defend Formosa, inspite of General Mac-Arthur's constant pleading. The People's Republic of China would have got Formosa easily. Given time she would have consolidated herself in the vast land of China, spread her revolutionary influence throughout the East and ultimately come to the succour of the revolutionary mass-movements in the countries of Asia.

Stalin's strategic faux pas, his profound mistake in instigating an attack on the Republic of Korea in South Korea by his vassal government of North Korea has harmed immensely the cause of the people's revolution in the countries of Asia. It has also dealt a severe blow to the newly formed People's Republic of China. Stalin's great strategic error in fomenting an aggression on South Korea by his vassal government of North Korea has been responsible for :

(a) A new orientation of the policy of the government of U. S. A. regarding Chang-Kai-Shek and Formosa.

(b) The ironing out of the differences between the various national bourgeoisie and hastening an open alliance between the Asiatic, European and American bourgeoisie against the revolutionary mass-movements in the countries of Asia.

(c) The re-arming of all capitalist states under the leadership of Yankee imperialism and thereby for increasing the danger of another total war.

(d) The ruination Korea and the resultant senseless and colossal sufferings to the people of Korea.

This is the net result of Stalin's suicidal policy of instigating aggression on the Republic of Korea.

Moreover, why did Stalin oppose the functioning of the Joint Commission to which he had previously agreed

and to the holding of the election in Korea under its auspices ? Why was the working of the Joint Commission made impossible by the Soviet members of that Commission ? What was gained by that ?

Why did Stalin oppose the general election in Korea under the supervision of U. N. O. ? Why was he so keen on perpetuating the entirely artificial and harmful division of Korea into two zones ?

There was every possibility of a left-wing Government in Korea as a result of a general election. This will be seen from the following facts :—

In 1947, there were 15 rightist, 10 leftist and 7 middle-of-the-road parties in South Korea. The three major rightist parties were the Korean Independence party, the Society for the Rapid Realisation of Independence, and the Korean Democratic Party.

The major leftist parties were—the Southern Korean Labour party, the Communist party, the Revolutionary People's party, the Revolutionary party, the Labour Mass party, and the Korean People's party. All these leftist parties formed the Korean National Democratic front in February, 1946. The rightist parties had the support of the wealthy classes of Korean society, and the leftist parties had considerable following amongst the farmers and the industrial workers. Amongst the 7 middle-of-the-road parties or groups there were quite a few of pronounced liberal outlook who opposed the right.

Thus in South Korea, the zone under the occupational force of Yankee imperialism there were formidable forces arrayed against the reactionary rightist parties.

In North Korea the zone which is occupied by Stalin's military forces, the Communist party, the Independent party and the Democratic party were united into the New People's Front in 1945, and in 1946 the New People's Front gave place to the Korean National Democratic Front, composed of the Democratic party,

the Chonde-Kyo Friends' party, the Labour party, North Korea Democratic Young Women's Alliance, North Korea Democratic Young Men's Alliance, North Korea Farmers' Alliance and North Korea Workers' Alliance.

It is therefore clear that in North Korea the leftist forces were fully mobilised and excellently organised. Was it not then more than probable that the combined leftist forces of North and South Korea would come out victorious in the election? In that case a government composed of leftist parties could have been established in Korea which would have in due course ushered in revolutionary changes in the economic set-up of Korea.

But supposing the leftist forces could not come out victorious in the election, due to interference of Yankee imperialism and the gangsterism of the parties of the right backed by U. S. A., then at its worst a bourgeois government would have been established in Korea. Once this government was established, the artificial division of Korea into two zones would have automatically come to an end and the armies of occupation would have left Korea.

Would it not have been possible for the forces of the left then to overthrow the bourgeois government of Korea by all means at their disposal—constitutional or revolutionary? In case Yankee imperialism came to the succour of the rightist forces, would we not have been in a better position then to condemn such help as an unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of a country, a denial of the right of the people of a country to establish any government they like? The case of People's Revolution would have been immeasurably stronger than that of the interfering Yankee Imperialism and would surely have been upheld by the people of all countries.

Stalin's wrong policy marred all this great possibility of the establishment of a leftist government in Korea

either by election or by revolution. On the contrary, Stalin's policy has led to such a devastation of Korea that it will be many long years before Korea can be salvaged. But Stalin is not satisfied with all the harm that he has done to the cause of the revolution in the countries of Asia and the ruination that he brought to the people of Korea by instigating the North Korea government to launch a war against the government of South Korea.

Stalin's Policy of Domination of the People's Republic of China.

Stalin has forced the People's Republic of China to get embroiled in war in Korea. Let it be once for all be understood that there was no question of the U. N. O. forces, crossing over to Manchuria, the frantic effort of the Stalinists to spread false propaganda not withstanding.

After the defeat of the armies of the North Korean Government the Soviet delegation in U. N. O. had themselves suggested an early election in Korea under the supervision of the U. N. O. Then why was it necessary for the People's Republic of China to jump into the fight at this stage? What did the leaders of the People's Republic of China hope to get thereby? I have not the slightest doubt that the pressure of Stalin and his Soviet bureaucracy has compelled the leaders of the People's Republic of China to get mixed up with the Korean war. It is Stalin's deep-laid game to get the People's Republic of China involved in a fight against Yankee Imperialism, so that it would be compelled to depend more on Stalin and his Soviet bureaucracy.

The leaders of the People's Republic in China did not toe the line of Stalin as the others did in the other lands. In spite of their adherence to Stalinism

the leaders of the Chinese people's revolutionary movement had to a great extent preserved their freedom of thought and action from the repeated onslaught of the Stalinist Soviet bureaucracy. They had deep roots in the people, and had never allowed themselves to be the chorus-boys of Stalin or to make the interest of the People's Republic of China subservient to the interest of Stalin's Foreign Policy.

This independence had in the past very often brought the disfavour of Stalin and his Soviet bureaucracy on their heads, but this integrity had brought them the support of the Chinese masses and had helped them to establish the People's Republic of China.

Used to fawning by the leaders of all satellite states of the Central and Eastern Europe, accustomed to be obeyed by them implicitly in all his national-socialistic policies, Stalin found this independence of the leaders of the People's Revolutionary Movement in China much to his distaste. There was a time in the past when Mao Tse Tung had been denounced by Moscow.

Since the People's Republic has been established in China, the eyes of the toiling masses of Asia in particular and masses of all the capitalist countries in general have turned towards the People's China. For the masses of Asia, the centre of the political stage is now occupied by People's China; Stalin's Russia has receded to the back stage.

For National-socialist Stalin such a state of affairs is intolerable. He cannot allow the People's China to consolidate itself and to grow in strength independent of the control of the Soviet bureaucracy. He cannot allow the People's China to appear as an independent revolutionary force in the eyes of the masses of Asia in particular and of the world in general.

Stalin can get the People's China under him and

his bureaucracy's control only if he could get her embroiled in a war. That would surely make People's China which is far from having stabilised itself in such a short period and is moreover faced with economic and administrative problems of colossal magnitude, dependent on Stalin and his Soviet bureaucracy. It is for this purpose of forcing the People's China to lean heavily on the support of Stalin and his bureaucratic apparatus that Stalin had put relentless pressure on People's China and had forced her to jump into the Korean war. Stalin's economic assistance to the People's Republic of China is conditioned and motivated by the interest of the rule of Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia. Desirous to see the failure of the People's Republic the bourgeois governments of America and England withheld economic assistance to her. So the People's Republic had to turn to Stalin for economic assistance. Stalin agreed to give economic assistance but like the bourgeois governments he also demanded his price for that help. A small loan and some help in the industrial field was given, but it was not given for the sake of the People's Government so much as for the handle that it gave to Stalin to put pressures on the People's Republic to fall in line with his foreign policy. Economically in a very tight corner, the People's Republic had to acquiesce to Stalin's terms. People's China is a victim of the deeply laid plot of the national-socialist Stalin. Otherwise there is hardly any political justification for her leaders to get the infant People's Republic of China embroiled in a war with Yankee imperialism, before it had time to consolidate itself on the vast lands of China. During the first World War, in a much more favourable time from the point of view of revolution, Lenin had refused to get embroiled in a war with German imperialism, even when German imperialism

was the aggressor and Lenin had to concede quite a good chunk of Soviet territory as a price for the breathing time that he wanted for the infant Soviet State. And Lenin did the only right thing possible at that moment.

Is the world situation at the present moment more favourable to the forces of revolution than what it was in the period of the first World War? Most certainly it is not so. Is the world bourgeoisie just as down and out at present as it was during and after the first World War or in the period just after the second World War? No, at the present time the world bourgeoisie has temporarily stabilised itself.

Therefore, there can be no strategic or practical justification on the part of the People's Government of China for launching such a suicidal war of adventure.

But this as I have already pointed out is Stalin's doing. Stalin's anti-revolutionary wily game is not to allow the People's Government of China sufficient time to stabilise itself. He wants the People's Republic to get herself entangled in such a bloody mess that she would have to depend largely on the Stalinist regime in Soviet Russia.

To the fulfilment of that sinister purpose Stalin has exerted his utmost and he has been successful.

Korea must be United.

Korea must be united. The artificial division of Korea into two zones must be abolished. Korea's economy demands it. South Korea produces most of the grain, rice, barley and most of the light industries such as textile, lumber, printing-machines etc. are concentrated here. Whereas North Korea produces wheat, oat, millet and beans, and possesses the heavy industries, chemicals, metals and electricity. But North Korea does not possess the means of converting the raw materials into consumers' goods. There are very few manufacturing plants in North Korea which could use steel, aluminium,

copper, zinc, pig iron etc. In South Korea there are many manufacturing plants but they need the raw materials from North Korea. It is therefore evident that the realities of Korea's economic life demands the unification of Korea. So does Korea's culture which has developed a homogeneous people speaking the same tongue and bound by the same traditions.

But most of all the Korean People's Revolution demands the unification of Korea. Only an united Korea can fulfil the tasks of the People's Revolution. Divided into zones Korea would remain a helpless victim in the hands of powers that want to utilise her for their benefit. That is exactly what is happening in Korea at present.

If the toiling masses of Korea are to live, if they are to come to power and to establish a People's Republic in Korea, they should at first abolish the zonal division of their country and free themselves from the sinister clutches of Stalin and Truman. Only then they would be in a position to settle accounts with their own bourgeoisie which is led by Rhee, that despicable stooge of American imperialism.

For the furtherance of that cause, the cause of the people of Korea and their revolution we raise the battle-cry—

Stalin, Truman, hands off Korea.