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KOREA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Selected Addresses by President Syngman Rhee, Prime Minister John Myun Chang, Colonel Ben C. Limb, Head of the Korean Mission to the United Nations, Pyo Wook Han, First Secretary of the Korean Embassy in Washington, and Dr. Y. T. Pyun, Delegate to the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

**Korean Pacific Press
1620 Eye Street N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.**

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Message to the People of the United States

There is no treasure so precious to a people as its own sons. These you have sent to us. These sons of yours have fought and many have died in our fields and on our mountains. With faith and courage they have breasted a foe which they recognize as the enemy of all free peoples in the world. On the soil of Korea they have taken a stand against aggression in the hope that peace may be bought at the price of their suffering and their lives.

In the darkest hours our nation has ever known, we saw them come—these splendid young American boys, many of whom were on their first trip away from home. Even as we welcomed them to our sides in the battle for the survival of freedom, we wept for the dangers they would have to endure. In the days and weeks that have passed, we have grown to know them well, these sons of yours. We shall never forget them, nor the land from which they came.

A bridge has been built between Korea and the United States which neither time nor travail can ever destroy. In the sadness of retreat and in the grim satisfaction of victorious advance, we have been by their side. From the depths of our hearts we thank you, Mothers and Fathers of America. Your sons have paid rich testimony to the democratic way of life. Our best memorial to them is our solemn pledge to maintain the living faith in freedom for which they have fought.

President Syngman Rhee
The Republic of Korea
September 27, 1950

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Introduction

So much has been written about Korea by its friends and its foes, by the ignorant and the well-informed, that it seems highly appropriate to hear from Koreans themselves. I believe it is impossible to read even this modest selection of speeches from spokesmen of the Republic of Korea without realizing that the speakers are high-minded men, sincere, devoted, and deeply committed to democracy.

This is the first time a representative selection of addresses by Korean statesmen has ever been made available to the American public. All of these speeches were originally delivered in English except numbers 2, 3, and 5, which were rendered into English under the personal supervision of President Rhee.

Syngman Rhee came to the United States in 1904, following seven years of imprisonment for his leadership of the movement for progressive reforms under the old monarchy. He secured his A.B. at George Washington University, his M.A. from Harvard, and his Ph.D. at Princeton. In 1919 he was elected President of the Provisional Republic of Korea. Following the defeat of Japan in 1945, Dr. Rhee returned to Korea where he was hailed as the national leader of the independence movement. On August 15, 1948, he was inaugurated President of the Republic of Korea.

Dr. John M. Chang (educated at Manhattan College and a life-long educator) served as first Korean Ambassador to the United States, from January, 1949 to January, 1951, at which time he returned to Korea to assume the position of Prime Minister. Colonel Ben C. Limb, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea, and Chief of the Korean Mission to the United Nations in 1950-51, received his college education at Ohio State University. Ever since 1919 he has been active in the leadership of the movement to restore Korean independence. Mr. Pyo Wook Han received his Master of Arts degree from Harvard and pursued further graduate work at the University of Michigan. He is First Secretary of the Korean Embassy in Washington.

These speeches are presented to the public with the hope that they may help acquaint readers with the nature of our Korean Allies, and that they may clarify the nature of the global struggle in which we are engaged.

Robert T. Oliver
State College, Penna.

The Basis of Lasting Peace

by Syngman Rhee, in the Seoul Municipal Stadium, August 15, 1946.

Our American friends and my fellow citizens: It is fitting and proper for you Americans as our liberators and we the Koreans as the liberated to assemble here to commemorate the first anniversary of World Peace and the liberation of Korea. I need not repeat that the people of Korea are grateful to General Hodge, General Lerch, General Arnold and their men and officers for the emancipation they have achieved for us. When you have completed your great work here, you will return to your home with the satisfaction that you have fought a good fight and restored peace and freedom to this land of the Morning Calm. You may not be here next year at this time to celebrate this day again with us, but your brilliant victory and gallant heroism will be remembered and celebrated by the grateful men and women of Korea for generations to come.

Before August 15, 1945, the little warriors of the Island Empire thought they were invincible and they would conquer the world. With this belief, they attacked Pearl Harbor. American patience finally gave way and American soldiers came across the ocean to punish that impudent and treacherous nation. And that Island Empire crumbled with its army and navy crushed to the dust. That is the story we here and the generations that are coming behind us are to remember and celebrate.

Here is a lesson for the great world powers to draw from this story. The victorious nations should warn themselves against putting trust in military might but uphold the principles of justice and law, so that all the nations, great as well as small, and weak as well as strong, may live together in peace and liberty. It does not pay for any power to trample

upon the rights of men and the boundaries of nations. If all nations remember and keep this lesson, this day will be truly a source of blessing to all mankind.

I have a word or two for the world statesmen—the men who have the destinies of the human race in the hollow of their hands. In their efforts to establish peace upon the earth they should forego the mistaken policy of expedience and appeasement and stick to the principles of justice and law. A patched up peace—a peace purchased at the sacrifice of human rights—is not a lasting peace. No nation can guarantee its own safety and security by allowing an injustice done to its weak neighbor. The history of the last 40 years proved this fact. Had the great powers joined hands and stopped the international gangsterism in time, they might have saved themselves and the world from this horrible war. Justice and liberty to all is the only foundation of peace among men and nations. We demand justice and no more or no less.

Now I have just a word for my fellow Koreans. We have our duty to do while our friends are endeavoring to solve our problems peacefully. We must cooperate with them so long as we know their intentions are right. When they have done their best and fail, we may choose to do for ourselves whatever we think best. And I believe that by working together in the solution of our national problems we can succeed. Let us be patient and achieve our national unity for that is the prerequisite for our national independence. The world sympathy is with us and the United Nations will decide, some day, to see that justice is done to us for that alone will bring peace to the world.

Re-Establishment of Korean Nation

by President Syngman Rhee, Seoul, August 15, 1948, on the occasion of the transfer of sovereign authority from the U. S. Military Government of South Korea to the newly-formed Republic of Korea.

My fellow-countrymen:

The ceremonies of this day mark the third anniversary of the liberation of our nation from the Japanese Empire. As we receive, in the name of the whole Korean people, our sovereign government once more into our hands, our national independence is solemnly and fatefully restored. This day is the culmination of four decades of hopes, dreams, struggles, and sacrifices. To stand in this hour in my own country as a free citizen under our own government is the greatest moment of my life. I speak to you on this occasion as your duly elected president, but speak in greatest humbleness as the servant of all our people.

But, my fellow citizens, the final destination toward which we are bound lies yet ahead, at the end of a road that may be both long and rough. We have answered the doubters who questioned our ability to govern our own destinies—even though we had already so governed them for more than forty-two hundreds of years—with an overwhelming and spontaneous demonstration of democratic self-determination in the election of May 10. We have answered the doubters with patience and with deeds, rather than with cries of anger or distress. We must continue in this same spirit to meet the critical problems that overshadow our rejoicing today. This is no time to relax and take our ease. Rather than to brood upon the past, or to rejoice in the present, we must plan and work for the future.

Ours is now the task to forge in labor, in love, and in loyal devotion the foundations upon which our Republic can rise securely and in peace. From you who have given so much and endured so much there

must come yet greater sacrifices and an even stronger determination. Worn and distraught though we may be from the struggles of the past, we can face the future with renewed strength, in the proud realization that we labor not only for ourselves but also for the peace and security of all mankind.

As we turn our thoughts ahead, there are certain strong foundations upon which we must build anew the structure of our national life.

I. We should place our full trust and faith in democracy.

It is my greatest regret that among our people are some who believe that only a dictatorship can guide us through the troubles that beset our way. Still others, shuddering at the destructive tactics of Communism, and fearing that the people have not within themselves the strength and wisdom to meet the needs of the time, have reluctantly come to believe that dictatorship may be necessary for the immediate future at least. But we must not permit temporary doubts or uneasiness to prevent our laying the basis of fundamental principles that will stand the test of time.

History has proved that dictatorships cannot establish peace and prosperity. The democratic way will be slow and hard, but we must hold to the faith that only righteousness can defeat evil. If we would make a mountain, we know from experience that we must carry every load of earth. Democracy is the faith of our friends in every part of the world. Dictatorship is the method of government against which our friends have fought. Democracy is the only form of government under which the liberties of the people will be secure.

II. We must protect civil rights and fundamental freedom.

The essence of democracy is the protection of the fundamental freedom of individuals. Both citizens and government must be alert to protect freedom of speech, of assembly, of religion, and of thought, by all proper means. Any who try to buy food at the price of freedom will end by losing both. We have endured a generation of tyranny in which not only our words and our deeds but our very thoughts were subject to the harsh restraints of an alien police. But this is not the native habit of our historic experience. In the strength of our local government, in the justice of our courts, in the responsibility of the police to the people, in the principle that he who would lead must serve, and most of all, in the unshakable integrity of our own hearts there lies the fundamental guarantee we seek and demand.

III. Liberalism must be understood, respected, and protected.

Liberals, certain intellectuals, and progressive-minded youth are often critical of the necessary processes of establishing an organized State. Many patriots, judging too quickly of their words and deeds, have condemned such critics as dangerous and destructive. Actually, freedom of thought is the basic foundation of a democratic State. Such people must be protected in their right to disagree. If we seek to overwhelm them, it must be with embarrassment from the fullness of our respect and tolerance for their views. In the eternal struggle between right and wrong, we must stand firm in the faith that truth eventually will prevail.

IV. Generosity and cooperation should be the keystones of our new government.

The greatest need of our new national life, to establish its stability at home and its dignity abroad, is that it be a government of, by, and for all the people. Our country needs the active support of every citizen, whatever his former beliefs may have

been. We must start our new government in the hope that our people from every political group will stand together behind the ideals and the program set forth in our Constitution. Like all true democracies everywhere in the world, we must close ranks after an election is held and unite not in partisanship but in patriotism.

V. We must strive to unite our divided nation.

We await with hope and determination the missing third of our representatives from the north. The 38th parallel division is no part of our choice and is wholly foreign to our destiny. Nothing must be neglected to keep wide open the door to re-union of the whole nation. The Everwhite Mountains are as surely our boundary to the north as are the Straits of Korea to the south. No temporary international situation can obscure what has been established through the centuries as historic fact.

We must not allow ourselves to be hurried into any conviction that we have a duty to conquer and reclaim the north. Instead, we must be content to proceed slowly and carefully, in accord with the program already laid down by the United Nations. This program can never be complete until the provinces of the north are enabled to hold an election internationally approved and to unite with us fully in the formation of a truly national government. No matter what the obstacles to this program may be, it is our duty and our strong determination to give to the people in the north every opportunity to join with us in common and equal brotherhood. A peacefully united nation is the only kind of nation we have known or wish to know. We shall never rest until this goal has been achieved.

VI. Our foreign policy is devoted to world peace.

In all our dealings with foreign nations, our solemn endeavor is to further the cause of world peace and international cooperation. It is in this spirit that we gratefully accept the

aid tendered us by the United States. We have known a time when foreign aid was deeply distrusted, as meaning in effect foreign control. It is true that our request for such aid must always reflect the most careful consideration of potential effects. However, the old conception has given way to a new concept of the relationship of all nations, both great and small, recognizing the interdependence of all nations and the inseparability of the problems of peace and war. The freedom of small nations has come to be of concern to the great powers both individually and through the United Nations. Experience has shown and we believe the future will continue to show that it is to the interest of the entire free world that the largest possible portion should remain free. Therefore, aid is not given to entrench selfish imperialism but in the hope of maintaining world peace.

Today the American Military Government in south Korea is ending, and the Republic of Korea is beginning. This day marks a fresh renewal of the friendship commenced between Koreans and Americans two generations ago. We owe our liberty to the destruction of the enemy by the armed forces of our friends. During the occupation of our country by American troops, the United States has proved its devotion to the principles of humanity and justice on which that great nation was founded. We wish to express the thanks of

every Korean to the individuals who have participated in the Military Government, and to the commanding general, John R. Hodge, a fine soldier and true friend of our people.

Our relations with the United States of America are especially cordial. We are proud also of the close ties maintained with our neighboring government of China for millenniums. We shall never forget the participation of the United Kingdom in the Cairo pledge guaranteeing our independence. We are especially happy for the fine speech by Dr. Luna, of the Philippine Republic, Chairman of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea. Our deep gratitude is extended to all the nations that sent delegates to assist in the free and democratic elections from which this government is derived. Considering the particular problems that still confront us, we express our earnest wish to live at peace with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

We realize that without the good will and assistance of free nations, the many problems before us might be insuperable. But we know we have their good will and feel we can count on their assistance. Above all, we need and we count upon the loyalty, the devotion to duty, and the determination of all Korean citizens. With hopeful hearts and minds alert we take into our own hands today a sovereign republican government that will long endure.

"At the end of the first quarter of 1950 the level of industrial activity in the Republic of Korea was 80 per cent above the 1947 average." P. 79

—Eighth Report to Congress of the
Economic Cooperation Administration

The Living Spirit of Korea

by President Syngman Rhee

Delivered on the Occasion of the National Celebration of the Recognition of the Government of the Republic of Korea by the United Nations

December 15, 1948

This is not just another occasion for a formal celebration or demonstration. Today the thirty million people of Korea are rejoiced over the just resolution of the United Nations and are grateful to all friendly nations for their untiring efforts in materializing this long anticipated official recognition by the United Nations of the Government of the Republic of Korea. The sense of this gratitude will long be remembered in the minds of our present and our future generations.

We could not possibly have crushed the mighty Japanese Empire had it not been for the concerted action of the Allied Nations. The Government and the people of the United States with their immense manpower and resources have liberated Korea from the Japanese domination, transferred the governmental functionaries with no selfish interest—not even a single inch of our land. The United States Occupation Army then was about to withdraw, but is remaining at our own request, continuing with economic assistance so as to lay a sound economic foundation of our new Republic. With such positive help, the United States has materialized the UN recognition of our Government; and our national unification will eventually be realized by a still closer cooperation with the United States Government. We hope that such cooperation will bring about a lasting peace along the principles of true democracy in the Far East.

To constitute a living person, man must have a soul or mind to guide his body in action and to perform his duties as a unit of human society. If he loses his spirit or soul his corporeal existence will not constitute

a really living person. A nation is similar to a human being—when the spirit or soul of a nation is gone—the nation is dead.

Some fifty years ago our country existed more or less in name only. Its rulers, officials and people were so corrupt that everyone tried to maintain his existence at the expense of his fellow men and no one cared for the welfare of the nation. That nation was dead in spirit and could not maintain its existence any longer. It was in 1910 that the nation died in form also, but nine years of existence without a government was enough for our people and the spirit revived and everyone was willing to give his life in order to resurrect the life of the nation. The result was the formation of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea. Since that time the Korean nation has lived in the hearts of men and women whose new spirit made them new citizens of Korea. On May 10th of this year the general elections brought the nation back to its form and the nation became a complete body—as a living person. This is the vindication of the fact that when the nation has the spirit—it lives.

The UN recognition on December 13th gave our Government its legal status as an incorporated legal body. When a corporation has no legal status it cannot enjoy the protection of law or exercise its personal rights before the law. During the last 40 years we have appealed to every international conference but no nation paid any attention to our petition. Consequently we suffered all the wrongs without redress. The UN has recognized our legal status as a unit of international society and from now on, no nation—great or small—can ignore our claim to right and fair

dealings. This is the meaning of our celebration today.

Remembering the years gone by, we must see to it that we do not repeat the bitter shameful experiences of the past. We must cultivate the national spirit as shown during our independence movement in March 1919, when men and women, old and young, all alike, gladly gave their precious lives for the cause of their country—a movement which even the most brutal atrocities of the Japanese police could not stop. Only with such national consciousness can we commence building up a new nation. On the other hand, selfishness, personal ambition, factionalism, par-

tisan strifes, or plotting to overthrow the Government are nothing more than an invitation to self-destruction.

We must remember that we have just regained our country so it must be beloved more than ever before. We must also remember that the dear mountains, rivers and valleys of Korea are all that we possess in this world.

Starting from today we must be determined to lead a new fresh life to build up a new nation in a new land, and for this purpose—all of you here will swear with me that we shall all work hard so as to lay a firm foundation of lasting peace and happiness for our future generations.

“Our armies are in the field and are doing their best, with what weapons are in their hands. These armed forces of ours could be very considerably expanded. We could put in the field for the defense of our homes at least a million men. We have the manpower and we have the determination. But we lack the weapons. Our hands are empty. We have pleaded and sought for weapons in every corner. We are seeking them still. Instead of talking of retreat, let us have the weapons to arm our young men and we will fight like wildcats to defend our own. We do not ask the full armament of modern armies. We are content to fight in cotton jackets and with straw sandals upon our feet. We do not require huge quantities of trucks and motorized transport. We shall trudge through the valleys and climb over the hills. We shall fight with our backs to the mountains and the surrounding seas. We shall fight in fair weather and foul. What we ask is—send us the guns and ammunition! And stay by our sides!

“For us to retreat is to die. And where we stand, the front line of world democracy is saved. Our advance is the advance of democratic freedom. We are all in this struggle together. Surely the struggle cannot be aided by withdrawal and abandonment. It can only be aided by the profound determination to stand and to win!

—Colonel Ben C. Limb
Security Council, United Nations
December 28, 1950

Korea and the United States

A statement issued at Seoul by President Syngman Rhee on receipt of the news of the defeat of the Korean Economic Aid Bill,
January 20, 1950.

I have just learned with the greatest regret that the U. S. Congress by a close vote failed to pass the enabling act for ECA aid for Korea yesterday.* Despite the most unexpected defeat of this bill, I remain confident that the Congress and Government of the United States of America, upon further and more careful reflection, will not fail to grant to Korea this aid which is most essential for the development of a sound domestic economy, enabling the Korean Republic to continue its successful resistance to the persistent, militaristic communist threat.

The Republic of Korea is the only country of Asia today which is determinedly, wholeheartedly and daily fighting off, and successfully fighting against the armed attempts of Communist imperialism to invade and overthrow. Some Asiatic nations waiver, some recoil in fear, one great nation has gone down in defeat, but the Korean Republic continues to resist and fight with unflagging determination, courage, and success.

Past American aid, added to strong Korean hearts, has made this remarkable success possible. But continued ECA aid, to establish a strong basis for our economy, is essential to sus-

tain those strong Korean hearts in this difficult transition period. Let those who say that the risk is too great, that the USSR is too powerful, that money for Korea is water down some rathole, remember Berlin! There was risk, there was a powerful Soviet army itself, potential basis for attack in itself, but with courage, the United States, the United Kingdom and France took the great risk; Berlin and even all western Germany were saved by courageous risks despite enormous expense.

Korea, the only free spot on Northeastern Asia, can and will be held by courageous Korean men and women for the free world and for an independent Korea if the United States continues to risk a few more millions of its hard earned wealth. Despite yesterday's vote in the U. S. Congress, I remain certain that further and wise consideration will be given to the cause of an independent Korea to insure that this Republic and these people will have the chance to remain within the orbit of the free world.

* The negative vote, taken January 19, was 193 to 191. On February 14 a one-year extension of ECA aid was passed by a vote of 240 to 134.

By March 1, 1951, the Republic of Korea had achieved the sale of 1,029,000 acres of tenant-occupied farm land to its tenant occupants, at an average cost of one-third of the crop annually for a period of five years. Under this sweeping Land Reform legislation farm tenantry in Korea is being almost eliminated.

"Where We Stand Today"

by President Syngman Rhee, Seoul, March 1, 1950.

There are days in the lives of men and of nations that carry a significance none of us wish to minimize or ignore. Today—March the first—is such a day in the living history of Korea. It was on a Saturday at 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon in 1919—thirty-one years ago—when the great spirit of the Korean people rose out of the chains cast upon them by force and by treachery, and re-asserted the dignity and the eternal being of our ancient nation.

The world has had few occasions to observe such an example of simple heroism as the people of Korea performed on that day. Let us review the circumstances and refresh our souls by contemplation of the courage and the devotion to freedom demonstrated on that brave day.

In 1919 the world had recently emerged from a shattering and destructive world war. The evil military power of aggression had been smashed and the democracies had won a war that, it was hoped, would end for all time the selfish ambitions of imperialistic powers. In Paris the statesmen of the world, led by America's immortal Woodrow Wilson, were gathered to insure the right of self-determination to all liberty-loving peoples in every land. This was their ideal, proclaimed in ringing words for all the world to hear.

Korea was far from Paris. The eyes and the ears of our people were shuttered by Japanese military power. The words of the statesmen in Paris were not directed to us, for Japan, our ruthless oppressor, had been their war-time ally. Yet in our cities and on our farms those words were heard. In the fall of Germany our people read the lesson of tyranny's defeat. In the depths of their own hearts the patriots of 1919 heard whispering echoes of freedom's promise. And they determined that come suffering or come death, they would cast off

their chains and stand before the forum of the democratic world as free men and women.

In January and February of 1919 a thrill of renewed hope and courage ran through our oppressed land. Daring men met in cellars to print in secret a declaration of independence that had been hewed by hand on wooden blocks. School girls trudged from village to village, carrying copies of the declaration hidden in their sleeves. In hundreds of communities from the Straits of Korea to the Tumen and Yalu Rivers, men and women met in hidden council to plan the day of liberation.

The soldiers and police and spies of the enemy dwelt in our midst, watching alertly for signs of revolt. Tens of thousands of our people joined in planning and preparing for the day of liberation, yet no sign was given to betray their purpose to our oppressors.

Then the fateful day arrived. At the Bright Moon Restaurant in Seoul, thirty-three leaders met calmly for a last meal together. Then they read the Declaration of Korean Independence, signed their names to it, and called in the police. All over Korea, at the same hour, huge crowds gathered to hear the same brave words.

After the Declaration was read, the millions of patriots in every district of our land brought out our forbidden flag and marched peacefully and joyously down hundreds of village streets. There was no violence, no hatred, no lashing at the oppressors in our midst. With dignity and restraint, the people of Korea proclaimed the inalienable truth that they were and would remain free and independent. Here in our homeland those patriots swore eternal allegiance to the bold sentiments uttered by the peacemakers in Paris. We, too, a nation over four thousand two hundred years old, were and of

right ought to be, the masters of our own destiny—despite the bayonets and the bullets of the Japanese who had seized and who ruled our land.

Such was the spirit of that first day of March, thirty-one years ago. Thousands of our people died in the following weeks to seal with their blood the living truth that Koreans will not and cannot be enslaved. This was the heritage they have left to us. This is the faith—theirs and ours—in which our Republic was born and in which it lives.

Today we meet in the aftermath of another war which was fought in order that tyranny might not prevail. Once again the right of freedom was proclaimed and the aggressors were struck down. And once again we in Korea find the hard-won peace marred by foreign despots in our land.

This time, however, we have powerful friends. This time half of our country and two-thirds of our people are free. This time we exercise our own government in at least part of our ancient nation.

May this day be in our hearts a time of reverence for the past, of courage for the present, and of dedication for the future. The seeds planted in 1919 have not yet come to full harvest, but they have proved to hardy growth. Doubters and traitors have sought to trample down the tender growth of national freedom but the great mass of our people have sturdily cultivated and nurtured the precious planting of March the first. Never shall we falter or fail until the harvest of a reunited and independent Korean nation is secure.

Where, then, do we stand today?

This is a question that I cannot answer except in terms of the ideal so bravely proclaimed on that March day thirty-one years ago. Here on the platform beside me sit three survivors of the noble thirty-three signers of our Declaration of Independence: *Oh Seichang*, *Oh Hayong*, and *Lee Kapsoo*. What was in their hearts, and in the hearts of the millions of other patriots, who arose with de-

fenseless breasts to face the fury of our nation's ruthless oppressors?

First and foremost, they demanded that Korean self-government should and must be restored. This goal was finally achieved for half our country on August 15, 1948, when the Republic of Korea was formally inaugurated. But while we rejoice in this partial restoration of our nation, we do not forget the enslaved millions who still must bow beneath the yoke of the conqueror north of the 38th parallel.

It is our solemn vow that so long as true Korean hearts beat out the pulse of life in this our native land we never shall know peace or rest until the unity and freedom of our nation are once more complete.

The task to which we set our hands in 1919 will never be complete till freedom makes glad the hearts of all our people in every corner of this our ancient land.

The ambition of the Soviet Union has over-reached its power. The architects of world revolution in the Kremlin have finally gone too far. The fall of China is already recognized as merely the prelude to the further onward sweep of Asian communism. The patience and endurance of the free world have been dealt too hard a blow. In our demand for the redemption of our conquered north-land, we shall not much longer be without allies. The statesmen in the democracies are coming to see the issue for what it is—that the free world must either stand together against communist imperialism everywhere or else fall everywhere beneath the terror of totalitarian rule. The march of events will eventually catch up with the Korean dream. We shall not have to stand alone in our demand that Korean national unity must be restored.

Within this portion of our homeland in which we have been able to govern ourselves, much has been accomplished and much remains to be done. This much we know: the past eighteen months of struggle against harsh economic conditions and under

the shadow of constant military threat have yet been months of steady and substantial advance.

The heavy weight of tenantry has been legally lifted from the land, and most of our farmers will soon own the land they cultivate. Where else around the globe has a reform of this magnitude been achieved so quickly and so thoroughly? Of this we have a right to be proud.

The land that was so sadly depleted during the war has again been built up to high productivity through fertilizer purchased under the American program of ECA. Our food production has attained new records, thus making it possible for us to export 100,000 tons of rice.

Slowly but substantially our industrial production has been restored. Despite the heavy blow of the cutting off of our normal flow of electricity from the north, we have generated the electric power to light our homes and keep our factories at work. Our miners have more than quadrupled the amount of coal mined, and this amount will soon be still further greatly increased. Our fisheries, handicapped though they are by lack of every essential supply, are contributing their part to our national recovery.

Educationally we had to start from rock bottom, recruiting and preparing teachers, opening new schools, writing and printing textbooks, training technicians, and establishing the principle that every child is entitled to a basic education at the expense of the state. Illiteracy has been enormously reduced. Yet we are far from having achieved what we have in mind. We need more and better schools of every type, more equipment, better trained teachers. There is no goal more important to our nation or dearer to our hearts than to have a soundly educated free citizenry, able to perform every duty, public and private, of a modern and progressive State. In the completion of this task we shall not rest.

One of the greatest challenges that confronted us has been to develop

the means of self-defense. The front line of the world conflict between democratic freedom and communist totalitarianism runs squarely through the middle of our nation. We cannot seek security in remoteness from the great struggle that rends humanity today. The foe is entrenched in the northern half of our land and we have had to face the daily threat that he would march into the southern half, as well.

Our continued existence as a free nation depends squarely upon two factors: the good will of our democratic allies around the world, and the skill and courage of our own army and navy. We need them both.

The morale and the fighting quality of our troops have been proved over and over again. We are proud of them. We know their quality and we are grateful that they have placed the living wall of their courage between our homes and the foe. We cannot, however, blind ourselves to the plain facts of modern war. Courage alone is not enough. Small arms alone are not enough. We need and we shall continue to try to get the planes and ships, the tanks and heavy artillery that our situation demands.

In a broader sense we all must realize that our security rests basically in our association among the brotherhood of free nations. In today's world there is no nation, however powerful, that dares to stand alone. Our fate is inevitably bound in with the fate of freedom all around the globe.

We are grateful to the United Nations, which has not retreated from its responsibility for helping to unite our divided country. We have been glad to submit in every detail to the requirements for unity laid down by that great international body and we trust that its efforts will never cease until democracy and freedom are also extended to the north.

On this March first it is particularly fitting for us to acknowledge the helpfulness of the United States. Without the military and economic

aid of America, we should not be celebrating our freedom today. It is largely owing to the vision and statesmanship of President Truman that the democratic nations have found the spirit and the means of saying to communistic imperialism that its aggression must cease. It was the Truman Doctrine that prevented communist victories in Greece and Turkey and Iran, that halted the growth of communism in France and Italy, and that saved Berlin in the dark months of the Soviet Blockade. It is this same spirit of united resistance that will stop the communist onrush in Asia.

The democratic nations of the world have had abundant opportunity to learn that in the face of determination and courage communist aggression turns back. Surely the lesson so learned will not be neglected in this part of the world.

On previous occasions I have called for formation of a pact between the free countries of the Pacific area determined to maintain both the integrity of their institutions and their sovereign independence. There is every reason that the free states of Asia should join together in ever-increasing unity and strength, much as earlier the free states of the Atlantic community joined together. All free peoples must have learned the hard lessons of recent years that in union—and only in union—is there strength. The evidence is overwhelming in the reversal of the communist tide in Europe after the free nations there began to work together. Here in the Pacific area it is time that we also lock the stable doors before someone steals all the horses.

As I see it, initially, such a pact in the Pacific would not be either directly or indirectly in the nature of a military alliance. It would be an agreement to develop the widest possible interchange between signatories, and the widest possible domestic development within signatory states, or social, cultural and economic intercourse. Without military strength, of course, the free nations cannot successfully resist the communist imperialists. But without economic and cultural stability and unity, there also would not be successful resistance. I propose that we begin at the economic, social and cultural level in developing our pact for the Pacific. How it grows thereafter, time alone can say.

To the patriots of March 1, 1919, I say: "The fight you commenced, we are carrying on. Not all the goals dreamed of on that brave day have yet been achieved. But we are on the way. The courage and vision of 1919 are not lacking in this year of 1950. We here dedicate ourselves anew to the same devotion to liberty which animated the Mansei Revolution. United in spirit, united in purpose, and united in strength, our goal of a prosperous, progressive, free, and united people surely will be won."

To you, my co-workers and fellow citizens, on this March 1st, 1950, I conclude: "Let us stand shoulder to shoulder together as we face forward to the tasks yet remaining to be done. Ours must be the suffering and hardship out of which a better nation shall arise. Let us do our duty. Let us perform our tasks. And together we shall lay the foundation for a future that will match and over-match the glories of our country's past."

The Frank and Candid Light

by Ben C. Limb, before the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, Lake Success, December 9, 1950.

Mr. Chairman:

In the tense and difficult situation which now confronts us, we cannot afford the luxury of self-deceit. Neither can we longer endure the unpalatable diet of untruth which has been fed to us with reckless abandon in regard to the recent events in my country. Unless we open our eyes and our minds to the real facts, we shall not be able to confront and deal with them. While we live in a fog of deception, it is only natural that we cannot see our course plainly. We have walked half-blinded in this misty and murky atmosphere of lies long enough, and for more than long enough. It is high time that we emerge into the frank and candid light of truth.

In my country, the Soviet Union refused to permit the re-unification of the north and the south, as by its solemn declaration at Potsdam and in its declaration of war against Japan, it was bound to do. When the General Assembly of the United Nations voted to re-unify Korea and to observe elections in all parts of the nation, the Soviet Union flatly refused to permit this program of peace and of justice to be carried out in the area under the control of its armed forces. Instead, the Soviet Union conducted farcical elections and set up a farcical puppet regime in northern Korea. It called this puppet regime a "government," and asserted that it was the chosen instrument of the people themselves. In the writings of certain "liberals," who seem to pride themselves in their "scholarly fairness," this manipulated puppet regime was in fact accepted as a real government.

Thus the minds of many innocent and honest people were clouded. They read of "two governments" in Korea. One was legally and properly established by the vote of the United

Nations, and was elected in free and fair balloting under full United Nations observation. The other was covertly and secretly erected by the Soviet Union, behind the hard barrier of an iron curtain, with the United Nations and all other foreign observers shut out, and with the people marched to the polls under police scrutiny to present their forced concurrence, with a single slate of hand-picked candidates.

Despite all the facts—despite what honest men knew beyond any question to be the facts—the pretense was accepted, and repeated in seemingly reputable publications, that there were indeed "two governments"—one north, and one south, in Korea. Following this same blind path of self-deception, some people have persisted in speaking of the Government of South Korea (when they meant the officially approved, recognized, U.N.-sponsored Republic of Korea), and they balanced this misbegotten phrase with its evil twin—the government of north Korea.

This was a type of self-deception which had a very confusing effect upon the thinking of many, in the world's community of free nations. It led to speculations as to why one part of the Korean people should choose to attack another part.

Fortunately, this self-deception did not poison the thinking of the majority of delegates here in the General Assembly, where you have been kept fully informed by your own Commission in Korea. You have known full well that the so-called "government" in northern Korea was merely a puppet regime established in complete violation of the will of the Korean people by the Soviet Union, to serve its own purposes, in violation of the judgment of the United Nations, as well as in violation of the direct pledges of the

U.S.S.R. Most of you have not been in any degree deceived by this pretense of "two governments." But some segments of public opinion have been deceived. And because of that fact, the task of the United Nations, and the efforts of the Republic of Korea, have been rendered far more difficult.

It is high time that that kind of deception should be denounced and exposed. It is past time for us to unveil the kind of shoddy thinking—if it is no worse—of those spurious "scholars" who have blandly and blindly written of "two Korean governments." The truth, of course, is that there has been only one Korean Government, plus an armed puppet regime in the north, which was wholly under the control of the Soviet Union, and which existed from the beginning for the single purpose of serving the selfish interests of the Soviet Union.

When the attack of June 25 (1950) was launched against the free Government and the free people of Korea, more lies were spoken and written, and more self-deception was indulged in by some honest and innocent people.

The attack was interpreted as having been launched by the north Korean regime, although all fact and reason indicated, beyond any doubt, that it was launched and directed by the Soviet Union. The lie was broadcast in the Security Council itself—that the Soviet Union had nothing to do with the attack, and that it had not even provided the weapons with which the attack was launched. This lie was spiked by the capture or destruction of huge quantities of Russian-made weapons on the field of battle.

Yet, in the interests of peace, the Republic of Korea and the United Nations were willing for a time longer to pretend to accept the fiction that the Soviet Union was not the direct force which was waging a war of naked and fierce aggression. We pretended to accept that lie in the hope that the masters of the Kremlin

would make the lie come at least partly true by withdrawing their aggressive program when they saw that they had aroused the entire free world to resist their designs.

The next lie that was blandly spoken, and that, in form, at least, was for a time accepted, was that the Chinese Communists, who were hurled into the struggle to turn the tide of battle, were not really organized troops, but were merely miscellaneous "volunteers." This lie, too, was accepted on the surface at least, in the bare hope that the Chinese Communist puppets of Moscow might come in time to see the madness of the course they were pursuing, so that they might withdraw their armies before war should become general and inevitable.

On the one hand, the free nations of the world accepted the Communist lie; and in doing so, refrained from attacking the area of Red China, just as though Red China were not actually engaged in the fight. On the other hand, the free nations did frankly recognize that the Red Chinese regime was directing the new attacks, and did appeal to the Peiping regime to desist. Promises were made to the Red Chinese of full safety, if they would withdraw the forces, which they still declared they had not sent into the battle. A large part of Korean sovereignty was offered up in sacrifice, in the vain hope of persuading the Russian and Chinese Communist forces to withdraw from the struggle. The Republic of Korea was restrained from operating north of the 38th Parallel. Power from the Yalu River dams was offered to the Red Chinese, in return for their withdrawal from the war they had already launched. A buffer strip of Korean territory was suggested in some circles as a further guarantee to the Chinese Communist regime. Every effort was made by the peace-loving nations of the world to make the lie of Chinese non-intervention come to be the truth! But these efforts to avoid the facing of honest facts were of no avail.

Gentlemen, all the efforts that have been made to avert the crisis by a certain amount of self-deception, and by at least a seeming acceptance of the Communist lies, have proved of no avail.

What has chiefly resulted has been an unfortunate confusion in the minds of the Allies themselves! Our people have suffered the double anguish of having to endure the terrible devastation and tragic casualties of battle without even knowing for certain that the fighting was aimed to accomplish the goal of re-unification and freedom for which it was being fought. The free nations of the world, represented in this great body of the United Nations, were asked to provide troops and to make sacrifices for a cause which was not clearly defined. One terrible result was that the men who were forced to endure the horrors of war on the battlefields could not have a clear understanding of what their sacrifices were intended to achieve.

This confusion was supposed to serve a good purpose. The motives of the democracies have been of the purest. The desire to avoid a direct struggle by pretending that it does not exist, is a worthy desire. But it has not accomplished its aim. The enemy still pours destruction upon us. The foe continues to build up its strength and to drive ahead. Our efforts to pretend that this is a limited war have not prevented the enemy from continuing to fight it as a war of extermination.

The time has come to face the simple fact that surrender and appeasement and self-deception are not leading, and will not lead, to peace. The Communist empire cannot be bought off from its design of conquest by a weak surrender in Korea of the position that the United Nations has taken there. Instead, the facts must be dealt with for what they are.

My country has become a battleground for the contending forces of freedom and justice on the one side, and for brutal aggression on the

other. This issue should not, and cannot be blinked.

To surrender now would be to make an ironic mockery of the sacrifices which have been endured by my people and by the soldiers of the United Nations. To surrender now would be to offer up the free Government and the freedom-loving people of Korea as a living sacrifice to the savage hordes of the Communist empire, in the vain hope of buying at this awful price a reasonable willingness to negotiate. We know the emptiness of this hope, for we know that negotiation is fruitless unless it is conducted honestly and openly by the free will of both sides. Finally, to surrender now to the demands of the Communists in Korea would constitute a disastrous repudiation of the position already firmly and clearly taken by the United Nations.

Mr. Chairman, the Republic of Korea wants nothing less than to be a cause of war. The aim of my Government and my people has been only to live in peace, as a free and democratic member of the world community of free and peaceful nations. We have refused to surrender ourselves to conquest by the Communists. We have done our best to hold intact our own particular segment of the world-wide front of free democratic peoples. We have done our duty as best we can in helping to defend the freedom of liberty-loving peoples all over the world. It is our misfortune that the struggle has been joined on our soil, in our cities, and among our civilian population.

It has been our great good fortune that the free nations of the world have viewed our defense as a part of the defense of freedom everywhere. As Stephen Decatur, an American patriot said, "He who fights for freedom anywhere fights for freedom everywhere." I am confident that this solidarity between our people and the rest of the free world will endure. I am confident that the Communist empire no longer can successfully pursue its plan of separating the nations of the free world from

one another, so that it can safely destroy and conquer them one by one.

Weakness has not served as an effective defense against Communist conquest. The only adequate defense must lie in strength—in strength of purpose and in fighting force.

We Koreans do not feel ourselves to be helpless. We want to fight in defense of our own homes and of our own lives. We have the young men who are eager to bear arms. But we do not have arms to put in their hands. Our plea, therefore, is twofold. We plead with the free nations of the world to stand firm in the defense of freedom, on the battleground of Korea, where the issue has been joined. And we plead for the supply of arms and other equipment to be placed in the hands of our own people, so that we may more effectively fight by the side of the United Nations troops, to win the victory which is indispensable for us all.

The watchword for this hour is not vacillation or despair, but determination and action. When we take our stand for freedom and justice, with courage and with a clear vision of our duty, we know that our cause shall win.

Mr. Chairman—There is no retreat from, and no compromise with, the espousal of a moral principle. This great body adjudged the northern Korean Communists guilty of illegal aggression. How can the present Chinese Communist aggressors be other than equally culpable?

Guilt is not subject to percentage rule. Neither a nation nor an individual can be "a little bit guilty."

The United Nations acted bravely, boldly and righteously, when it detected and proved the guilt of the first aggressors in Korea. The guilt of the second aggressor is brazen and contemptible. His emissaries sit in your midst, while his soldiers, in overwhelming force, shoot, kill, capture, and enslave the brave men on the wintry battlefields of Korea—the very men who are fighting to restore peace and security under the banner of the United Nations.

There is no possibility of appeasing the aggressor in Korea. One cannot negotiate with rattlesnakes. The aggressor believes that might is right, and that brute force will triumph. He is on the march for world conquest. Should he subjugate Korea, he will pause only long enough to regroup, to rearm, to attack.

Sir, the acceleration of Communist aggression will be in direct proportion to the acceleration of defeatism or appeasement in Korea. The consequences of appeasement will be appalling not only to peace and democracy in the Orient, but to peace and democracy in the remainder of the world as well.

When right and justice are disregarded, and expediency is embraced in their stead, disaster is all the more invited and made inevitable, even though it may seem to have been postponed!

Have we forgotten what happened when, in 1931, Japan seized upon Manchuria because the world was then unwilling to act in concert against the aggressor?

Cannot we recall how Hitler and Mussolini and other dictators of the past score of years, felt free to commit one excess after another? They went on, and on, and on—until the entire world was plunged into war. Cannot we remember Munich? Yet, that war could have been averted, had the concept of collective security been invoked, and the other nations had acted with speed and decision in behalf of justice.

When, last June, the Security Council of this great body did invoke the concept of collective security, and did activate it with armed resistance, the peoples of the free nations of the world rejoiced. It was the first time in history that the great Powers had kept their promise to a small nation. The prestige of the United Nations enhanced a hundred times. Its authority became a reality! The world looked to it and cheered. All the world began to repose faith and trust in the United Nations. The United Nations dare not go back on that

precious faith of the world. It must not become another League of Nations!

The forces of the United Nations fought first a magnificent defensive action against tremendous odds. They then turned their retreat into a sweeping offensive, which brought victory within their grasp. Peace and security were actually re-established throughout most of Korea. The initial aggressor had been beaten and disarmed.

Then followed one of the grossest acts of international immorality, the wanton invasion of the land of a peaceful neighbor, by hundreds of thousands of trained and armed Chinese Communists.

The spokesman for the masters of the Kremlin terms this a great "volunteer" movement to rid Korea of the "American aggressor." Once again the free world recognizes this new aggression of the Chinese Communists for just what it is—Russian in origin, Russian in direction, Russian in execution! Once again Korea is being subjected to all the hideous devastation of modern war, plus the inevitable starvation for a great portion of its population.

But the people of Korea have not lost hope. They will be heartened by the "No appeasement" pronouncement of President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee. They will be further heartened when, as I firmly believe, this great organization, the United Nations, again will act boldly and decisively on behalf of right and justice. The people of Korea will fight on to the end, for they know that, if a death warrant is served upon them as a nation, it will be the prelude to other death warrants served singly upon other free and democratic nations throughout the world. Should we forget the fate of a democratic Czechoslovakia? Of Poland? Of the souls of all the other now-Satellites?

History can be a harsh and brutal teacher. It is so in Korea today. The

lesson of collective security—of all for one, and one for all, against the aggressor—is being written in Korea, in letters of blood, the blood of heroic men of many a United Nations country, the blood of our own brave Korean soldiers. These men died for freedom and decency. They must never be regarded as "expendables"! Were this ever to come to pass, and I pray that it never shall, the world of free men would have to bow its head in shame.

The Korean army has been more than willing to make the heaviest of sacrifices in combatting Communist aggression. Our civilian population also has had to pay an awful toll. But our resolution to resist this mad force unleashed against a peaceful world has been in no way diminished. Though denied membership in this great organization by a Soviet veto—we have felt a sense of real kinship, for we shall always remember the interest of the United Nations in the re-creation of our Republic. We shall always treasure your kindly counsel and genuine assistance in helping to restore to us our rightful place among the family of civilized and democratic nations. We shall never forget your prompt and vigorous action when the brute force of Communist aggression was first launched against us and imperiled our very existence.

Now, a second time, our life as a free nation is in grave danger. Now, a second time, brute force of magnitude bears down upon us. Once more we call upon you to help us resist the aggressor.

Our fight is your fight—more so now than ever. It is the fight of free men anywhere and everywhere in the world, to preserve liberty and to destroy tyranny! It is a struggle which can never be encompassed by any single geographical area, no matter how seemingly remote. We share a common cause, a holy cause.

You did not fail us in the past. I know you will not fail us now.

Korea, Today, Yesterday, and Tomorrow

by Ben C. Limb, Foreign Minister, Republic of Korea, Sunday Evening Forum, Tucson, Arizona, February 25, 1951.

One of the American soldiers is reported to have said when his unit got back into Seoul the other day that he felt like a yoyo—he'd been back and forth, in and out of our capital city so often! We Koreans can understand and appreciate the spirit in which a young civilian soldier 7,000 miles from home will help keep his spirits up by joking about the strains and dangers of the battlefield.

What our people feel as they look at the ruins which once was our great capital city of Seoul is hard to express in simple words. Seoul has meant to us what Washington, D. C., means to you—what Paris means to the French—what Rome means to the Italians. It has been our great city, the seat of our government, the center of our culture, the guardian of our traditions for five hundred and fifty years, ever since the Yi Dynasty moved the capitol there from Kae-song in 1392. Now it is gone—a dead city of smoldering and twisted ruins.

V Korea today is the scene of what General Matthew Ridgeway, the American field commander of all United Nations forces in our country, has called "The greatest tragedy ever to occur in all the long history of Asia." It is hard to convey any sense of what this tragedy means.

Our peninsula is about the size of all New England, with New York and New Jersey added, and has about the same population as that area—some thirty million people. Since June 25, 1950, the awful tide of war has moved back and forth through the extent of our land like the Scythe of Death. Practically every city in Korea has been either totally destroyed or very severely damaged. Hundreds of villages have been burned out. Even isolated farmhouses have been sought out and destroyed, lest they might serve as shelter for the enemy. Many of these fires have been set by our

own people as part of a deliberate "scorched earth" policy to help defeat the Communist invaders. Our industries and mines have been wrecked. Our precious electric generating plants have been destroyed. Our bridges and the tunnels through which our railways were laid in our mountains have been blown up. Our entire nation is like Chicago after the great fire, or San Francisco after the great earthquake. All we have sought so hopefully and so laboriously to build up in order that our children might enter into a new and more fruitful life of gradual industrialization—all this has been swept away. We have become a nation of paupers. Without exception today, all Koreans are poor—far poorer than we have ever been in the whole four thousand years of our long history.

But the sorrowing in Korea today is not for the loss of property, but for the tragic loss of life. My Government has estimated that at least eight hundred thousand of our civilians have been killed since the fighting started eight months ago. Three million of them are on the road as refugees—without shelter or blankets, with insufficient food and clothing—old men and women, invalids, and children. Mothers have had to endure the helpless pain of seeing their babies die in their arms. Fathers have struggled to keep their families together and to keep them moving toward safety from the pursuing Communists, in weather that is often below zero, unprotected from the snow and cold.

In all solemnity I can say to you that no people would ever choose to have their own homeland become the battlefield of modern war. In all the long annals of savagery there is no parallel with the fearful destruction which modern weapons can wreak.

Yet in the midst of all this suffering and destruction and death, the morale of my people has remained firm. There has been no hint of surrender as a means of avoiding further doom. Indeed, while the United Nations was toying with the possibility of ending the struggle in Korea on terms that would have meant virtual surrender to the Communists, no people anywhere was more apprehensive than mine. For we know full well what surrender to the Communists would mean.

Let me try to set the Korean situation in perspective for you, and let you judge for yourselves what the struggle means to us.

Our civilization is more than four thousand years old, and we are proud of the great traditions of our past. Surrounded by the sea on three sides and shut off by the lofty Everwhite Mountains and the Yalu River on the north, our history has been one of long periods of peace and cultural progress. We invented and used metal movable type before the Chinese. We founded colleges, printed books, and compiled a national encyclopedia long before the Western World developed these agents of mass education. Our ceramic art has been declared by experts to be the most classical developed anywhere in the Far East. Centuries ago Korea was the ship-building and sea-faring nation of the Orient. The oldest existing solar observatory anywhere in the world still stands amid the ruins of war at Kyung-ju. In fisheries and in agriculture our people developed special skill and our standard of living used to be the highest to be found in the entire Far East.

In those olden days Korea did not live unto itself alone. Our nation was in a sense the crossroads of the Orient. The religions, philosophy, and art of India and China came to us and intermingled with our own. We carried our civilization over to Japan, and our rule extended through most of what is now Manchuria. Then, in 1592, when the Japanese, under the Warlord Hideyoshi, set out to con-

quer the world, and sought to use Korea as the corridor of conquest, we fought his armies to a standstill and defeated him through the invention of the world's first iron-clad battleship.

All this was a part of Korea's yesterday—the long ago period still remembered and preserved in our poetry, plays, and novels. Then, in 1882, Korea entered into its first treaty with the United States and commenced regular relations with the modern world. It proved to be a bad time for a small and weaponless nation to emerge. This was a period of frenzied grabbing by the major powers of special privileges and territories in Asia. In 1904-05, Japan and Russia fought a war for the possession of Korea, and we passed under Japanese rule. For the next forty years we endured a type of exploitation so harsh that it was described in the Cairo Declaration as "enslavement."* But during all this time, the people of Korea never surrendered. We maintained a free government in exile and worked and waited for the liberation which finally came with the defeat of Japan in 1945.

Our liberation, however, was not complete, for by a war-time agreement, the Soviet Union was admitted to the northern half of our country, and imposed a totalitarian Communist puppet regime on all the area down to the 38th parallel. In the southern part, the United Nations supervised free elections in 1948, and our Republic of Korea was established.

This Republic of Korea adopted a democratic constitution and organized a government that was modeled in essential respects upon that of the United States. Economically we had a very difficult time. Our minerals, chief coal deposits, hydro-electric power, and heavy industries were all

* On December 1, 1943, President F. D. Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek issued a declaration which read in part, "Mindful of the enslavement of the Korean people, the aforesaid three great powers are determined that Korea shall, in due course, be free and independent."

in the Communist-held north. Our agriculture in the south was depleted by lack of fertilizer, and our southern factories were down to twenty per cent of normal production because of lack of power, lack of raw materials, and lack of management during the three-year interval before our Government was inaugurated. But we set to work, with the generous aid of the United States through the ECA program. What was accomplished economically may be briefly indicated in the fact that from December, 1948, to December, 1949, our over-all factory and mining production increased by 92 per cent.

Our problem of education was extremely serious. The Japanese had made it very difficult for any Koreans to get an education beyond six years of elementary school, and all the teaching was in the Japanese language. As a result, some seventy per cent of all our adults were illiterate in their own language by the time of the Japanese defeat. Our people were almost without teachers, for most of the teaching had been done by Japanese. We had no textbooks of our own in our own language. We had no teacher-training institutes and very few school buildings. Yet we maintained thirty-six colleges. We reduced adult illiteracy by more than half. We doubled the enrollment in the primary schools and quadrupled the enrollment in the Middle Schools.

Maintaining democracy under conditions of Communist underground activity and the constant threat of attack from across the 38th parallel border was understandably difficult. But I think we succeeded in doing so. We gave full political equality to women. In our two national elections, between 85 and 90 per cent of all eligible adults voted, using the secret ballot system. The Associated Press counted Korea among the five or six nations of the world granting freest access to the news and greatest freedom in reporting it.

Our land tenure system was one of our greatest problems. Like all other countries of the Far East, we suffered

under a landlord system in which more than half our farmers were tenants, and had to pay rentals amounting to fifty per cent and more of their annual crops. Our Government studied this problem carefully and worked out a land reform program under which tenant farmers were enabled to buy the land they farmed for payments amounting to one-third of the crop each year, payable over a period of five to fifteen years. This plan was approved and went into effect on June 1, 1950. Under it our farm tenantry would have been reduced to ten per cent, far less than the percentage, for example, in the United States.*

Some Americans have asked why, if our new Government was enjoying such great success in solving its problems—why, then, did the Communists attack us? This question in itself reveals a dangerous ignorance of the Communist menace which confronts the world. In one short answer I can say, the Communists attacked the Republic of Korea because our very success was intolerable to them. The Communists attempt to sell their own system to the masses of Asia by arguing that it is superior to Western-style democracy. They insist that American-style democracy is a political instrument invented for the purpose of exploiting the people and holding them in subjection; whereas Communism, so they say, is a system for liquidating the ruling classes and turning all the benefits of the State over to the laboring peoples. In Korea this claim of theirs was put directly to the test.

In the north they had imposed Communism. We had established democracy in the south. According to the Communist propaganda, the people should be fleeing from the Republic of Korea into the "people's paradise" of the north. Instead, the very opposite proved true. Over two million Koreans, from among the ten millions who lived north of the 38th

* By March 1, 1951, 1,029,000 acres of land had already been sold to the tenant occupants under this new law.

parallel—one in every five of them—left their homes, their property, their means of livelihood and their friends, and fled through the hills at the risk in their lives to seek sanctuary in the Republic of Korea. Meanwhile, the Communists used every means in their power to try to arouse the Korean people in the south against their Government—and utterly failed. As John Foster Dulles expressed it, "The society was too wholesome to be overthrown from within." The Communists attacked us for the very reason that they had no other way of destroying our democracy, no other way of blotting out the living lie that democracy is inferior to Communism.

✓ Well, many Americans have asked me, why is it that the Korean people of the north fought so hard for Communism? This question, too, is based on an unfortunate ignorance of the real facts. Actually the people of northern Korea did not fight for Communism. They hated it, tried to escape from it, and at the first opportunity welcomed the armies from the south as liberators. When the United Nations forces were driven into the fateful retreat last November by the intervention of the Chinese Communists, hundreds of thousands of north Koreans fled through the fearful cold of winter to try to escape down south before the Communists could enslave them again.

What is not understood by many people in this country is the fact that most of the north Korean soldiers were really expatriates. During the forty years of Japanese rule of Korea, some 300,000 Koreans had fled to escape the Japanese into Siberia, and there settled down and became largely Communized. Another two million fled into Manchuria and North China, and there fought against the Japanese as allies of Communist guerillas. Out of the army of 500,000 which Kim Il-sung, the north Korean Communist puppet, organized, fully 100,000 were men who had lived in China and fought in the Communist Eighth Route Army. Still others had served in the Russian Army during

World War II, some of them having fought at Stalingrad. And these troops were interspersed with Korean youth who had been conscripted and forced into the army, meanwhile being fed for five years with a steady stream of Communist propaganda behind the iron curtain maintained along the 38th parallel.

A certain amount of misunderstanding was created by the events of last summer. The Republic of Korea had no army, because we were refused the weapons with which to form one. We had merely a Constabulary of lightly-armed troops, numbering 96,000. We had no tanks, no heavy artillery, and only five airplanes. Naturally, when the heavily armed force of 500,000 Communist troops attacked us, our soldiers were driven back. Exactly the same thing happened when the first few lightly armed United Nations soldiers entered the battle. It was then that an impression was created that south Koreans were less effective fighters than the northern Communists.

As a matter of fact, the Republic of Korea now has 200,000 soldiers on the front lines, and they have repeatedly won highest praise from General MacArthur and from the troops of the United Nations for their fighting ability. Our Commanding General Chai, was killed in battle. During the "strategic retreats" which the U.N. command ordered, six of our Colonels committed suicide rather than obey what they considered disgraceful orders. The morale of our men has been high. They have the best motives in the world to fight, for they are protecting their own homeland and their own families. They are fighting with their backs to the sea. If the United Nations forces are defeated, they can be evacuated by sea. But if our army is defeated, our people have no place to go, and will have to endure the full fury of the Communist revenge.

As we recall the ruined cities and the frightful toll of casualties in Korea, you may well wonder why Korea chose to stand up and fight. It is a

notable fact that our nation is the first one deliberately to choose to endure the full force of Communist invasion rather than to surrender. We had many opportunities during the last five years to surrender. We could always have had peace at the price of accepting Communist rule. But our people had had forty years of the totalitarian rule by Japan, and we knew what it meant. The millions of refugees from the north brought vivid evidence of what Communism was doing to the northern part of our country. We never gave even a thought to seeking a false kind of peace by surrender. Paul Hoffman, the great director of your ECA program, called the Republic of Korea "a bastion of democracy in Asia," and we meant to deserve that proud title. We felt ourselves a part of the world-wide alliance of free peoples, and we meant to hold intact the part of the democratic line that extended through our own country.

This was our choice in June, 1950, and it remains our choice today. We still could have peace by surrender. But it would be the awful peace of the charnel house, the prison pen, and the torture chamber. We mean to continue the fight until it is won. The Republic of Korea has recruited and trained 500,000 young men, in addition to those 200,000 who are now engaged in the fight. Over and over again President Rhee and I have pleaded for arms with which to equip these additional fighters, and we shall keep seeking and asking until we get the arms. If the Communists send waves of attackers against us, we are ready and eager to beat them back with waves of our own. We can do so, and we shall do so—when we get guns and hand grenades to replace the sticks and clods of earth with which they have thus far been trained. All that we ask is the opportunity to sacrifice and to fight in our own defense.

For the past five months I have been in attendance at Lake Success, as the head of our Korean mission to the United Nations. There have been

many anxious hours, while a bloc of nations, under the leadership of India, has seemed willing to sacrifice Korea for the fanciful hope of peace. We have argued over and over again that there can be no peace based upon retreat and surrender. We cannot win peace with international Communism by giving them to understand that they can win what they want if only they are willing to fight for it. Peace can only be safeguarded if the Communists are taught that when they attack a free people—any free people, anywhere in the world—the combined force of the free world will unite and strike them back.

In Korea a great victory for democracy has already been won. The free world has been awakened from its long slumber of self-delusion and impelled into a course of mobilization for self-defense. The attack upon my country has proved to be an alarm bell that awakened the free world while yet there was time. I think there is no question but that the Communist Empire expected an easy victory in Korea. Its cynical leaders never thought that the United States and the rest of the United Nations would send their own sons half way across the world to fight by our sides. They expected to sweep through our Republic with little difficulty, and then be free to launch other attacks elsewhere—perhaps upon Formosa, or Indochina, or Yugoslavia. It apparently did not occur to them that they were arousing a sleeping giant, and that the days of easy conquest had drawn to an end.

This, then, is the picture of Korea of yesterday and today. What is the prospect for our nation for tomorrow? I cannot claim to have any crystal ball with which to foresee the events of the next few months. Whether the Soviet Union will decide to launch forth upon the fearful adventure of World War III is a secret that is closely guarded within the Kremlin itself.

I do, however, have a strong conviction that peace is better safeguarded by strength than it could be

Bishops, priests, and preachers were jailed and Church properties confiscated. There was no freedom of speech or thought or action.

The Korean people in the north were thus forced into the lock-step of totalitarianism. Their young men were impressed into the army. Thousands of others were forced into labor battalions and sent to work the mines of Sakhalin Island, or became chain gang laborers to build military roads and bridges in north Korea.

The army of north Korea was equipped with tanks, and planes, and artillery supplied by Russia.

This is the regime, and this is the army that at dawn on a peaceful Sunday, June 25, struck without warning into south Korea.

That day will be well marked by historians. It was the day that resolved the doubts besetting the free world and resolved the issues of our time. It clarified the minds of men as nothing has done since the defeat of the Axis Powers. The brutal and unprincipled attack of that day brought sharply into focus the danger which the free world faces and which it must overcome.

I have given you a brief summary of what has happened in Korea. But that is background; the foreground also needs to be filled in.

Some sharp-voiced critics have blamed the soldiers of the Republic of Korea for retreating before the Communist attack. These critics have spoken of the low morale and lack of fighting spirit of our troops. You, who are veterans of the battlefield, are better able than I, a civilian, to answer such criticism.

However, once again our appeal must be to facts. If there is one lesson that was impressed upon all the world through World War II it was the impossibility of stopping tanks and artillery and planes with courage alone. The mechanized drive of the German army in Poland and through Western Europe, when it faced men of undaunted valor, could not be stopped. When heavy armor

is smashed against bare flesh, the living wall of poorly armed men must fall back. That is simply a fact.

I could remind you of many courageous acts on the Korean battlefield. I could tell you of Korean soldiers who tied dynamite sticks around their waists and hurled themselves under the treads of northern tanks, so that many of them were destroyed, and the first attempt against Seoul was thrown back. I could tell you the story of Korean troops fighting until their last cartridges were expended, and of others who are still fighting, cut off in isolated pockets far behind enemy lines.

But to a convention of fighting men, these facts need not be recalled. American and Korean troops are now bearing the terrible brunt of battle side by side. Your boys are dying as well as ours, to preserve the liberties of my people, of your people, and of all the free world.

What is needed now are quantities of tanks and artillery to provide ground power strong enough to stop the great columns of Russian tanks with which the Communist army is supplied. Guns must be met by guns, tanks by tanks, steel by more steel. This is the only answer the invaders will heed.

There remains to be considered one other aspect of the situation in Korea. This is the fact that, regardless of the present course of battle, the Communist attempt in Korea has already failed. The Communists were aiming for quick victory—success so sudden and so complete that neither the United Nations nor the United States would have time to intervene. Their effort failed dismally.

With courageous and clear-sighted firmness the American Government and the United Nations Security Council reacted to the challenge. Within fifteen hours of the attack, the Security Council was in session; members had their instructions from their governments; the act of aggression was plainly labeled and denounced, and the United States al-

ready had military supplies on the way to Korea.

In all the history of the world there is no other example of united action rendered so promptly on behalf of freedom and security. The United Nations as a world organization, and the United States as a great power bearing the heaviest responsibilities in Korea and the Far East, did not hesitate for an instant when open aggression was unleashed.

To say that the Government and the people of Korea are grateful is but a weak statement of the feeling in our hearts. The days of agony since June 25 have been lightened and made bearable for me because of the warm-hearted and unanimous support of the American people and of the 50 other nations that, have pledged their support.

Within 24 hours of the attack, the telephone in the Korean Embassy in Washington began to ring, and the telegrams began to flow in, bringing not alone messages of sympathy and understanding, but hundreds of pleas from young American fighting men to be permitted to leave their homes and fly to the battlefield—many of their own expense—to take part in the fight at our side.

These outpourings of the American people, the brave and firm words of President Truman, and the instant, unanimous accord of leaders of both your great political parties and of scores of other great national organizations have demonstrated a unity of purpose and a clear-sighted understanding of the issues which are all and more than my bleeding people might have hoped for.

So the Communist aggressor has struck, and has been met by the resistance of the free world. Let us now turn to the question of why this mad attack was launched.

The briefest answer and perhaps the best one is contained in a phrase used by Mr. Paul Hoffman, director of the ECA, more than a year ago when he called the Republic of Korea a "bastion of democracy in Asia."

The continued existence of the Republic of Korea could not be tolerated by the Communists. It was too much of a democratic success.

The map and recent history of north Asia are fresh in your minds. You recall how the net of Communism was dropped first over Mongolia, then over north Korea, and finally over China. You recall how the Communist tentacles have been reaching out toward Japan, and Indo-China, toward Indonesia and the Philippines, and all the rest of Southeast Asia. In the midst of that great land mass, including half the world's area and more than half its population, in the midst of lands already conquered by Communism or marked for Communist subversion, there stood the living Republic of Korea.

The Republic of Korea was the only part of the north Asian continent that was not in Communist hands. So long as the Republic of Korea continued to exist the people of Asia would know that the United States and the rest of the free world renounced aggression. Thus my country stood as a beaconlight of hope to the peoples of Asia, shining forth its brave message that democratic faith in that part of the world still endured. If that light could be extinguished, faith in American support against Communist aggression would be lost. That is one principal reason the Communist attack was launched.

Another reason is equally important. Totalitarianism does not look very attractive when it is placed side by side with democratic freedom. There in the Republic of Korea the peoples of north Asia could see a Government laboring for the welfare of its own people. They could see the progressive development of economic and political well-being. And they could see the flight of over two million refugees escaping from the Communist-held north down to the democratic sanctuary of the Republic.

In the Republic of Korea the democratic system was put to the acid test. In few places where democracy has

been tried were the conditions so difficult.

Our nation, without rhyme or reason, had been cut squarely in two, with our mines, hydro-electric power and heavy industries in the north under Communist control; our agriculture and light industries were left to the Republic in the south. With such important resources snatched away from us, we had to find means not only of supporting our own population, but also for caring for some four million repatriates, including the refugees from the north and an additional two million who returned to their homeland from China and Japan.

In all these respects, we had to start our new national life under heavy handicaps, economic, political, and social. And while we were struggling to overcome these problems, we also had to defend our very lives and the life of our nation against the constant threat of attack from outside, and the constant efforts of the Communists to stir up revolt among our people.

I myself returned to the United States just a few weeks before this attack was launched. I could tell you what I saw with my own eyes of progress being made in my country. I could tell you how the threat of inflation was met by a reduction of the won in circulation from 75 billions to 58 billions. I could revive memories of my own life as a schoolmaster, and tell you of the satisfaction with which I found our Government's educational program had already reduced illiteracy to a tremendous extent, with continued progress being made. I could tell you of the great revolutionary movement by which farm tenantry was almost eliminated; of how the Korean National Assembly voted to enforce the sale of tenant farms to their present occupants for a small price over a period of years. I could tell you of how our over-all factory and mining productivity had been increased by over 50 per cent in the past year, with increases of as much as 800 per cent in some vital goods.

There are other witnesses, however, who cannot be considered as biased as I certainly am in speaking of my own people.

To our witness stand we could bring the United Nations Commission on Korea, which has certified that our two elections, one held in 1948 and one in May of this year, were both fair and free, with more than four-fifths of all voters going to the polls.

We could cite the Associated Press, which in its various surveys of worldwide conditions of press censorship has given the Republic of Korea a treasured rating among the half dozen nations around the world that grant to newsmen full and free access to the news with equal freedom in reporting it.

With deep gratitude in my heart, I also cite the words of a great American, Mr. John Foster Dulles, who visited Korea just a week before the Communist blow was struck. In explaining to the American people why he thought the attack was made, Mr. Dulles said the Communists struck with force because "the society was so wholesome that it could not be overthrown from within." Speaking in Washington on the Fourth of July, Mr. Dulles said: "I was in Korea only two weeks ago and saw with my own eyes that the Republic was a land of freedom. The people have just had their second general election. Eighty per cent of the eligible voters had gone to the polls."

To Mr. Dulles' testimony little need be added. It must be clear to all that the Communists struck by force because Korea was a "bastion of democracy" which had to be destroyed if their aim to subvert all Asia was to succeed.

Without question the Communists also sought to test the will and power of the United States and the United Nations. Well, they have had their answer.

Korea has become a battleground on which the peace and security of the world may be determined. The free world had done everything in

its power to avoid this test by force. The United Nations are still doing all in their power to end the fighting in such a way that force will neither spread nor soon again be invoked.

The aim of the fighting in Korea

may be easily and simply expressed: to re-establish security and to restore peace. When this aim is achieved, liberty, decency and human dignity are preserved, not only in Korea, but elsewhere throughout the free world.

United Nations Action on Korea

September 17, 1947: Voted to place Korean question on the agenda of the General Assembly.

November 14, 1947: Voted 43-0 to sponsor elections in all Korea as a basis for re-establishing Korean independence.

February 26, 1948: Voted 31-2 to hold elections "in all parts of Korea accessible to" U. N. observation.

May 10, 1948: Observed elections in area south of the 38th parallel.

December 12, 1948: Voted 48-6 its approval of the Republic of Korea as "the only lawful Government" in Korea.

May 30, 1950: Observed second general elections in the Republic of Korea.

June 25, 1950: The Security Council voted 9-0 to condemn the Communist aggression against the Republic of Korea.

June 27, 1950: Voted to support the Republic of Korea with the armed forces and other material aid of 53 nations.

October 7, 1950: Voted 47-5 for the unification and rehabilitation of Korea.

December 14, 1950: Voted 52-5 to establish a three-man "Cease fire" Committee to explore possibilities of peace.

February 1, 1951: Voted 44-7 to condemn Communist China as an aggressor in Korea.

A Bridge to Freedom

by Ambassador John M. Chang, at the dedication of a bridge in Rockville, Md., on August 26, 1950, in honor of Maryland's first casualty in the Korean conflict.

On this solemn occasion it is an honor for me to represent my government, the Republic of Korea, in expressing the sympathy of my countrymen to the family of Corporal John C. Brown who gave his life in defense of freedom half a world away from the familiar scenes of his childhood and youth.

At the age of twenty-one, his eyes were on the future and his hopes were fixed upon a world of peace in which he might mature and bear his part as a citizen and as a man with a family of his own. Like many another youth he sacrificed that hope to play his worthy part in the sacred cause of liberty.

It is fitting that this community should honor his memory and it is fitting that a bridge should become his memorial. For Corporal John Brown and his fellows in the United Nations forces in Korea dedicated their service and their lives to building a bridge to a better world.

To those who are gathered here to honor the memory of this brave soldier, the battlefields of Korea are not far away. No place is distant where citizen soldiers must take their stand to turn back the savage attacks of invading hosts. Today they strike in my country. But if they were allowed to succeed there, tomorrow they would strike again, until the very hearthstones of freedom everywhere in the world would resound to the blows.

Across the threatening terror of the Communist flood, fifty-three free nations of the world have combined to build a bridge. They would build a bridge of security, anchored on the Eastern and Western Hemisphere, joining together the free peoples of every continent in one undaunted determination to maintain their liberties.

Through the sacrifices of Corporal Brown and his fighting peers, your people and my people are joined in pursuit of the goal of peace. There was no unworthy motive in the heart of this brave soldier. There is none in the hearts of the Korean people by whose side he fought. The dreams of my countrymen are the same as those he nurtured in the fullness of his youth—for a life of freedom, and opportunity, and peace.

The free and unfettered peoples of the world ask little for themselves. They want to enjoy the calmness of the dawn and the lengthening shadows of quiet afternoons. They want to rear their children in peaceful homes and to help direct their footsteps into fuller and better lives. They want to live out their lives in the spontaneous brotherhood of mutual respect, and to think, and speak, and worship as they please. This is the simple goal which your people and mine are struggling to maintain.

Across this peaceful desire of the free people of the world has fallen the awful shadow of a totalitarian State, pledged to conquest and flaunting a philosophy of cynical materialism. Despite the tragedy of two world wars in our lifetime, men greedy for power have still not learned that people tenacious for liberty will not and can not bow their heads to dictatorial rule. The price of freedom, however bitterly great it may be, is a price that free people always will pay. This is the lesson that Corporal Brown and his fellows—your people and mine—are struggling to teach.

So here we stand, in the name of freedom, dedicating a bridge. With its two ends firmly planted, it spans a gulf, with the simple and useful purpose of helping wayfarers across. May it symbolize for us the greater bridge which the free peoples of the

world are striving to build, to link like-minded peoples of every nation and every race. Through the struggle that has now been joined, may we build a bridge from the dark troubles of our time to a new era of security, and freedom, and peace. This is the best memorial we can offer to all those who suffer and perish in the

cause for which the United Nations has devoted its efforts and its hopes. In this cause we cannot falter until the bridge to peace is finally secure. To all of those who perish our pledge is sealed. We shall pay the price; we shall face forward to the task; we shall finish the bridge to a better life.

The Way to Peace

From a News Conference held by President Syngman Rhee,
December 22, 1950

Question: In your opinion, has the establishment of the United Nations brought the ideal of world peace and brotherhood among nations any closer to realization?

President Rhee: Yes, although in the midst of this war of aggression it is often difficult to realize that the ideals of world peace and brotherhood have come closer. The world has come a long way, however, since the time when there was no system for collective action to preserve the peace against aggressors. The unity of action taken by the member states of the U. N. during the war here is a long march on the road to establishment of a successful collective security system. So long as the U. N. judges all international problems strictly on the basis of law and justice, in the way that a court of law does, it will exercise increasingly great authority in safeguarding the peace of the world. On the other hand, if the U. N. should try to appease an aggressor and make compromises out of fear of an aggressor, then the U. N. will die as the League of Nations died, and will not serve to bring the world closer to the ideals of world peace and world brotherhood.

"The Basic Questions of the War"

by Pyo Wook Han, First Secretary of the Korean Embassy, at
Palm Beach Round Table, Palm Beach, Florida,

February 5, 1951.

It is a privilege to have the opportunity of talking over some of the questions affecting my country before an audience of this calibre. You have honored our country by inviting me here.

Under happier circumstances it would be a special pleasure for me to be here. It would be a happier day for us who are here, and a happier time, too, for my people back in Korea, and for all peoples everywhere in the world, if the act of irresponsible armed aggression could somehow be forever erased.

For all of us, these are anxious days and anxious hours. As you know a conflict is raging in Korea which strikes at the very roots of the freedom, the beliefs and the sanctity of individualism upon which the Republic of Korea was founded. Your brave men are fighting side by side with our fighting men in defense of the basic right to live in peace and in security.

The fighting against the Communist invaders in Korea is going on. There will be much more suffering and more dying before the enemy is defeated and my country is once more free. There is all the more reason, then, why we should look carefully at the basic issues to see why this war is being fought, to see what caused it, and to see what the outcome will be.

There is an old proverb in Korea to the effect that "Even the porcupine thinks her young are smooth." I believe it is similarly taken for granted in the various Western cultures that all thought is very likely to be subjective, giving a higher value to those things which affect us personally than to other and more remote events. It seems to me that I have encountered a Western folk

saying implying that a farmer is not concerned by disturbances among the animals until his own ox is gored.

With this warning of the danger of undue subjectivity before us, I am nevertheless going to venture the opinion that the situation which has developed in my country, Korea, is of paramount importance. It does not merely affect the men in the United Nations forces in Korea; nor the thirty millions of the Korean peoples whose homes are ravaged, whose lives are being seared with unimaginable suffering, and whose future existence is hidden under a dark and foreboding cloud of uncertainty.

You perhaps noticed, as I did, that a recent Gallup poll indicated that some segment of the American opinion believes that the U.S. should not have given armed support to the Republic of Korea when the attack upon the Republic of Korea was launched last June 25. Another question revealed that many Americans believe the United States and the United Nations should now withdraw from Korea, leaving our people to all the horrors that Communist revenge can devise for them.

I think we should not be overly hasty in blaming the mothers and fathers, sisters, brothers and neighbors, of the United States who are eager to rescue their precious young men from the terrible conditions of battle and winter weather to which they are now exposed. After all, aside from the terrible sufferings of my own people, it is chiefly the American soldiers who are paying the tragic price which has been demanded by the unprincipled ambitions of the Communist Empire. Aside from the havoc that is being wreaked upon us, it is principally the American ox that is now being gored, and naturally

enough the American people are deeply concerned.

I should like to consider most earnestly with you the questions:

1. Could the outbreak of war in Korea have been prevented?
2. Under present circumstances would it be advisable to surrender Korea to the Communists? And
3. What, if anything, can we do that is not now being done to secure victory?

I

Now for our first question: could the outbreak of war in Korea have been prevented? This question, in turn, breaks down into several considerations.

Occasionally someone suggests that the government of the Republic of Korea has been not quite perfect, and that if it were better the Communists would not have attacked it. This, it seems to me, is reasoning from false facts to a conclusion that would not follow even if the facts were correct. If the Republic of Korea had been unsatisfactory, there might have been internal revolt and a break-down of the loyalty of the citizens. The fact is that although the Communists made every effort to arouse dissatisfaction and subversion, they failed. Korea was attacked from outside precisely because it proved too strong internally to be captured by subversion.

It has also been suggested in some quarters that an attack could have been prevented if the southern Korean leaders had been more "reasonable." It is true that the fighting would have been wholly unnecessary if south Korea had consented to surrender itself to Communist control. This could have been done when "coalition" was proposed back in 1946. It could have been done when the northern Communists protested United Nations intervention in 1948 and suggested instead a re-unification of Korea under their control. It could have been accomplished at any subsequent period by the mere sur-

render of all Korea to the Communist demands.

Instead, we tried to develop a sound democracy internally and to do our part to help hold back the Communist forces of aggression which threatened to over-run the entire Far East.

Could the attack on Korea have been prevented if American troops had not been withdrawn or if a positive pledge of American support had been given to us, similar to the Truman Doctrine for Greece and Turkey? Perhaps it could; but that is a matter for American policy-makers to decide. It surely is not for us Koreans to claim that American power should be wrapped around us as a permanent protection.

Could the attack have been prevented if the Republic of Korea had built up a large, well-trained and well-equipped army, instead of maintaining a mere security force of about 100,000 men? Perhaps so. At any rate our Government over and over again pleaded for the arms which would have been required to train and equip a large force. But we were repeatedly advised to keep our army small and geared merely to the requirement of dealing with possible internal problems. This advice, I am sure, was well meant. It was based upon the theory that our best defense was to be inoffensive; to be so weak that we could not constitute a threat to the Communist north.

I am inclined to believe that the attack against the Republic of Korea could have been prevented only if the Soviet Union had given up its ambitions for world conquest. Specifically, conquest of Asia has been high on the Soviet agenda ever since the Revolution of 1919. Seizure of Korea has been a Russian objective for at least the past seventy-five years. The Russians have known what Western statesmen in general have been slow to understand, and that is that control of Korea is essential to control of all northern Asia. With Korea in Communist hands, the chances that China might ever stage a successful "Tito-style" counter-

revolution would be minimized. And Japan could be either attacked or rendered both economically and militarily helpless.

The Soviet plan of aggression in Asia took a long forward step in 1948, when Molotov was named by the Politburo to unify all the various Communist underground efforts in the Far East. The fall of China in late 1949 was the first dramatic fruit of success of this plan. The attack on Korea was the next development. Who can doubt that successive steps envisage attacks on Formosa, Indo-China, and Japan, all to be used as stepping stones to still further advances?

In summary, I do not believe the Communist Empire's attack against my Government and people could have been prevented by anything short of a basic change of plans by the Politburo. If Russia would abandon its plans for aggression, of course most of the international problems that confront the world would be solved, or would at least be open to solution. Until this basic change of heart occurs, attack and the danger of attack against us all must remain an ever-present prospect.

II

The second question I have proposed is whether it would be advisable under present circumstances to surrender Korea to Communist control by withdrawing American and other United Nations forces from the peninsula?

I can answer immediately and without hesitation that it would not be advisable from the Korean point of view.

We have no more desire than any other people would have to be the scene of modern warfare. General Ridgeway has described the present suffering of the Korean people as "the greatest tragedy which has ever happened in all the long history of Asia." It is impossible to put into words the devastation we have endured and are still enduring. The imagination utterly fails to conceive

of it. There is not a major city in the entire extent of Korea, north or south, which has not been entirely destroyed or very severely damaged. Literally thousands of our villages are wiped out. Even remote farm houses are strafed by planes or burned by soldiers of one side or the other, from fear that they may be used to shelter troops.

The number of Korean casualties runs far into the hundred thousands. Actual millions of our people are completely shelterless, on the roads, sleeping in the fields, tramping hopelessly by day and huddling together in groups to try to keep from freezing to death at nights.

All the constructive efforts we have labored for and sacrificed for during the two brief years of our Government's existence have been wiped out.

From December 1948 to December 1949 we increased over-all factory and mine production by 92 per cent. Now our factories are destroyed and our mines ruined. By tremendous efforts we managed to increase our production of electricity almost back to the level we possessed before the Communists cut off our electric supply from the northern hydro-electric plants in 1948; but now our electric generating plants and power lines are destroyed. We had built up thirty-six colleges and hundreds of other schools; we reduced adult illiteracy in the Korean language by more than 50 per cent. But now our colleges and other schools are burned down and our teachers are scattered or killed. We had achieved great advances in the emancipation of women, the reform of our land system, and the development of true democracy. Now our entire population has been thrown back into the merest primitive struggle for bare survival. There is not another single example in history of an entire nation which has been so completely ravaged and so quickly destroyed as has Korea.

And yet I say, and my people all say, that the struggle must go on—even though every day of fighting in

our homeland adds yet heavier burdens to those that already exist. Why? The reason is simple: Because, if we are abandoned now we shall face even greater horrors from the savage vengefulness of the Communist hordes.

What the common people of Korea think of Communism has been vividly revealed. Despite the awful suffering involved in being homeless and on the road in winter weather far below zero, my people have deliberately chosen to flee before the advancing Communist armies rather than stay behind and face the ruthless cruelty they know will be their lot. The Government and the people of Korea chose to stand and fight rather than to surrender to the Communist demands. We cast our lot with world democracy and freedom, and in doing so we have earned the bitter and relentless hatred of the Communist totalitarians. Their intentions were well revealed in their earliest drive down to the Pusan perimeter, when they captured and murdered in cold blood no less than 30,000 of our innocent civilians for no other reason than that their sympathies were with their own democratic government. When the liberating armies under General MacArthur's command drove all the way within 40 miles of the Yalu River, Koreans everywhere, north and south, hailed this victory and this liberation with wild joy and with unconcealed revelation of their hatred of the Communists. They left no question whatsoever of the nature of their loyalties.

The price Koreans will have to pay for this devotion to the democratic cause is utterly incomprehensible in terms of the moral standards we take for granted. The mere withholding of relief supplies would insure the death by starvation, hunger and disease of perhaps two millions. Thousands more would be executed for active participation in the fight against the invaders. Practically the entire population could be wiped out—and quite possibly might

be—by the cruel expedient of removing or destroying the remaining supplies of food. From the Communist point of view the Korean problem could be solved once and for all by the awful practice of genocide on a scale never before seen or imagined.

For all these reasons which I can state, but which minds trained in ordinary morality must shudder and fail in the effort to understand, we Koreans believe most intensely that the armies which now constitute our sole defense ought not to be withdrawn.

But what are the larger considerations? Would it not benefit the global battle against Communism if the armies of the United Nations now engaged in Korea could be disengaged and freed for the defense of other areas that might seem to be more essential? Should the American troops, for instance, be pulled out of Korea in order to be free to defend Western Europe?

Perhaps I am prejudiced, but it seem to me that the whole argument for "disengaging" from the enemy is fallacious. How can you disengage from any enemy which feels that it is an advantage to keep pressing the attack? If the troops are pulled back from Korea, would they not have to defend Japan? Would there not be subsequent attacks against Formosa and IndoChina? Would it be advantageous to remain "disengaged" by surrendering those areas? Is it not true, then, that the Communists would march right on into Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, India, and the Philippines? Is it believed that the democratic forces should remain disengaged while all these conquests were taking place? If not, wherever they chose to stand and fight, they would still be "pinned down," and the possibility of shifting them to the European front or some other place would still not exist. So long as the enemy is determined to advance, there is no choice between simple surrender or fighting.

The political advantages of continuing the support to Korea seem to

be very considerable. Western statesmen have been very free in advising the peoples of Asia and other areas to "go democratic." But how will these people feel if they find that their democratic alliance will lead to their being attacked by Communist armies, and that when the Communist pressure becomes strong, the democratic allies pull out and leave them to their fate? The political consequences of abandoning Korea might very well be the loss of potential allies all around the vast world-wide periphery of the Communist Empire.

Let us look at the question for a moment from a negative point of view. What if the United States and the United Nations had stood wholly aside when the attack of June 25 was launched, and had permitted the conquest of Korea to be accomplished, with nothing more than words of official protest? Would the situation have been better in that case? In a sense, it would have been better for Korea, in that our nation would not be so utterly devastated, nor would our population be liable to so terrible a revenge from the Communist foe. Even so, we would have been dragged behind the iron curtain and subjected to all the rigors of the Communist totalitarian police state.

But what would have been the other effects? If the democratic world had stood meekly aside and permitted the conquest of Korea, can we doubt that the Communist drive of conquest would have speeded on to other objectives? I think it is reasonable to believe that except for the resistance offered in Korea, World War III might have been launched before now. And I believe still further that whatever chance yet remains of preventing an all-out Communist attack upon the entire free world lies in the maintenance of a successful holding line in Korea. So long as we can prevent them from accomplishing their limited objectives, their unlimited ambitions

must be postponed. This is our last desperate hope of maintaining world peace.

III

No one, I would suppose, is in favor of continuing the struggle in Korea on unequal terms. Surely such a one-sided war is not desirable from the point of view of the Korean people. So we come to our third and final question: Is there anything we can do that we are not now doing to win a final victory? I believe that there is.

The fighting in Korea thus far has been determined less by military necessity than by political indecision. It is true that during the first three months the enemy drove ahead simply because he had more troops, better armed and better equipped than anything with which to oppose him. But this has not been the case since General MacArthur's brilliant landing in force at Inchon on September 15. Although every military reason existed for pursuing and wiping out a beaten and disorganized enemy, the U. N. forces were required to wait at the 38th parallel line for some three weeks while Kim Il-sung's troops were reorganized and while the Chinese Reds had time to move up a considerable body of men to and across the Manchurian-Korean border. Then, when the Chinese armies entered the war in late November, the U. N. army was drawn back all the way to the 38th parallel, because many nations represented in the U. N. felt that a war with China might be avoided in that manner. Finally, when the Communist armies struck around Christmas time in another massive blow, Seoul was surrendered with very little defense—in fact with all the heavy military equipment having already been loaded aboard ships in Inchon harbor. And why? Again because many in the U. N. believed it wisest to avoid an all-out engagement while yet more efforts were made to persuade the Chinese Reds to back out of the dangerous adventure in which they were engaged.

I believe that the fighting in Korea could be vastly more favorable to our side if the political shackles under which the U. N. and Republic of Korea commanders have to operate were removed. Once a definite decision is made to fight to the last in a real determination to win, the whole complexion of the war will be changed.

There are two limited steps that can be taken, and still maintain whatever advantage it may be not to attack Red China directly. The first of these steps is to send re-inforcements to the troops now engaged in Korea. The second step that can be taken is to provide arms for at least a million additional Korean soldiers.

The Republic of Korea now has a sizeable number of troops on the front line of battle. In general, these soldiers have won high praise from General MacArthur and the respect of the U. N. fighting men. Our soldiers have not had time for extensive training, nor have they had heavy weapons, such as tanks and artillery, with which to be trained. These soldiers of ours still do not have huge quantities of war material with which to wage battle. But they have the best motives any fighting men could ever have, and the general consensus of the military experts is that they are doing a good job.

But it is not of our men who are equipped and in battle that I now wish to speak. Behind the lines our government has organized and trained an additional 250,000 young men. And still behind them are more than 500,000 who are recruited and are beginning to receive basic training. These men are having to train with nothing but sticks in their hands to simulate rifles and clods of earth to use for grenades. What they can learn without any weapons of war they are learning, and as they see the long lines of hopeless refugees pouring south—their own families among them—they are eager (desperately eager) to get into the front lines and help to stop the foe.

It was said that the Communist enemy attacks our lines in wave upon wave. Let us meet them with wave upon wave of our own! Let us get these Korean youth armed and equipped so they can take part in the defense of their own homeland. Sometimes I am asked whether Koreans feel bitter about the terrible fate that has come upon them. Of course there is a tremendous amount of bitter suffering. But no Korean feels bitter toward the world's democracies nor will so long as our allies stand by our side and do what can be done. However, if the U. N. armies should be withdrawn and Korea deserted, while hundreds of thousands of our young men are restrained from fighting to help preserve our nation because they have no weapons, you can imagine that the bitterness is certain to run deep. I can only ask you to put yourselves, if you can imaginatively, in our place.

Beyond these two steps which I think can and should be undertaken at once, there are still others that should be considered. Red China now has been declared to be an aggressor in Korea by the United Nations, meaning that Red China is actually at war against the United Nations—and I must say I do not see how the Chinese Communists can make this fact any clearer than they already have. Considering this fact, several very decisive things remain to do. For one, the seacoast of China could be blockaded to shut off supplies from the ocean. For another, the big industrial centers and communication and transportation centers could be bombed, thus undermining the supply and re-inforcement of the Communist troops which are now engaged. No army can be very effective in modern war if its source of supplies is destroyed. This is an axiom of war—but it is an axiom which has not yet been put into effect. As has several times been remarked, the Allied armies in Korea are fighting under handicaps never before exemplified in the whole course of history; these handicaps could be

removed. And for still another step, the Chinese National troops, who are insulated on the island of Formosa, thus guaranteeing the security of the Chinese Communist flank, could be sent into battle. They are eager to fight for the restoration of their own free government. Besides the 500,000 troops whom General Chiang now has on Formosa, it is reliably reported that upwards of a million and a half guerrillas are ready to assist him on the mainland, waiting only until his landing gives them a rallying point, a chance of success, and necessary supplies.

One of the biggest handicaps that so far limited our effectiveness has been an unrealistic but very prevalent sense of defeatism. "We cannot fight the enormous land armies of Red China," people have said, and so saying they have yielded point after point to the foe. I think it is a mistake to underestimate the fact that the Chinese people themselves are not Communist and are not likely soon to be so. They surrendered to Mao Tze-tung for a variety of reasons, of which war weariness from twelve years of fighting was one, hopelessness of aid from the West was another, and the beguiling influence of Communist promises was a third. Now they have found that the promises were lies. They are being subjected to tighter and tighter totalitarian police restrictions, and they have found that the Communists have neither the means nor the intention of bringing them a higher standard of living. Instead, it seems to be their destined lot to serve as cannon fodder for the Communist Empire to use in its further plans for conquest.

If, then, they are now given the support from the West which formerly was withdrawn, the probability is very great indeed that great masses of the Chinese people will arise

to welcome the return of their Nationalist Government and to fight by its side. However extensive this movement may be, it does seem at least highly probable that the Nationalist forces would have enough success to create a very considerable diversion and to contain and destroy a very considerable number of Communist troops. Such a move would greatly ease the pressure upon Korea and would delay, if indeed it did not entirely prevent, the expected attack upon Southeast Asia.

Doubtless by now you have observed that in my judgment the crisis which now faces us in Korea is a crisis not for Korea alone, but for all the democratic world. We are engaged in a struggle which we had to fight, for the Communists forced it upon us by a sudden, undeclared, and ruthless attack. Now that we are in the struggle, we should put every effort into it which is required to win.

By doing so, we may or many not avoid a global war. What seems very clear to me, however, is that war cannot be avoided by surrender, appeasement, or retreat. Aside from the terrible sacrifices which such a retreat would entail for my own people, it seems to me it would simply invite still further advances by the Communist armies. The line has been drawn. If we carry through to success the limited struggle that is before us, it is possible that peace may yet be salvaged. If this proves not to be the case, then we should so conduct ourselves as to keep the largest possible number of potential Allies on our side. If we face this crisis with courage and a sense of realism, I am confident the cause of world freedom and democracy will come through to victory. That is the challenge before us. I am confident it will be met.

Democracy versus Communism

by Dr. Y. T. Pyun, Delegate from the Republic of Korea, at the
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East,
Lahore, Pakistan, March 1, 1951.

Mr. Chairman:

This was not the first time that the Soviet delegate tried to unseat the delegation of the Republic of Korea. He raised exactly the same question at the afternoon meeting of the Committee on Industry and Trade on February 25th. At that time, I, in reply, said that the Soviet delegate, in raising the question, was challenging not only Korea but the United Nations Commission itself, which had conferred associate membership on Korea in accordance with its adopted procedures, and that the defense of Korean associate membership, therefore, should be the common concern of all the members of the Commission. The issue has already been decided in favour of the Korean delegation and the dignity of a former Commission decision. I have no voting privilege in these meetings and could not collaborate in voting with those voting members of the Commission who upheld the legal decision of the Commission by defending the associate membership of the Republic of Korea. I should like here to assure those gentlemen that they had a hearty moral support and deep appreciation from the Korean delegation.

But what I then went on to say by way of refuting the Soviet slander about the character of my Government, that it was unpopular and undemocratic, I will not repeat here, though it is just as much to the point now as it was then. For my part, I do not believe in the virtue of repetition. I will try to refute the old Soviet defamation, though cast afresh in this new conference, from a different angle. In so doing, I am claiming no more than the minimum human right to have a defense heard out, for no adjudication can be regarded

as fair which refuses the defense a fair hearing, whatever it may be.

In the first place, I am extremely puzzled by the Soviet delegate's use of the word, "democratic." Intelligibility of human speech is based on words being used in their universally accepted senses. If the word "democracy" is unwarrantably and egregiously twisted, as has been done by the eloquent colleague of the Soviet Union, so as to connote Communism, the very antithesis to democracy, such linguistic prostitution cannot but bring bewilderment, confusion and finally stupor. If he made the charge that the Government of the Republic of Korea was anti-Communist, I would readily understand, for it was that, it is that and it will always be that. But if he said that my Government was undemocratic, in the unintelligible Soviet lingo, simply because it was not communist, I would never understand, though puzzled, even stupified, for I do know that it came into being in a very democratic way, through general elections under the United Nations observation, and which the United Nations adjudged as fair and free.

I have never heard, however, of any Soviet charge that either the United States or the United Kingdom was undemocratic, though they should be equally undemocratic, as the Soviet lingo would have it, because they are as strongly anti-Communist. Here the Soviet astuteness is revealed. That would undo the sheepskin of democracy itself, in which the Communist wolf meant to prowl until democracy was clawed to death.

Mr. Chairman and honorable delegates, forgive me, if I lay bare before you the true character of the Government of the Soviet Union for the simple reason that that alone is the

means of driving home to you that the Soviet charge is utterly groundless that the only legal Government of Korea is undemocratic and reactionary. Personally I don't see why a truthful allegation should not be suffered when a false charge has been lent full ear, and that many times over. Moreover, it will be in self-defense, justified by all civil practices.

Is the regime behind an iron curtain democratic or undemocratic? Certainly I have never heard of an iron-curtained democracy, ancient or modern, for democracy, of all political systems, is a thing to gain currency by being thrown open and known. Democracy and an iron curtain are incompatible, and therefore, logically, the nation that hides itself behind an iron curtain cannot be a democracy. I am rather bitter on this point, because I feel fed up with the Soviet preaching on democracy.

Now North Korea is practically empty—empty of North Koreans, who, frightened by the Soviet type of democracy for five long years, fled by millions into South Korea as soon as the iron curtain was torn up, to be protected by the Government of the Republic of Korea which the Soviet delegate condemns as undemocratic and reactionary.

This is exactly what will happen wherever the tight iron curtain is raised, in Rumania, in Hungary, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in Red China and even in Russia. People will be people, marvellously alike, all loving freedom and hating slavery. An unpopular and unloved government alone needs an iron curtain to keep people from running away.

Communism never came to any people as a popular choice, not even to the Russian people. Communists were always in a negligible minority. Through conspiracy and intimidation, by making false but glamorous promises and stirring up dissension and suspicion among a people so as to wilt its resistance, the few Communists invariably succeeded in clamping Communism down upon an un-

willing people. So has Communism come into power in war-worn China. So has it in North Korea.

These Communists are not only in minorities but all out-and-out traitors to their own nations. Korean Communists are no more Koreans than they are Russians. Yet the Soviet delegate calls them the only democratic Korean people. Chinese Communists are no more Chinese than they are Russians. But, in the eyes of the Soviet delegate, they are the only democratic Chinese people. Red China is a flagrant case of usurpation of the only lawful native government by the Chinese Communist traitors in league with an aggressively imperialistic foreign Power. This is just why most of the free nations of the world still withhold recognition from it. In the eyes of the free world, these traitorous Communists are nothing but Soviet minions subservient to Stalinism, which, in cruelty and inhumanity, overshadows Tzarism in its worst stage and even Nazism at its height of crime, simply because it chains the people to abject slavery in the very name of the people. The Soviet Union has proved to be an iron-walled slaughter house of free peoples, far from being a democracy. Now the Soviet Union does everything to ensure that the only legal representative Government of the Republic of Korea be usurped by the Communist Korean traitors.

I speak not only for the free peoples in the world but also for the majorities of the Soviet satellites and Russia itself. I know what has happened to my North Korean brethren. I am not too callous not to commiserate the sufferings of the Russian people, who, as naturally as all other similarly circumstanced human beings, must yearn for liberation. The freedom-loving majority of the Russian people are entitled to my sympathy as to that of any of their fellow human beings. I am certainly not going too far in asserting that I, a free man, represent more Russians than my Soviet colleague can rightfully claim to do, representing as he

does the most unpopular and dictatorial government in all places and at all times.

The Soviet delegation sought to unseat Nationalist China for the reason of its Government's inability to supply data covering the mainland China, which is unfortunately in Communist hands. A Communist Chinese representation in the Commission, as a matter of fact, would not furnish us with any more data, for the simple fact that the Chinese mainland has disappeared behind the iron curtain, never to be seen and never to be known. The only result would be to lose even what collaboration the conscientious Nationalistic China could afford within her limit of ability. I should like to know what collaboration the Economic Commission for Asia gains from the Soviet Union which has a seat in it. In the course of nature, what it gains, I guess, must be Soviet filibuster, nothing but filibuster. Communists are all of the same pattern. We know already what Communist filibuster is. We could not have afforded to add more to what filibuster we had.

The Soviet delegate, having failed

in his attempt on China, now tried to unseat the Republic of Korea to make room for the admission of the delegation from the North Korea Communist puppet government. It would have meant for the selfsame reasons, not gaining North Korean collaboration but losing the collaboration of free Korea.

I should not copy the Soviet naivety by trying to unseat the Soviet Union. If, however, there were proper means to do so, and if I had a vote to use, I would do so with all the strength of my soul. It is high time the free world ostracized the Soviet Union, for it has long before ostracized itself out of the free world. It comes into the free world only to weary it into submission. It is highly dangerous for the free world to play with the Communist fire any longer.

Mr. Chairman and honorable gentlemen, I have done for my country's defense. It is now up to you to adjudge whether the Republic of Korea is undemocratic and therefore should be unseated or whether the Soviet Union is undemocratic and, therefore, means should be devised and provided for unseating it.

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