

NEW LEFT NOTES

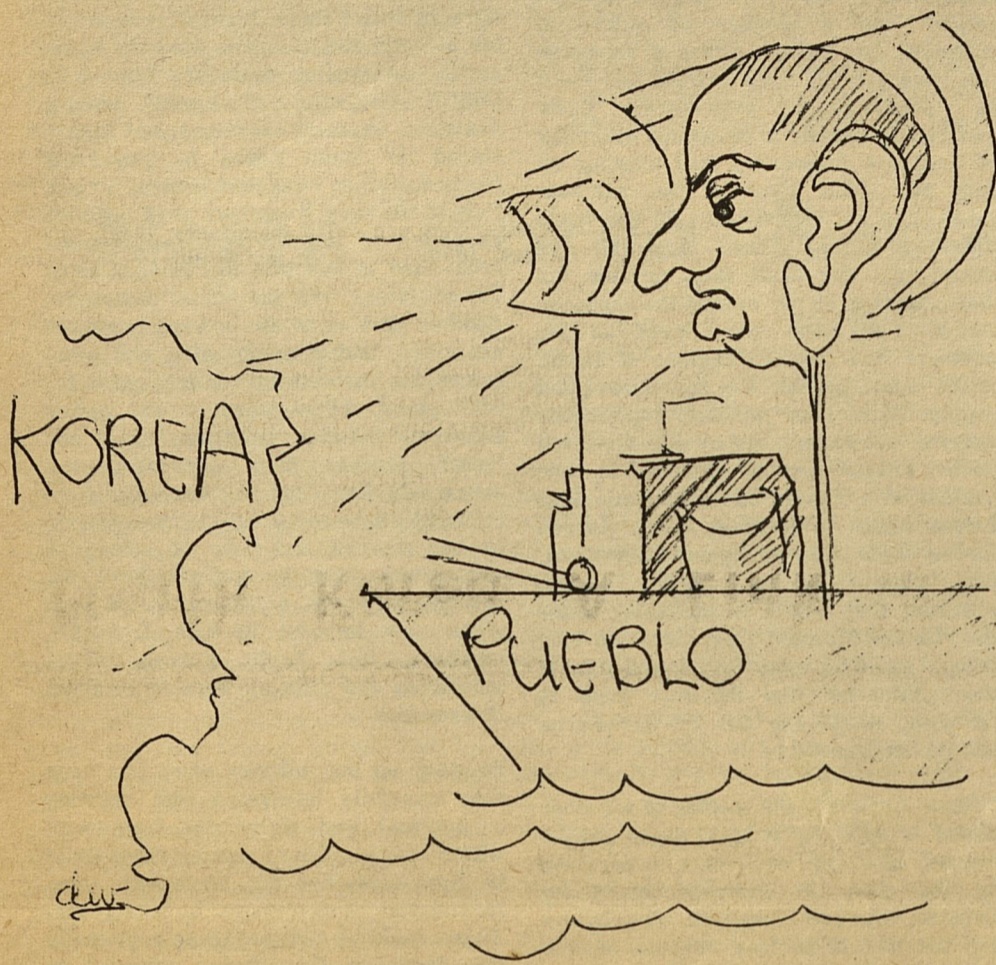
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LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

JANUARY 29, 1968

President Muddies Waters With Pueblo



In a desperate move to bolster its disastrous foreign policy in Southeast Asia, the Johnson Administration has reacted to the Pueblo incident off the shores of North Korea by calling for a dramatic mobilization of its military reserve forces. Whatever the details of the specific incident, one thing is clear: America's military course in Asia is a threat to the peace and independence of all Asian nations. It is also clear that, whatever the immediate intentions of the policy makers might be, the incident glaringly exposes the far-reaching danger of America's aggressive intentions abroad. Suddenly the war against the Vietnamese people falls into its proper perspective—the perspective of the Johnson administration's determination to extend domination over all of Asia and the Pacific basin.

The elements of that program for aggressive domination are clear. On the military level there is a policy of all-out repressive force designed to crush any

popular revolutionary movement which threatens U.S. control. Military force establishes a perimeter of control. Unfortunately, this perimeter is portrayed as a first line of defense against Chinese military aggression. That perspective is warped and absurd. There is no Chinese aggression in Asia. The image of an expansive, aggressive China is designed to mask the real nature of the perimeter which functions as a military barrier behind which U.S. economic expansion and control can be maintained.

Within the guarded borders of this Asian-Pacific empire, the penetration of American capital continues unchecked; present markets and sources of raw materials are ruthlessly exploited; and future markets for goods and capital investment are assured. Key to this imperialist enterprise is the industrial capitalist economy of Japan, America's junior partner and economic satellite in the drive for domination over underdeveloped Asian countries.

The very immediate possibility exists that the Pueblo incident will be used for the purpose of justifying another escalation of the Asian conflict in the same way that the Gulf of Tonkin incident was used in Vietnam. On the other hand, the incident may be an excuse to mobilize the Air Reserves to fill the badly depleted supply of pilots in Vietnam.

The gravest danger of all lies with those among America's corporate military elite who are not content with the existing boundaries of the empire, those who would extend the aggressive military policy by provoking war with China. Plans exist, the so-called "Three Arrows" and "Flying Dragon" plans, which would combine the military forces of the U.S., Japan, and Taiwan in an attack on North Korea and China. The existence of those projected military operations has been hidden from the American public; their existence must be exposed and challenged. (Details of those plans were revealed in a Japanese parliamentary debate on October 29, 1965. See the article on "Flying Dragon" in this issue.)

The price which the American people are paying for this insane policy of aggression and expansion in Asia is frighteningly high. Above and beyond other costs are the lives of young Americans who die needlessly in Vietnam and the attendant militarization of our society at home. The final price may be the erosion and destruction of any remaining vestiges of democratic control by the American people.

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) calls on its members across the country to join with other forces for peace and democracy in exposing the real nature of the current crisis and in opposing the mobilization of additional young American lives for aggression against the people of Asia. The young Americans for whom we speak reject the vision of an expansionist imperialist America which those who govern us propose. We refuse their orders and call on others to join us in direct resistance to that vision and the militaristic demands which its authors would place on our lives.

North Korea: A Link In The Chain?

from the first chapter of AGAIN KOREA?

by Wilfred Burchett — reprinted from tricontinental

Korea had occasionally jostled with Vietnam for space in the world newspaper headlines. Just a week earlier there had been the incident in which Soviet and American warships literally jostled each other in two incidents on successive days off the North Korean coast in the Sea of Japan, which Koreans know as their East Sea. Shooting incidents in and around the Demilitarized Zone which now separates North and South Korea were making the headlines with ever-increasing frequency. But there were also many less dramatic happenings news of which, even if published, went unnoticed, but which, viewed together, explained the chilling words that accompanied Premier Kim's invitation.

The incidents on May 10 and 11 in which a Soviet destroyer bumped into an American warship took place during joint American-Japanese naval manoeuvres and the day after those manoeuvres finished, American-South Korean naval manoeuvres started still closer to the North Korean coast. These were in turn followed by joint Japan-South Korean military manoeuvres. All three exercises were based on North Korea as the "imaginary enemy".

On the day Premier Kim received me, Washington announced a new US ambassador to South Korea, Mr. Porter, whose post until a few weeks previously had been that of right-hand man to US ambassador Cabot Lodge in Saigon. A short time previously Washington had also named a new ambassador to Japan, Mr. Alexis Johnson, whose previous post had been as deputy to General Maxwell Taylor, Washington's super-ambassador to Saigon. Johnson one could qualify as the political expert in the application of "special war" as waged by General Maxwell Taylor in South Vietnam, Porter as the political expert in the "limited war" waged there by General Westmoreland.

Premier Kim Il Sung during our meeting referred to President Johnson's visits to the Military Demarcation line at the end of October, 1966, after the Manila Conference; he said:

"Since that visit the Americans have greatly stepped up their military provocations in and around the Demilitarized Zone. They have created tension in this area...."

About the time Premier Kim was giving me his views on the tense situation in Korea, Admiral Grant Sharp, who commands all US forces in the Pacific area, arrived in Tokyo and with Ambassador Johnson as his aide immediately plunged into a closed conference with Japanese Defense Ministry officials. Does one have to possess an over-suspicious mind to doubt that all these developments are coincidental and unconnected? To suspect that as Vietnam was turned into a second Korea, Korea is now to be turned into a second Vietnam? The few facts cited above are perhaps superficial. But if one seeks comfort by digging a little deeper below the surface, what is uncovered is anything but comforting!!! There was a considerable scandal in the Japanese Diet in the spring and summer of 1965 when questions by Communist and Socialist deputies succeeded in prying out of Prime Minister Sato the fact that two plans under the code names of "Three Arrows" and "Flying Dragon" had been drawn up by Japanese General Staff officers and their American counterparts. The plans were aimed at joint US-Japanese military operations against North Korea as a first phase, subsequently to be extended against China. "Three Arrows" was prepared in June, 1963 and "Flying Dragon", a much more detailed version, a year later. A third version, "Running Bull", was worked out in 1965.

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YOU DON'T HAVE ANY INFORMATION
ON KOREA ?
... WE DON'T HAVE ANY PRINTERS...

LETTERS

Again Korea?

Dear Editor:

Mike Spiegel's report of the Bloomington NC gives some very real misimpressions and misrepresentations which I want to bring out. The most serious and erroneous of these centers around the proposals and the debate over the spring action and the discussions on the four proposals presented for this action.

First, the proposal written by John Levin and Earl Silbar of PL and SDS and signed also by a number of people only in SDS including myself was certainly not a proposal put forth by the Progressive Labor Party to cram down the throats of SDS people, which may well be the impression one gets from the National Secretary's report. The other point occurs when Mike says "the debate took place between the PLP proposal and the Fuerst-Gottlieb-Jaffe resolution. PLP immediately withdrew its proposal, thus eliminating the possibility for an in-depth discussion of the political differences between their perspective and an important sector of SDS thinking." This is bullshit. The Levin proposal was withdrawn after it was defeated by the vote in which the Fuerst-Gottlieb-Jaffe proposal passed, but certainly was not withdrawn at any time prior.

Spiegel talks about the original Calvert-Davidson program for "Ten Days to Shake the Empire" and why it found so little support. He says that the major defect of this program was that "it is comprehensible only to that minority of SDS members who work at the national level and are in daily contact with the national demands. Those demands and the resultant perspective are alien to the political experience of the majority of members working at the chapter level." The last is certainly correct, yet Spiegel fails to see that the strength of SDS lies in its chapters, and there is something

wrong when the national officers in Chicago, untied to any base of their own, see different perspectives and national demands than the majority of SDS members. The success or failure of the movement and the revolution depends on the chapter people who do the daily organizing and on the correctness of their perspectives and analyses.

When Mike says the "Sunday afternoon plenary session on the four proposals for a Spring Program failed to develop substantive political arguments about the real issues and left everyone frustrated, no one particularly enlightened about the real issues" he certainly conveys the wrong impressions. The discussion about the spring program began the first day of the educational conference, and many people brought to that discussion ideas which had evolved from their own chapter discussions about Ten Days even before they reached Bloomington. Many chapters simply could not relate at all, in terms of where their struggles were, to the Ten Days, and on the second day of the educational conference Levin and Silbar circulated a proposal calling for "broadening our base". It immediately drew attention and influenced all future discussions on the subject.

Very real political discussions occurred in all the workshops concerning where campuses "were at" and what kind of national program would best serve their needs. As a result of these discussions, in which the Ten Days proposal was so discredited that it did not even appear during the national council, the four final proposals which included a rewritten form of the Levin-Silbar position paper reflected many hours of political discussion shared by nearly all the people at the NC.

Elaine Plaisance
San Francisco State College

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"Three Arrows" envisages the outbreak of war between North and South Korea, on July 19, 196...—the last figure is left blank. It was drawn up by some 80 officers of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Japanese "Self-Defense Forces" aided by American senior staff officers of colonel rank. The Japanese officers were headed by Lieutenant-General Yoshio Tanaka, who clarified during a Diet hearing that: "This is not a study theme for a staff college discussion; it is based on actual defense plans."

On the basis of these plans, a number of laws, such as "conscription and requisition", "universal national mobilization" and a number of others to complete the militarization of Japanese life have already been drafted and could be promulgated over-night. Laws sufficiently drastic to crush any elements of Japanese democracy still existing on July 19, 196... Each of the variants takes into account changes in the world situation since "Three Arrows" was drawn up. The draft laws provide for concentrating 60 per cent of the Japanese Army, Navy and Air Force in the southern and western regions of Japan, which would provide the operational and supply bases for military operations carried out essentially by Japanese and South Korean ground forces in one variant with Taiwan-based Kuo-min-tang forces added in another. South Korean forces would be under Japanese Command, but because of the special Korean situation they would be operating under the "United Nations" flag; Kuo-min-tang troops would be under US Command from the operational and logistics base at Okinawa, where the 5th US Air Force has its headquarters.

"Three Arrows", the mother of all other plans, is spelt out in 1,419 pages and the overall drafting work was supervised by the then US Under-Secretary for Defense, Roswell Gilpatric. It provides for the use of nuclear weapons against Korea and China, combined with landing operations and doubtless to stimulate Japanese interest at that time it envisages joint US-Japanese landings on oil-rich Soviet Sakhalin which Japan seized from tsarist Russia in 1905 and held onto until the end of the Second World War. The "Flying Dragon" operation, details of which were revealed in a parliamentary debate on October 29, 1965, has some curious provisos for an ostensibly "defense" plan. It provides for detailed military measures 30 days before war actually breaks out. During this period the Japanese "air self-defense force" and US bases in Japan will go over to round-the-clock state of alert, and in the first ten days the armed forces communications services will be switched to a new code....In the second stage, which lays the ground-work for "defensive-offensive" (or "pre-emptive" in the jargon of American military semantics) operations against North Korea and China, the US 5th Air Force and the Japanese Air Force will be placed under the US Air Command for the whole Pacific area to facilitate joint operations. Losses of aircraft which McNamara's computers, based on Vietnamese experience, have set at 18 to 30 per cent in the first month are to be replaced by reserves from the Japanese Air Force. The Soviet Union as a target is dropped from "Flying Dragon", which concentrates on operations against North Korea and China.

Part of Japanese forces would be moved to Okinawa, according to the "Flying Dragon" variant and would be placed under a US-Japan joint command. As preparations for the next phase, American forces would move from Hawaii to Okinawa and northern Kyushu, the closest Japanese territory to Korea. In the next stage the US Navy would provide air and sea transport for joint landings of US and Japanese troops in an invasion of North Korea and China, hopefully under the cover of another "UN" resolution. Provision is made for the use of nuclear weapons in military operations against North Korea and China. Implicit in all this is that

July 19, 196... must be preceded by provocations of such a nature that North Korea will be forced to take counter-measures sufficient to be branded "aggressor" as last time; that China will support North Korea again and all sorts of blank-check "UN" resolutions will be pulled out of the files to give the USA a free hand to seek the revenge that its fire-eating generals have always sought for the humiliation of the Panmunjom ceasefire agreements. "Unfinished business", as General Mark Clark later described the agreements which he signed on behalf of the "United Nations".

The naval manoeuvres staged off the North Korean coast during May, 1967 were in fact "Three Arrows" rehearsals for July 19, 196... Just as were the whole series of landing exercises staged by USROK (Republic of Korea) troops, mountain warfare exercises and others staged in South Korea in increasing frequency since President Johnson's visit. Part of the naval exercises were practice blockades of the North Korean coastal area—and it was this that brought about the collisions with the Soviet destroyer. Another part were air and sea transport exercises under enemy fire and anti-submarine manoeuvres as detailed in the code plans. These were no war games exercises between imaginary "red" and "blue" forces; they were full dress rehearsals for plans that have got down to sand-pit models of the beachheads to be secured and lists of industrial and urban targets marked down for priority destruction. Knowledge of such plans was implicit in Kim Il Sung's certitude that North Korean towns, industries and villages were to be again destroyed.

Drawing up the military plans has been very carefully integrated with creating a political and diplomatic framework within which military preparations could be completed. For this there were some formidable obstacles to be overcome. These could be summed up as principally the Japanese Constitution intended to impose severe restrictions on resurgence of Japanese militarism; the difficulty for the United States in getting Japanese armed forces entirely under its control; traditional hostility felt by the Korean people, North and South of the temporary dividing line, to Japanese militarism, colonialism or any hint of Japanese penetration of the Korean mainland again. US State Department experts and extremist right-wing circles in Japan and South Korea have worked might and main to remove the obstacles and to a great extent they have succeeded, at least on the formal, diplomatic front.

It was a long uphill climb to build up the sort of military machine the Pentagon planned to unleash on July 19, 196... Apart from all other factors, Japanese public opinion and South Korean public opinion fiercely resisted policies aimed at putting the militarists back in power in Japan, at perpetuating US control over and occupation of Japan, at bringing the Japanese monopolies back into Korea under any pretext. The surrender documents signed in August, 1945 stipulated the complete disarming of Japan and the destruction of the mighty militarist financial oligarchies known as the "zaibatsu". The USA took advantage of the Korean war to push through a separate peace treaty with Japan, at San Francisco in 1961, behind the backs of the Soviet Union and China, both of which had suffered much from Japanese militarism and greatly contributed to its defeat.

In 1952, a Japanese coastal defense corps under a central "Defense Agency" was set up, and the first step along the long road had been taken. By 1954, the "Defense Agency" was reinforced by a US-Japan Joint Staff Council, the result of another unilateral US-Japan agreement of "mutual defense and aid". The "defense corps" became "self-defense forces" with full-fledged ground, air and naval units, and within another two years there was a "National Defense Council". And so on, modest step by step with the old continued next page

National High School Contacts

At the December NC a high school resolution was passed, setting up high school regionals. Would people with any information on high schools please write the contact in your region.

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CLARIFICATION CLARIFICATION CLARIFICATION

In last week's NLN a conference is announced for Feb. 3 in Detroit.

On February 3&4 will be a Detroit area Draft Resistance Conference.

On February 10 & 11 will be the SDS regional meeting to talk about the Spring Program.

new left notes

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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monopolies beginning to raise their heads, first of all as suppliers to the US forces during the Korean War to the tune of some 2.5 billion dollars and then as suppliers to the steadily increasing brand-new Japanese armed forces, with the war in Vietnam ultimately providing an enormous bonus.

By 1966, Japan had a "self defense" army of 270,000 with such a high proportion of officers and non-coms that it could be expanded into an army millions strong the moment the laws on conscription and mobilisation of resources and other, drafted under the "Three Arrows" plan, were promulgated. Also a "self defense" Air Force with over 1,400 planes at its disposal, a "self defense" Navy with a tonnage of 150,000 tons including 50 escort vessels and 10 submarines and the world's greatest and fastest ship-building capacity, to guarantee lightning like expansion. And despite a most energetic struggle waged by the Japanese people and opposition parties in the Japanese Diet, a US-Japan "Security Treaty" was pushed through in 1960

which, in the name of "joint defense" put the Japanese armed forces in effect at the disposal of the USA and not only removed the various curbs on the growth of Japan's armed forces but almost made it "disloyal" for Japan not to press forward as fast as possible in building up its military might. Indeed the only reproaches one has heard from Washington since is that Japan is not pulling her proper weight in "defense of the free world".

Although the 1960 "Security Treaty" removed almost the last barriers to expansion of Japan's war-making ability, there was still one hindrance under which the Sato government and its senior partner in Washington chafed. That was the anti-war clauses of the Constitution drafted in the immediate postwar years under American guidance when memories were still fresh in the USA of the military humiliation of Pearl Harbor, where in December 1941, Japanese planes in a single blow crippled the US Navy. By May 1967 prime minister Sato at US urging was working hard to revise the Constitution in order to introduce conscription, give

Japan the right to own and develop nuclear weapons, legalise the despatch of Japanese troops overseas and mobilise the country's human and material resources, at any time the war-making partnership decided the moment has come. Japanese voters have persistently denied his ruling party the two-thirds majority necessary to change the Constitution. But there is little doubt that constitutional scruples would be scrapped if the sort of situation envisaged under "Three Arrows" could be brought about. As for the legal niceties of Japan getting back into Korea, these were settled by the South Korea-Japan Treaty signed in Tokyo on June 22, 1965. The fact that it had taken 14 years to push this treaty through is a measure of the violent opposition by the Korean people. As the "New York Times" commented at the time: "The objections stem largely from deep-rooted distrust of the Japanese as well as lack of confidence in President Pak's government. Opponents of the Treaty charged that the Government is so corrupt that it would be unable to check 'economic aggression' by Japan and that Japanese aid money would help only a handful

of privileged businessmen...."

It was not only the gates to "economic aggression" that had been opened. The 1965 Treaty cleared the way for Japanese -ROK military co-operation, in the name of "joint defense" and for the sort of aggressive military operations foreseen by the authors of "Three Arrows", "Flying Dragon", "Running Bull" and doubtless some other variants which have not yet seen the light of day. The authors of these plans could not have foreseen at the time that the United States would run into such trouble in Vietnam, with over a third of the army and marine divisions of the standing army bogged down in a war which seemed to have no end. Would not this very fact make it unthinkable that the USA would want any new fronts being opened up in Asia? It is a justifiable argument and one which I sought facts to justify. One of my first visits in pursuit of these was to Panmunjom, where for two and a half years—from July 1951 to the end of February 1954—I had been witness to the ceasefire talks which ended the shooting war at that time, the preliminary political talks that followed the ceasefire and the long-drawn out exchange of prisoners of war which lasted six months after the shooting stopped.

North Korea Reconstructed

Wilfred Burchett

Reprinted from the July 22, 1967
NATIONAL GUARDIAN

A visitor to North Korea is soon informed that apart from land and people, everything he sees is less than 14 years old. Long before the end of the 1950-53 war the whole of the North had been reduced literally to ruins. Not a town, village, factory, school or hospital escaped the attention of the U.S. bombers. No country in history was so completely ravaged. Even isolated temples far from roads or human habitation were destroyed. Everything the Korean people had inherited from their ancestors; everything they had salvaged from 35 years of Japanese occupation; everything they had built up in the five years between the end of Japanese rule and the beginning of the war, was reduced to rubble.

As one traveled along the roads in the war years, places where the villages had been could sometimes be recognized by the level black patches ready for the plow, with piles of bricks and tiles in neat stacks alongside the roads, or by stumps of gateposts showing above the green of rice crops. Wisps of smoke seeping from holes in nearby hill sides were often the only sign of human habitation. Korean life in the war years literally went underground.

Pyongyang, a city of 400,000 when the war started, was reduced to a population of fewer than 80,000, and by the war's end there were only two small buildings left intact. When there was nothing else left to bomb, the ruins themselves were bombed, over and over again. Pyongyang when I had last seen it was a cratered, blackened plain littered with rubble and scrap iron. Today it is a gleaming, modern city of more than a million people, with wide tree-lined boulevards and no trace of the war, except the two buildings which had survived intact. Dominating the city is a huge statue of a winged steed with two young persons on its back. "Chollima," according to popular legend, bore riders 350 miles a day toward the land of happiness. It was adopted as the national symbol for the speed with which reconstruction was tackled.

Even without going into statistics, North Korea is impressive, especially for anyone who saw it during the war. Towns and villages have all been rebuilt and rebuilt well. The basic building material in the cities is light-colored stone which enhances the effect of newness; maximum use has been made of space for boulevards, parks, and gardens. The old mud and thatch villages are a thing of the past; houses in the countryside are of brick or stone, with tiles, curved roofs which in the old days were reserved for

the rich. The land is intensively cultivated; fields are intersected by irrigation canals and tractors are much in evidence. It was a surprise to learn that the tractors are of Korean design and manufacture.

Premier Kim Il Sung, who was 55 this year, commented on the speed with which the country has been rebuilt and the economy developed: "I tell my Vietnamese comrades that whatever the Americans may destroy with their bombing...if you have the people, the government, the party and the territory, you can quickly rebuild all that is destroyed...The Americans said our country could not rise again in 100 years, but they miscalculated. We rebuilt our economy to the pre-war level of production within three years and in the following ten years we have built up a modern industry and agriculture. At present the Americans can destroy buildings and other structures with their bombs, but they can never destroy the will of the people..."

Ten days after the cease-fire was signed at Panmunjom in July 1953, Kim Il Sung announced plans to rebuild the economy to pre-war levels within three years and to have all rail communications restored within 30 days. Following that there was a five-year economic plan which was fulfilled in less than three years, and a seven-year plan due to be completed in 1967, but spread over an additional three years because of a sudden switch to defense spending. The basic line of economic expansion, laid down in 1953, was priority for heavy industry, with simultaneous development of light industry and agriculture. North Korea is rich in all the necessary raw materials for industrial development. Steel production runs at about 1.5 million tons a year and will increase to 2.5 million tons next year when new plants now being built come into production. By 1967, industrial output accounted for 76% of the gross national product, compared with 28% in the pre-war years. Targets set for the seven-year plan and for which plants are now being built and mines enlarged, include 4 to 4.5 million tons of cement; 23 to 25 million tons of coal; 1.5 million tons of chemical fertilizer; 80,000 to 100,000 tons of fibers; 60,000 to 70,000 tons of synthetic resin for the plastics industry; 350 to 400 million meters of textiles; and 5 to 7 tons of grain. (Present grain production is just over 5 million tons; the figures for coal, cement, electric power and fertilizer are almost double present output.)

Comparative figures for South Korea, with 29 million inhabitants as against 10 million in the North are: cement, 1.6 million tons; coal, 11 million tons; fertilizer, 163,000 tons; power capacity, 769,000 kw.; textiles, 190,000 meters, steel, 172,000 tons; grain, 4.7 million tons.

Considering that there was not a single factory or workshop above ground 14 years ago the economic progress is amazing. Industrial output in 1965 was 11 times that of 1949, the last pre-war year; 36 times higher than 1946, the year after the Japanese left. Textile production is 195

times that of the maximum pre-war output.

Changes in the countryside are also impressive. By 1958, individual farms had been absorbed into about 13,000 co-operatives averaging 80 households and 320 acres each. At the end of that year more farm machinery was available and the need to undertake large-scale irrigation and electrification projects made larger units more economical. The farms were merged into 3,843 units, averaging 1,235 acres and 300 families each, organized in fact at village level with the head of the village council automatically chairman of the cooperative farm. Irrigation is 100% and electricity — by April, 1965 — had been supplied to 96% of the farms and 81% of the households — in some cases it was available only for powering the irrigation pumps, fodder-cutting and other machinery. Each farm has an average of five Korean-made tractors. In 1966, the state undertook all capital construction in the countryside, including housing. For the latter the state shouldered 89% of the cost, the remaining 11% payable in the form of rent.

After I had visited five major cities, a dozen factories and several cooperative farms and seen the impressive progress in every field, it was somewhat chilling when Premier Kim Il Sung commented: "If you want to come again, come soon if you want to see the country as it is today. It will probably all be destroyed again..." His evaluation of the series of shooting incidents in and around the demilitarized zone was that the U.S. intended to restart the war in Korea. After referring to plans reportedly prepared by Japanese and U.S. staff officers on the basis of a resumption of hostilities in Korea, Kim Il Sung said the situation had deteriorated seriously following the visit of President Johnson to South Korea last October.

"Johnson seems to have given some special instructions," he said, "because the Americans have recently stepped up their provocations in and around the demilitarized zone...They have ambushed and killed our troops there. There have been almost continuous shooting incidents. Apart from this, U.S.-Japanese naval units have carried out maneuvers along our eastern coast...If they do attack us again, we are fully prepared to repulse them...We still maintain our policy for the peaceful reunification of the country. But if the U.S. attacks us again, the revolutionary forces of the North will unite with those of the South to wipe the Americans out, and thus accelerate our country's reunification. That is why we are not afraid of war. We do not want war, but we are not afraid of it. If they invade us, they may destroy many buildings again, but they can never destroy the resistance of our people...The situation is tense and that is why at our party conference last October, we decided to continue building up the economy parallel with building up our military defenses until the moment war breaks out — if it does break out."

At Panmunjom, Maj.-Gen. Pak Jung Kuk, the senior North Korean member of the
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**I read the news today
oh boy..**

by Carl Davidson

The Nation, 1/8/68 and 1/15/68 (333 6th Ave., NYC, 10014, \$10 yr.), The National Guardian, 7/22/67 and 12/30/67 (197 E 4th, NYC, 10009, \$3.50 yr.), Zengakuren International Correspondence, 12/15/67 (Hirota-Bldg. 2-10 Kandajinbo-Cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan, \$1). The lead article in the Zengakuren's international newsletter provides a background analysis of recent changes in US-Japanese relations. Knowledge of these events and Japan's political position in general is essential for understanding the current crisis in Korea, as well as the long-run implications of the Vietnam War. The US government has been steadily expanding its military operations based in Japan. Furthermore, in the past few years, the US has been strengthening those economic and military forces within Japan who are hostile to China's development and in sympathy with a joint US-Japanese domination of the entire Asian economic region. Along these lines, the US and Japanese military establishments, together with their underlings in South Korea, have been organizing and staging military operations against North Korea. These invasion plans, operations "Three Arrows" and "Flying Dragon", have had their air and naval attack components practiced in several "dry runs" in the vicinity of North Korea. Activities of this sort have initiated many of the struggles of Zengakuren, the Japanese student organization with many similarities to the American New Left. Albert Axelrod's article "The Marchers of Tokyo" compares and links recent actions in Japan with the militant demonstrations this fall in the United States. He reports a division within Japan's ruling circles over the question of a Japanese-US alliance against China or a Sino-Japanese accommodation combined with a breakaway from US economic hegemony in Asia. This coincides with Oglesby's thesis in Containment and Change, naming Japan as the long-range imperialist prize and actual rationale for the Vietnam War and the Korean Conflict. The article also mentions a recent demonstration of Japanese students in sympathy with Korean refugees in Japan desiring repatriation to North Korea. The Japanese government has attempted to develop an anti-North Korean sentiment by repressing those Koreans in Japan sympathizing with the North.

Articles by W. Macmahon Ball ("Japan in Asia's Future", Nation, 1/15/68) and Leonard Liggio ("Japan Vital to U.S. Policy", National Guardian, 12/30/67) give additional information supportive of this analysis. Ball comments on the impatience of the US with those forces in Japan reluctant to aid the Ky-Thieu regime in South Vietnam. These same leaders are having difficulty selling their "self defense" forces and military budgets to the Japanese people. To counter this popular pressure from the

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we made the news today oh boy..

by karen gellen
chapter correspondent

compiled from letters from chapter contacts, local members, regional travelers, sds newsletters, and liberation news service
NEW YORK, NEW YORK—sds at the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH held a draft "counsel-in" in the main school lobby in support of spock, coffin, ferber, raskin, and goodman, the five men indicted for "conspiracy to aid draft evasion". acting on the theory that the best way to support these men and to fight repression is to actually carry on real draft-resistance organizing, sdsers did draft counseling on the spot; explained the new draft law; discussed the political implications of draft resistance; signed eleven people up for draft counselor training; and announced the setting up of a NEW SCHOOL DRAFT RESISTANCE UNION. the form of the "counsel-in" was effective in gaining access to people who ordinarily would not turn out for an action—they reached many people who were just walking by. this action also set a precedent for a new free-speech organizing area at the school. sds is planning a major draft-resistance organizing drive in the spring—they have also established a newspaper, GRANPA, which already has a circulation of 5,000. in the future, each issue will have a detailed article on an administrator or trustee, i.e. j.m. kaplan—cia front, or elsworth bunker of dominican republic and vietnam fame.

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN—voice party (sds) at the UNIV. OF MICHIGAN held a rally and march to the draft board in support of spock and the other four indicted men—97 people turned in statements of complicity, and further stated that they would not comply with the selective service system.

ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO—sds is carrying on a major union organizing project at the UNIV. OF NEW MEXICO—the union is for all unaffiliated full- or part-time employees of the univ., including clerical and secretarial, food service and library, custodial, groundskeeping, and other employees. a section of the union is also being organized for full- or part-time teaching and research staff including faculty, teaching assistants, graduate assistants, lab and research assistants, and technicians.

AUSTIN, TEXAS—a spock etc. support rally was held on the campus of the UNIV. OF TEXAS—among the speakers was mariann vizard, sds southern regional traveler—she emphasized that our only real defense against repression will be in the extent and success of our organizing work. another sds speaker called for support of leroi jones, and education about the details of his case.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK—the NEW YORK REGIONAL OFFICE has set up a DROP-OUT COUNSELING SERVICE—their aim is to help students find and do their thing outside the system, to help them liberate themselves from the univ. degree/career syndrome—they will provide realistic information about the problems of financial support, alternative jobs, and life-style changes....they plan to offer clear, intelligent information and advice, rather than get into the "therapeutic" bag—they will refer drop-outs to new creative roles in the underground press, craft workshops, communal farms, community organizing, and political groups—if many people want to do something similar and there is no existing group which meets their needs, the service will put them in contact with each other and help them set up a project of their own.... a network of regional coordinators is being set up—thus far, you can contact national coordinators michele clark and jon lerner, c/o nyro, 41 union square west, room 436, nyc, n.y. 10003—or regional coordinators guy nassberg, 5877 nina place, st. louis, missouri 63112—louis rakowsky, antioch union, yellow springs, ohio 45387—mike kaxin, adams e-11, harvard univ., cambridge, mass. 02138.

LEWISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA—students at BUCKNELL UNIV. greeted the marines with two days of demonstrations—they held signs condemning military recruitment on campus; carried on "debates" with the recruiters (sample: student: "how do you reconcile the marines with the u.s. at nuremberg?" marine capt.: "i've been asked that on four campuses."); talked with students who came to be interviewed; read policy statements; and, on the second day, held a brief sit-in. the demonstrations were also in protest of the hershey directive recommending that students "interfering" with draft procedures be reclassified 1-A....sds at BUCKNELL has also held a rally on campus to protest the indictment of spock, coffin, ferber, raskin, and goodman—several support and complicity statements were signed.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON—sds members at the UNIV. OF WASHINGTON have successfully made use of a student gov't election campaign in order to raise radical issues and to discuss and debate them with their fellow students....the sds slate ran on a platform that called for an immediate american withdrawal from vietnam, support of the black liberation movement, support of draft resistance and abolition of the draft, support of women's liberation, an end to all univ. complicity with the military-industrial complex—i.e. abolition of all military training and classified research on campus, and abolition of all on-campus recruiting for the military and for war-related industries, in addition to many local student power demands. though the sds slate did not win any seats on the student gov't, they did receive over 1,000 votes (twice the number that participated in a recent dow demonstration); and, most important of all—during the campaign sdsers straightforwardly presented their radical political analysis in conversations with large numbers of students....during the election week the chapter held an "sds week" of special programs, including speeches by and discussions with junebug boykin and michael james of JOIN COMMUNITY UNION in Chicago.

I read the news today, oh boy...

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Japanese peace movement, the US has been waging a propaganda counter-offensive. Liggio's article reports on a recent statement (12/20/67) issued by "Freedom House" in New York, an academic front for the State Department and CIA. The cold war scholars harshly criticized Japan for its "isolationism".

The best information for understanding the current Korean crisis and its relationship to Vietnam and Japan is an excellent, almost clairvoyant article by Burchett in the July 22, 1967 issue of the National Guardian. In an interview, North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung referred to plans prepared by US and Japanese officers for joint operations against North Korea by US-Japan-ROK (South Korean) military forces. Why renew hostilities at this time? The North Koreans think the US wants an excuse to bring Japanese occupation forces back into Korea, thus releasing the present US and South Korean forces stationed there for transfer to Vietnam. To support this claim, Burchett points out the fact that "...U. Alexis Johnson, Ambassador Maxwell Taylor's deputy in Saigon; and William Porter, Henry Cabot Lodge's right-hand man in Saigon, have recently been appointed as ambassadors to Tokyo and Seoul, respectively." The North Koreans also maintain that the joint US-Japan-ROK "defense" treaties have secret clauses permitting Japanese occupation of South Korea in an "emergency". Furthermore, the Nation reports in "The Year of Japan's Emergence" (1/15/68), "More and more, right-wing officers in Japan are saying that Japan's 'first line of defense' is the 38th parallel in Korea and the 17th parallel in Vietnam." The current "emergency" resulting from the North Korean capture of a US spy ship makes sense in this context, especially when the Pueblo capture seems to be such a put-up job. The pieces of this not-so-puzzling puzzle are fitting together. And the picture isn't pretty.

North Korea Today

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Military Armistice Commission, was also specific. "We remember the Dulles visit and what happened," he said, referring to the visit of the late John Foster Dulles to the 38th parallel a week before the Korean War started. "President Johnson's visit to U.S. units along the demilitarized zone is a similar bad omen....New and violent provocations started immediately."

After detailing many other incidents, which he asserted were all initiated by the U.S.-ROK forces, Kuk said: "We have never experienced anything like this since the signing of the cease-fire....The situation around the demilitarized zone is only too strikingly reminiscent of that after the June, 1950 visit of Dulles. It is quite clear that the Americans are determined to resume the war in Korea."

He spoke also about the "Flying Dragon" and "three Arrows" plans, details of which were disclosed in the Japanese Diet in October, 1965; of the intensification of U.S.-Japan and U.S.-ROK naval maneuvers off North Korea; and of the intensification of landing exercises in South Korea. "All these plans and exercises," said Kuk, presuppose joint operations by the U.S.-Japan-ROK forces against us. They all point in one direction—to the disruption of the armistice and the resumption of the war."

All the signs in the North are that a new outbreak of hostilities is expected. The 1967 budget, presented in April, reflects this. A peacetime record of 30% of budget expenditure, almost \$480 million, was allocated to defense. In 1963 defense accounted for only 2%. Only in the war years of 1950-53 did defense expenditure reach around 30%.

The Korean people are armed. Every factory and farm, every government office and higher educational establishment has its units of people's militia which include every able-bodied man and woman and which are armed with motorized anti-tank and anti-aircraft artillery. All potential landing beaches are mined; networks of tunnels have been driven through the mountains; the regular army is in a high state of preparedness.

In a speech to a Workers Party Conference on Oct. 5, 1966, Kim Il Sung

warned of the increasingly tense situation, and said: "We must build up our defenses impregnably, and get everything ready to repulse a surprise attack at any moment. True, this will require the allocation of lots of manpower and materials to national defense and inevitably delay the economic development to a certain extent...."

While it is difficult to understand what interest the U.S. would have in opening a second Asian front in Korea—unless, as some North Koreans suspect, it could serve as a pretext to bring Japanese occupation forces back into South Korea and release more South Korean troops for Vietnam—it is indisputable that a dangerous situation exists along the military demarcation line. The scope of some of the incidents, including the shelling of the northern sector of the zone by cannon and mortars, had they taken place on other more explosive borders, could already have provoked a full-scale flare-up. Gen. Kuk maintains that had Northern Korean forces not been under extremely tight discipline to avoid provocations, the war would already have recommenced. He accuses the U.S.-ROK forces of having transformed the southern part of the demilitarized zone into a forward military base and of having introduced heavy weapons including tanks and artillery into the area, in which only civilian police with sidearms are permitted under the cease-fire agreement.

Incidents in the first week of July in which 10 South and North Korean troops were killed in a few days confirm the seriousness of the situation. North Koreans also regard with considerable suspicion the fact that U. Alexis Johnson, Maxwell Taylor's deputy in Saigon; and William Porter, Henry Cabot Lodge's right-hand man in Saigon, have recently been appointed as ambassadors to Tokyo and Seoul, respectively. They maintain that there are secret clauses of the Japan-ROK treaty under which Japanese "defense" forces can be brought into South Korea in an "emergency" which could easily be produced by a North Korean reaction to the sort of incidents now current along the demilitarized zone.

NEW LEFT NOTES
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NAC MINUTES

January 23, 1968

Members present: Earl Silbar, Karen Gellen, Carl Davidson, Mike Spiegel.

Members absent: Hank Williams Chapter, Bernie Farber (Roosevelt), Carol Neiman, John Rossen, Bob Pardun.

Others present: Tim McCarthy, Cathy Archibald, Marilyn Holleman, Vicki Smith.

1. The student Mobilization was given the chapter contact list (paid).

2. The chapter contact list will be given to the New York Free Press if they pay us \$10 for handling charges.

3. Vicki Smith presented the print shop problems: a) not enough staff—critical need for printers and trainees; b) print shop losing money—not enough staff to take commercial jobs.

—presented by Karen Gellen

