

# LIGHT ON KOREA

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One of the biggest confidence tricks of recent times has been put over on the public in 'Western' countries in connection with the incidents in Korea. The story that has been purveyed is: –

- (1) That the 'Communists' in North Korea are waging war against the free people of South Korea;
- (2) that this war was started by a deliberate aggression of 'the Communists' in North Korea, on the orders or with the acquiescence of Moscow; and
- (3) that the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation has rightly and soberly considered the evidence, adjudicated on the matter, and decided that the North Korean 'Communists' started the war.

## THE TRUTH

This pamphlet is written to marshal the very strong evidence that in truth

- (1) there is not and has not been a war between anyone in North Korea and the people of Southern Korea; only a war – which in substance ended in a week – by the armed forces of the hated and oppressive government of Southern Korea, headed by Syngman Rhee, against the people of North Korea – or, to be more accurate, against the whole Korean people – followed by war of the United States against the whole Korean people;
- (2) that this war was started by Syngman Rhee, with American encouragement if not on American orders; and
- (3) that the Security Council has done nothing, since what it pretended to do was invalid under vital provisions of the Charter of the United Nations Organisation; and that what it did try or pretend to do was done without evidence, without proper consideration, and, naturally enough, quite wrongly.

The matter can be dealt with under three heads: –

- (a) The events of the last few years in Korea;
- (b) American control and encouragement of Syngman Rhee and his armed forces;
- (c) The events following on the outbreak of hostilities.

## KOREA, 1945-50

In August, 1945, the Soviet forces entered Korea from the North, and began to drive the Japanese out. As fast as they did so, the Koreans, rid at last of their Japanese oppressors, set up local people's committees everywhere, as the beginnings of their own free government. As early as September 6, a Congress of these people's committees was held in Seoul, and the prospects of an independent democratic Korean state looked bright. Two days later, however, American troops landed in Southern Korea, and established themselves as rulers of the country up to the line of the 38th parallel. There is a long and tangled history, from then on, of efforts to secure a united Korea, but it was unfortunately clear by 1947 that the Americans had no intention of leaving, and that the country was to remain divided along the parallel for an indefinite time.

In spite of this division, North Korea has prospered. The people are governing themselves; they have given the land to the peasants and vested the essential industries in the State; and standards are steadily improving.

In the South, the Americans dispersed the people's committees, protected the landlords, money-lenders, and factory owners, and set up as the ruler of the country one Syngman Rhee, who had spent 30 years of his life in the U.S.A.

While the North prospered, the people of the South suffered misery and unemployment; the peasants longed for the land and the workers for control of the industries; inflation was rampant, and the Americans had to pour in hundreds of millions of dollars to keep the truncated country going at all; as *The Observer* of July 2, 1950, wrote:

South Korea has been living on American charity, and their use of it has been so inefficient that Mr. Hoffmann threatened to reduce it; once, last January, Congress actually refused to appropriate the sum requested for Korea until Mr. Acheson appealed in person.

The Syngman Rhee government was, as even the right-wing Press in Britain admits, corrupt, inefficient, oppressive, and unpopular. (In August, 1949, for example, the United Nations Commission on Korea, set up – illegally, it is true – by the United Nations 'Little Assembly' and composed of delegates from six countries, all of which were anti-Soviet and anti-Communist, reported of South Ko-

rea that Press freedom was virtually non-existent, and that in the course of eight months seven newspapers and one Press agency had been suppressed – one of them for the crime of ‘failing to follow Government/directives and to print Government releases in sufficient numbers’.)

The people of South Korea were so anxious for unity with the North that, when the latter held a general election in August, 1948, the voting took place – in spite of the Syngman Rhee government and the Americans – throughout Southern Korea, and 77 per cent, of the people *in the South* recorded their votes.

Meanwhile, early in 1948, the U.S.S.R. had suggested a simultaneous withdrawal of occupation troops in the North and the South. The Americans refused, and finally, in December, 1948, the Soviet troops were withdrawn, leaving the Americans in the South. At last, in June, 1949, the Americans withdrew their forces (with important exceptions, as will be seen below). According to *The Observer* of July 2, 1950, their motive for withdrawing was only that, in the view of U.S. Defence Department, Korea would be indefensible in a general war.

## **SOUTHERN JINGOS AND U.S.A. ENCOURAGEMENT**

The story of Syngman Rhee’s eagerness to embark on aggressive war, and U.S. government encouragement and assistance in this adventure is a striking one. I can best tell the story by drawing quotations almost entirely from American Press sources. The first is as long ago as August 24, 1948, at about the time when the people of the South were voting in the General Election mentioned above. On that date, Syngman Rhee, who was in Washington, issued as his slogan the cry ‘The march on the North is the most important task’. He would hardly have talked like that in public, in Washington, without the approval of his masters, the U.S. Government.

A year or so later, on October 31, 1949, Syngman Rhee made a speech on U.S.S. ‘St. Paul’, the flagship of the Seventh Task Fleet, in a South Korean port. Once again, under conditions where he would not be likely to say anything of which the Americans disapproved, he spoke of the ‘unification of Korea with the help of armed force’. ‘If’, he said, ‘we have to settle this thing by war, we will do all the fighting that is needed’. He added: ‘I would wage war – but for this American help is needed’. (He would surely not even have been allowed to beg publicly for military aid if it had not been in-

tended to give it to him when a good moment should arrive.)

On the same occasion, the South Korean Defence Minister made a speech, in which he said that his army was ready and waiting to invade North Korea, but had been restrained by American officials; and at a Press conference he added: 'If we had our own way, we would, I'm sure, have started up already. But we had to wait until they (American government leaders) are ready. They keep telling us: "No, No, No, wait. You are not ready".'

At about the same time as these speeches were being made, General Roberts, the head of a group of American 'military advisers' – part of the American troops not withdrawn from Korea, and stated by *The Times* of June 26, 1950, to be 500 strong – told an American correspondent in Tokyo that '100,000 officers and men in South Korea are ready to go out in the line'. On January 26, 1950, an 'agreement for joint defence and mutual assistance' was signed between the U.S.A. and South Korea, expressly including the territory of South Korea in the American line of 'defence'.

A little later, on March 1, 1950, as reported in the *New York Times*, Syngman Rhee made another speech, in the presence of the chairman of the United Nations Commission in Korea, already mentioned. In this speech, he hinted unmistakably at the use of force against North Korea to bring about the unification of the country (which North Korea was doing everything it could to bring about by peaceful negotiation).

## **GAOL FOR WANTING PEACE**

On March 14, 1950, Mr. Sullivan, the correspondent of the *New York Times*, reported from Seoul to his newspaper that 13 deputies of the National Assembly of South Korea had been sentenced to imprisonment for periods of from 1½ to 10 years for violations of the Security Act, under five heads of charge, of which the fourth in particular deserves italics:

- (1) presenting a petition to the United Nations Commission;
- (2) undermining confidence in the Cabinet by revealing cases of misfeasance by its members;
- (3) seeking out points to oppose in the budget;
- (4) *opposing the invasion of North Korea by the South Korean forces;*
- (5) proposing changes in the Constitution.

Another American correspondent, Mr. Richard Johnson, also of

the *New York Times*, who had been some years in South Korea, told a Press Club audience in New York on April 27, 1950, that ‘there is a very real desire on the part of South Koreans to attack North Korea, restrained only by the fact that the U.S. authorities allow them only enough ammunition at a time for three days’ fighting’.

Then, on May 19, 1950, five weeks before hostilities started, Mr. Johnson, the administrator of Marshall Aid in South Korea, told the Appropriations Commission of the House of Representatives in Washington that ‘100,000 officers and men of the South Korean army, equipped with American arms and trained by an American military mission, have completed their *preparations and can start a war at any moment*’ (my italics).

In May, too, according to statements by South Korean officers captured in the recent fighting, a meeting of Divisional regimental officers was held to discuss three plans for the invasion of North Korea.

Let me add to what American correspondents thus tell us just one quotation from China: on May 29, 1950, ten days after Mr. Johnson’s statement to the Appropriations Commission and less than four weeks before the outbreak of hostilities, the correspondent of the Peking *People’s Daily* in the North Korean capital reported that divisions of the South Korean army were concentrated on the frontier line, trying to stage provocations, whilst an American fleet was demonstrating in South Korean ports, and U.S. aeroplanes were flying over ‘the people’s guerrilla areas’ – i.e., those areas in Southern Korea where discontent with the Syngman Rhee government had reached the point of regular guerrilla warfare.

Turn again to the American Press. Mr. Sullivan, mentioned above, wrote from Hong-kong at about this time, as follows:

‘Of all the foreign troops trained by American officers the South Korean troops are the most Americanised. They have American style uniforms, ride in American-made vehicles, carry American-made weapons. After intensive training, which has gone on for several years, they even march and in many respects behave like Americans, so much so that a visitor is startled into thinking that American forces are still in occupation’.

*Time* of June 5, boasting that this army is ‘the best of its size in Asia’, adds the information that the best officers of this army are Japanese, which can scarcely endear the army to the Koreans, either South or North.

Mr. Sullivan added that ‘five hundred American military advisers have desks throughout the Ministry of National Defence; they are also assigned to the South Korean units in the field, down to regimental and sometimes battalion level’.

### **THEY WILL SHOOT FOR U.S.A.**

On June 5 General Roberts, whom I have quoted above, also told Miss Higgins, of the *New York Herald-Tribune*: ‘In Korea the American *taxpayer* has an army which is a fine watchdog over *investments placed in this country*’ – my italics – ‘and a force that represents maximum results at minimum cost.’ He added that his group was ‘a living demonstration of how *an intelligent and intensive investment* of five hundred combat-hardened American officers and men can train 100,000 men *who will do the shooting for you...* I have at least 13-14 Americans with each division. They work with the Korean officers, they live right there with them at the front – the 38th parallel – and stay with them *in battles* and in rest periods’ – this, if you please, 21 days before ‘the front’ changed from a line on which South Korean troops were trying to stage provocations to one where somebody ‘who will do the shooting *for you*’ started definite battles.

Then on June 26, we learn further from Mr. Sullivan that ‘nearly all the talk about war emanates from South Korean leaders’, and ‘on a number of occasions Syngman Rhee indicated that his army would have taken the offensive if Washington had given its consent’.

For a change, let us turn from American news to the reports of the Far East correspondent of a serious and moderate Swiss paper, the *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, which has always had a reputation for knowledge of the Far East. Writing in the middle of June, he said:

South Korea lacks big industrial enterprises and therefore it is impossible to provide work for even a small part of the four million army of unemployed....

In Southern Korea there is no shortage of people who see a solution for the serious economic problem in an armed attack on the North. The well-trained, American-equipped army, numbering 100,000 men, to which should be added police detachments numbering 50,000 men, will most likely be considerably superior to the North Korean army.

## WASHINGTON TAKES THE BRAKE OFF

We come now to a time when Syngman Rhee could no longer complain that the Americans were restraining him, when indeed they were obviously egging him on to start fighting. In mid-June, a matter of days before the start of hostilities, Mr. John Foster Dulles, Republican ‘adviser’ to the Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, visited Korea. He went up to what General Roberts called ‘the front’ – arriving there six days before what we are told was the unprovoked and wholly unexpected attack by North Korean troops. Photographs of his visit were widely published. In one, he is seen standing by an armoured train, within a mile or two of the front; the train, one must suppose, was waiting to be the victim of a surprise attack. Another photograph showed him in a front-line trench, studying a map spread on the parapet.

A day or two later, on June 19, 1950, Mr. Dulles addressed Syngman Rhee’s National Assembly, saying:

‘The eyes of the free world are upon you. Compromise with Communism’ – i.e., the peaceful reunion of the whole of Korea under one Korean government, which was then under discussion – ‘would be a road leading to disaster’. And Mr. Dulles assured his audience of the ‘readiness of the U.S.A. to give all necessary moral *and material* support to South Korea, which is *fighting* against Communism’.

Mr. Syngman Rhee also spoke, saying: ‘Should we not be able to protect democracy in the cold war, we will achieve victory in a hot war’.

What did all this amount to? America, the financier, was saying to Syngman Rhee and the rest of his reactionary government: ‘Don’t hold back any longer. Don’t have peace, or unity, with the Koreans of the North. Go ahead and fight them, and we will back you up, with all the practical help that you need in and for the battle’. To make the position even clearer, Mr. Dulles, as he was leaving Korea two days later, on June 21 (four days before the shooting started), said: ‘Korea does not stand alone... my talks with General MacArthur will be followed by positive action’.

In the course of June, moreover, according to the statements of South Korean officers captured in the fighting, no less than seven American military advisers visited the troops, telling them that they must occupy North Korea – and later on Manchuria as well!

## THE ONE-WEEK 'WAR'

It is a significant symptom of the inefficiency of the Syngman Rhee regime that in a week – as the British Press scarcely even tried to conceal – Syngman Rhee's army ceased to exist as a fighting force. This could not have happened so quickly if the South Korean people were in any way hostile to the North Koreans, and it is plain that the 'war' was in the beginning merely an attempt by foreign-armed, foreign-trained, and foreign-equipped forces to fight the Korean people. The argument sometimes used that the collapse of the Southern forces shows that they cannot have been the aggressors is of course destroyed by everything I have quoted above; Syngman Rhee is not the first aggressor to find that popular forces which he thought he could crush were too strong for him.

At a bitter cost, the people of Korea are now achieving their unity, and are fighting a foreign enemy, America. The pretence that America is defending or protecting anybody or anything in Korea except her own anti-Soviet and anti-Communist interests cannot last long. She is in reality simply invading Korea because she wants to hold it as a war base against the Soviet Union.

### WHO BEGAN IT?

In the light of the facts given above, what is the answer to the important question: 'Who started this war?' Each side, of course, accuses the other; and the bulk of the American and British Press and radio, having the field almost to themselves, find it easy to answer 'The North'. The reader may conclude that the true answer is 'Syngman Rhee and Co.' Indeed, if the North had started it, it would have seemed almost like robbing Syngman Rhee of his most cherished scheme.

One or two items of news as to events on and around the 'front' – the 38th parallel – in the few days before hostilities began throw some light on the matter. One is a report said to have been made on Saturday, June 24, 1950, a few hours before hostilities began, by 'field observers of the United Nations'. (For some unexplained reason, this report apparently took six days to reach U.N.O., which issued it on Friday, June 30.) It is a somewhat vague report, using phrases such as 'there is no evidence', 'it is said', 'it is reported'; but it does say definitely that 'No reports have been received of any unusual activity by North Korean forces that would indicate any



impending change in the general situation along the frontier'. Officers of the South Korean forces captured in the brief fighting, however, stated that on that very day, June 24, the usual Saturday leave for officers was cancelled; and that on the Sunday they were ordered to begin 'the full phase of the attack North of the parallel'.

### **WOULD THEY BE SO FOOLISH?**

It would, of course, have been the grossest folly for the North to have started hostilities, either from the purely Korean point of view, or from the wider aspect of possible outside influence. There was everything to lose and nothing to gain by such a course.

North Korea wanted unity, and wanted to be rid of the Americans and of Syngman Rhee; but those aims were best achieved through unity of the country; and the way to unity was through peace. Negotiations, in spite of Syngman Rhee arresting Northern delegates and carrying on various other forms of opposition, showed good prospects of early success.

In the wider field, the U.S.S.R. has by now convinced nearly everybody, even its enemies, that it does not want war; even Mr. John Foster Dulles has publicly acknowledged this, and Mr. Gromyko's declaration of July 4 makes it very clear. To the suggestion that the North Koreans would not have started hostilities without Russian orders or at least approval, the answer is clear: 'No they wouldn't have; that is one reason to feel sure that they didn't; for it is plain that Moscow would not have given such approval'.

For the U.S.S.R. herself, there was equally everything to gain and nothing to lose from the absence of armed conflict. Even in respect of South Korea itself, where they certainly did not want the Americans to have a jumping-off ground for war, all that was necessary to do was to wait. To quote the *Observer* of July 2 once again: 'Had she (the U.S.S.R.) shown patience, South Korea would almost certainly have fallen into her lap. Elections held only four weeks ago showed that Syngman Rhee's government was weakening, and that the stranglehold of the North on the South was creating chaos'. The same comment applies, of course; the impatience came from elsewhere.

In the rest of the world, the widespread peace campaign, centred in the Petition to ban the use of atomic weapons and to brand their first users as war criminals, was gathering weight; already there were 100,000,000 signatures in all, and 200,000 were collect-

ed in New York City in one day. Active demands for the swift ending of the Cold War were being made, drowning the cries of Mr. Acheson that it would last for many years. In short, the tide was turning in favour of peace and against war. Those who wanted peace had merely to sit quiet, avoid armed conflict, if possible, and watch the situation improve. The Russians are not fools, and the one thing that they could not have wanted was warfare in Korea.

On the other hand, those who were clamouring for war – i.e., some people in America – had a direct interest in starting armed conflict, in the hope of upsetting the Peace Campaign and stampeding people into war hysteria. They have succeeded, here and there, for a little while; but not, if we are active, for long; and Mr. Gromyko's statement of July 4 has probably saved the peace of the world.

### **STAMPEDING THE SECURITY COUNCIL**

When we examine the steps taken in the U.S.A. immediately on the outbreak of hostilities, we see how the war for which Syngman Rhee and the Americans had been clamouring in Korea fitted into the pattern of Washington's desires.

Within 20 hours of the first news reaching Washington, and within 12 hours of the members of the Security Council being called – at 3 a.m. – from their sleep, there was passed what appeared to be a resolution of the Security Council; and even before that, according to *The Times* of June 26, Washington had decided to give military help to South Korea (which was not called for by the Security Council, of course, until the 27th).

Let us first see how the Security Council *appeared* to move – I will show why it could not validly act at all – with a speed contrasting tragically with its many fumbings of the past over such aggressions as the Arab war against Israel in 1948, and the fighting in Greece, Indonesia, and Kashmir.

After a brief discussion in those few hours, it (apparently) passed a resolution which condemned 'the invasion of the Republic of Korea by armed forces from North Korea', called for the immediate cessation of hostilities and for the withdrawal of the armed forces of North Korea to the 38th Parallel, and called upon all members of U.N.O. to render assistance to the United Nations in the execution of the resolution.

I say 'apparently passed a resolution', as the resolution was in truth wholly void; Article 27 of the Charter of the United Nations

makes it quite clear that the Security Council cannot validly act in such matters as this unless all five permanent members of the Council concur. (This is the famous unanimity rule, inserted in the Charter at the instance of the Americans, and warmly supported by the British; and it cannot be ignored just because it suits the Americans now to ignore it!) The U.S.S.R., objecting in principle – surely rightly – to China being represented in the Council by the nominees of Chiang Kai-shek, whose government has ceased to have any real existence, was not present. Had it been present, it would not have concurred, so that its absence made no difference in the result. It was known from the start it would not be present, and accordingly no resolution of the kind proposed could have any validity; but that deterred nobody. Nevertheless, the resolution was invalid, and no State has any right to act on it.

### **NOT A JOT OF EVIDENCE**

It is also important, and quite shameless, that those members who were present – every one who represented a State that was either a debtor or a satellite of America – arrived at a conclusion without any evidence at all.

Let us see what was actually before them. Their resolution shows that the ‘evidence’ was a ‘report of the United Nations Commission on Korea’ which, the resolution asserted, expressed ‘grave concern for the invasion of the Republic of Korea by armed forces from North Korea’. (Mr. Dean Acheson, speaking in Washington on June 29, described the report as: ‘labelling the Communist action as an unprovoked act of aggression’.)

Such a report should surely be both reliable, and definite, if action which may precipitate – or perhaps avert – a third World War is to be taken upon it. So we turn to the official version of the Commission’s report.

And what do we find? The Commission makes it quite plain in its report that it had seen nothing, investigated nothing, and indeed knew nothing except what Syngman Rhee had told it. It didn't even pretend to knowledge; and as a matter of verbal accuracy it did not use the words ‘grave concern’, nor label anything as an ‘unprovoked act of aggression’.

The report begins with the words: ‘Government of Republic of Korea states’, and goes on to give – without actually confirming them – Syngman Rhee’s version of the outbreak of hostilities, and

his denial of the North Korean assertion that it was he who was the aggressor. Syngman Rhee would, of course, have said this whatever the true facts were, and his statement was thus of no value; nor, to do it justice, did the Commission say it was. The Commission indeed said nothing, beyond merely 'passing on' Syngman Rhee's statements, except in this final paragraph:

Commission wishes to draw attention of Secretary-General to serious situation developing, which is assuming character of full-scale war and may endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. It suggests that he consider possibility of bringing matter to notice of Security Council. Commission will communicate more fully considered recommendation later.

It is really horrifying that this scrap of hearsay evidence, from one vitally-interested party – and a thoroughly discredited one, at that – should be thought good enough for the Security Council to act on, without waiting for the 'more fully considered recommendation' promised by the Commission. Here, in this very grave matter, the Security Council, not even thinking of attempts at reconciliation, rejects the idea of asking the North Koreans for their version before condemning them, convicts them out of hand, apparently ignoring the mass of evidence in their favour which I have quoted above, as well as all the probabilities of the situation. One hopes for the sake of their consciences, if not for their reputation for honesty, intelligence, or balance, that they were ignorant of the facts I have related, although they had mostly been reported in the American Press.

## **BRITISH CAUTION**

Some twinges of doubt seem to have affected the British delegate, who stated that 'it was essentially in the Council's interest not at this moment to take action which might go beyond the bounds of the evidence available'. But he did not draw the logical conclusion that as there was no evidence available no action should be taken. Indeed, he agreed that the resolution 'met the case'!

A further resolution of the same Security Council was passed on the Tuesday (June 27) recommending the members of the United Nations to give military aid to South Korea. The representative of Great Britain announced then and there that his government would act as desired. The Americans had of course anticipated the recommendation over two days before it was made.

The ready acquiescence of our government in this irresponsible, baseless, illegal decision, reminding one of nothing so vividly as the sudden revival of the moribund League of Nations in December, 1939, for the purpose of expelling the U.S.S.R., does not make pleasant reading. The suspicion that helped to kill the League of Nations – that it was no more than an executive committee of the anti-Soviet world – was thus revived. Indeed, in the *Observer* of July 2, it was made the subject of a boast:

The Security Council – overnight – was transformed from an impotent debating society into *the executive authority of non-Communist world opinion*, adding that it had ‘suddenly begun to work *as it was intended to work*’!

This is frank, at any rate. Not merely is the Security Council to lead, not the United Nations, but that part of the world (already little more than half) which the U.S.A. seeks to enlist on its side of the not-so-cold-war, but that is, we are told, what it was intended to do when it was established!

It is not surprising that, in the statement made on behalf of the Soviet Government on July 4, 1950, Mr. Gromyko should say:

The crude pressure of the U.S. Government on the Security Council members turned the United Nations into a kind of a branch of the U.S. State Department, into an obedient instrument of the policy of the U.S. ruling class...

The Security Council is acting not as a body invested with the main responsibility for the maintenance of peace, but as an instrument employed by the U.S. ruling circles with the object of unleashing war.

## **TRUMAN THREATENS WORLD WAR**

Much more of course happened on that Tuesday, June 27. President Truman, without even waiting for the Security Council to pass its resolution of that very day, issued his statement. He said that, the Security Council having called upon all members of the United Nations to give help, he had ordered ‘United States air and sea forces to give the Korean Government troops cover and support’. He went on, without any sign of understanding that he was going far beyond apparent ‘United Nations’ action in Korea, to proclaim unprovoked unilateral interference in the lives and actions of other sovereign states and peoples, and in effect to announce a military crusade

against 'Communism'. He said:

'The attack upon Korea' (i.e., the hostilities, the true origin of which I have just been examining) 'makes it plain beyond all doubt that Communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations, and will now use armed invasion and war... In these circumstances the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces' – his description of the proposed occupation by the forces of the only government in China, recognised as such by Great Britain, of part of its own territories – 'would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to the United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area'. (Some may ask what lawful or necessary functions the United States could have anywhere near Formosa!) The President went on to say that he had ordered the U.S. Seventh Fleet to prevent any 'attack' upon Formosa, adding a broad hint that the U.S.A. might annex Formosa in due course.

But even Formosa wasn't enough for this fire-eater. He announced that he had also decided to strengthen U.S. forces in the (nominally independent) Philippines, to accelerate military assistance to the Philippine government (for the repression, in truth, of the popular forces in the Islands), and to do the same for the French in Indo-China and send a military mission there.

Thus, in effect, America, on the pretext of an alleged aggression by North Korea – of which there is no evidence at all – and of an invalid resolution of the U.N. Security Council, declares war directly on China, threatens war on much of the rest of Asia, and preaches a crusade against every Socialist country in the world. And no one asks the Security Council to deal with this threat of aggression.

What has happened to bring America, on such a pretext, to preach world war? As recently as last January, it will be remembered, the President had officially declared that the U.S.A. would not interest itself in the 'defence' of Formosa. The explanation may be found in a report in *The Times* of Monday, June 26, announcing the arrival in Washington on the previous Saturday afternoon – just before hostilities broke out – of the U.S. Secretary of Defence, Mr. Johnson, and of General Bradley, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, on their return from the Far East. *The Times* quoted a report from Tokyo that they were in agreement with General MacArthur – the American dictator in Japan – that the United States must take *positive action* (the words used by Mr. Dulles, as noted above) to prevent 'the fall of

Formosa to the Chinese Communists'. But, added *The Times*, Mr. Dulles was expected back a few days later, and these gentlemen would not comment on this report until he arrived!

## **RULE BRITANNIA**

This crusade has many effects, of course, on Britain. What does it mean, to begin with, for the British Navy? On June 28, changing the phrase 'Rule Britannia' from a British boast to an exhortation to the Americans, Mr. Attlee, with the full approval of the main political parties, handed the Navy over unconditionally to the Americans. They can now send British sailors to die, and British ships to be bombed, wherever they like, in the place of Americans, presumably at the expense of the British taxpayer; they may even send our Navy to Formosa, there to 'defend' Chinese territory – and incidentally Chiang Kai-shek, who has recently been bombing our merchant vessels – against the Chinese people and their government, which the British government has recognised. Where is our pride? Or our independence? Or our love of peace? Or even our consideration for our own interests?

## **AND THE U.S.S.R.?**

The U.S.S.R. alone is breathing no fire, uttering no threats or bombast, forming thus a strong contrast to the President's hysteria, by which it appears entirely unmoved. It made no official announcement until July 4, nine days after the start of hostilities; and it then made a most important statement, well designed to serve the cause of peace. And it is continuing to rally its people in their millions to sign the World Petition for the abolition of the atom bomb and for the declaration that the first to use it shall be branded as a war criminal. Nobody can plausibly assert that this campaign is not genuine; for a moment's consideration will show that to conduct a peace campaign of this kind would be impossible for any government intending war, since it must gravely weaken the will of the general public to accept a war. We can therefore feel confident that the U.S.S.R. has no intention of making war unless it is actually attacked. The conviction has been gaining ground for many months, even among those most reluctant to believe it, that the U.S.S.R. just won't start a war. It means peace; and it is just as well for our hopes of life that it does.

## CONCLUSION

In the face of the evidence marshalled above, and of the absence of any evidence of aggression or threats of aggression from North Korea, what must one conclude? The only possible conclusion, I suggest, is that the war was plainly started by Syngman Rhee, who was powerless to move without American sanction and assistance; that he was held back until a suitable moment, and then let go; that the North Korean intelligence was excellent; that the Security Council was acting not only invalidly but wrongly and without material; and that the war in Korea is now a war of the U.S.A., using forces provided by Britain and Australia as well as their own, against the Korean people. That is an intolerable situation, in face of which the British people cannot sit idle.

We must begin by not letting ourselves be fooled by false stories. We must see the facts, and judge for ourselves; estimate things and people by their actions, not by labels. We face a real risk of war, diminished but not eliminated by the attitude of the U.S.S.R. If war is allowed to come, it will be the end of most of us physically. If the Cold War continues indefinitely, even if it somehow remains cold for a part of the world, it will still be the end of most of us economically. And if the British Government continues on its present course, Britain will become more and more an impotent satellite of America.

We must revolt against such a fate. We must work for peace. We must bring every ounce of pressure we can on our Members of Parliament and our political parties to change the government's policy, to think healthily, to keep out of war. And not merely must we keep out of war; we must insist that every foreign soldier evacuate Korea, leaving the Korean people to settle their own future. At home, one of the most useful steps we can take is to sign and work for the Peace Petition of the British Peace Committee, as part of the world-wide Peace Petition I have mentioned. The force of millions and scores of millions signing such Petitions all over the world and demanding the outlawry of atomic weapons and those who use them, will be enough to make even the most hysterical governments hesitate before imperilling the peace of the world out of their hatred and fear of Socialism.



# MORE LIGHT ON KOREA

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After *Light on Korea* was written and published early in July, 1950, a number of secret documents of the Syngman Rhee government were captured in Seoul by the North Korean government and communicated to the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, supported by photostatic copies. There has been no denial of their authenticity, although the general Press has ignored them, as they confirm the North Korean case that the hostilities in Korea were begun by South Korean and American aggression, a case unpopular with Press Lords.

Study of these documents greatly strengthens the evidence put forward in *Light on Korea* as to the plans of the Syngman Rhee government and of the U.S. government for aggression against North Korea. It shows that the assertion on page 1 of *Light on Korea* (page 13, *Korea Handbook*) that 'this war was started by Syngman Rhee, with American encouragement if not on American orders' was a considerable understatement. Additional evidence was also given at about the same time (and again too late to be dealt with in *Light on Korea*) by Kim I Sek, the former Minister of Internal Affairs in the Syngman Rhee government, who was also captured by the North Korean forces. This evidence is not of course of quite the same cogency and certainty as that furnished by the documents, but it remains of no little value.

The earliest and not the least startling of the documents was written on the 3rd December, 1948, from Los Angeles by Peong Koo Yong, adviser of the foreign ministry of the Syngman Rhee government, to his 'Dear President' Syngman Rhee. After talking of the need for 'every true-hearted patriot in America, Korea, Japan and China' to fight against Communism, he continues:

But to carry on the coming struggle to a victorious conclusion, the forces of defence such as the armies of America, Japan, China and Korea must be co-ordinated and led by a Supreme Commander with triple objectives, namely: The Japanese push through Northeastward and pass Vladivostok; Korean and American armies, after liberating our Northern territory, march through Liaotung peninsula and up to Harbin; and a re-vitalized Chinese Nationalist

Army to recover China's lost territory, including Shantung Province; and after such a victorious conclusion, the Korean and American armies hold Manchuria until the cost of liberation be fully repaid by means of the development of the national resources of that part of East Asia by the combined capital and labour of Manchuria, Korea and America, and that until democracy and peace be surely established there.

Early in 1949, as is well known, there were on the one hand extensive guerilla operations in South Korea, directed against the oppressive and unpopular Syngman Rhee government, and also some attempts on that government's part to work underground in North Korea. As an example of the latter, one may quote a letter from Myun Chang, the South Korean Ambassador to the U.S.A., to Syngman Rhee, dated the 6th April. 1949:

General Wedemeyer has made the personal and confidential recommendation that we send well-trained, reliable and competent young people into North Korea with the object of sowing distrust towards the Communist system and the national government and *preparing the way for the Republic*. (My italics throughout.—D.N.P.)

Plans captured at the same time as these letters showed schemes for destruction of bridges, organisation of railway accidents, destruction of many other buildings, assassinations of leaders and others, and infection of rivers and reservoirs with bacteria; and the general trend of the documents makes it plain that 'preparing the way for the Republic' means preparing for armed warfare started by South Korea against the North.

A few days after the recommendation of the American general had been passed on in this way to Syngman Rhee, we find the latter dealing more directly with the war he proposed to start against North Korea, in a letter dated the 10th April, 1949, to Cho Bion Ok, his personal representative in the U.S.A.:

You should discuss this situation frankly, in strict confidence, with highly-placed *United Nations and United States* officials. You should inform them in strict confidence of our plans for the unification of North and South Korea. We are substantially ready for this unification at the present time in all respects but one: we are short of *arms and ammunition*... We must have sufficient armed forces to

advance to the North, join up with the army in North Korea which is devoted to us, move the iron curtain back from the 38th Parallel to the River Yalu, and there guard the frontier against foreign infiltration.

There is no room for doubt here. Rhee means war, but he is hinting at his complaint, already noticed in *Light on Korea* pp. 3-4 (*Korea Handbook*, pp. 16-17), that the Americans were (at that stage) keeping him short of ammunition and holding him back from his desire to attack North Korea and to march to (at least) the frontier of Manchuria.

At this stage comes some of the evidence of Kim I Sek and of other South Korean leaders who were captured by the North Koreans, that an invasion of North Korea had been planned for July-August, 1949 – just at the period when the North Koreans were pressing their proposals for the unification of Korea by peaceful negotiation – but was frustrated by some of Syngman Rhee's forces going over to the North, by the lack of success attending the many incidents which Syngman Rhee provoked on the parallel, and above all by increased guerilla activity in the South.

On this topic it is interesting to read, from among the captured documents, some instructions given in July, 1949, by John J. Muccio, U.S. Ambassador to Syngman Rhee's government, to Generals Roberts and Page, the heads of the American Military Mission in Korea, *and also* to the then South Korean Ministers Sin Sen Mo, Kwon Syn Er, and Kim I Sek himself. (It may be odd for an Ambassador to be ordering about the Ministers of an 'independent' Government to which he is accredited; but the Americans are 'realists').

These instructions ran:

During the months of July and August large-scale preparations are to be made for the campaign against the North. Consistent measures must be taken to prevent internal disorders; mass arrests of anti-governmental elements and members of the South Korean Labor Party must be made, and strict observance of the State Security Law ensured. I am confident that you will do everything necessary to carry out these arrests.

The North Koreans assert that, in the suppression of guerilla and ether opposition thus ordered by the Americans, many thousands of people were imprisoned, tortured, and shot, and many more

homesteads were burnt down. According to Kim I Sek, General Roberts personally worked out the plan and directed the operations for suppression of the National Partisan Movement. Mr. Muccio himself had urged the Ministers as early as January, 1949, to act ruthlessly, saying: 'From the humanitarian standpoint some people may say that this is wrong, but for the achievement of our ends these acts are fully admissible'.

It is worth noticing in its chronological position the confirmation lent by General Roberts to the North Korean assertion that the armed incidents on the parallel at this time were brought about by the *South Koreans*. On the 2nd August, 1949, speaking to a meeting of Divisional Commanders of the South Korean army, he said:

My colleague and I are fully convinced that all the attacks in South Korea are reprisals and that almost every incident has been provoked by the South Korean security forces.

The frustration of the summer invasion plans left Syngman Rhee, of course, still thirsting for war, and the next of the documents, a letter from him to Dr. Robert Oliver, former American adviser to his government, who was in America, dated 30th September, 1949, runs as follows:

I am firmly convinced that now is the psychological moment to take aggressive action and to join up with the units of the Communist army in the North which are loyal to us, so as to destroy the remaining units in Pyongyang. We shall drive Kim Ir Sen's men into the mountains and starve them out there. Our defence line must be set up on the Turning and Yalu rivers. Our position will then be 100 per cent, better... To quote an old expression once used by Churchill: 'Give us the tools and we will finish the job'. You must convince American statesmen and American public opinion, so that they may tacitly consent to our starting operations and carrying out our program, *and also give us the necessary material support*. The longer we wait the more difficult it will be for us to do this.

**What was in substance an answer to this letter was written on the 2nd October, 1949, by Cho Bion Ok to Syngman Rhee, as follows:**

I have read your letter to Dr. Oliver on the question of

unification, or more accurately, on the liquidation of the puppet regime of North Korea, with close attention and interest. In the present circumstances the proposals you make in your letter are *the sole logical means*, indeed the cardinal method, of achieving the unification which we desire. I am inclined to believe, however, that the time is not yet ripe for the realisation of this program. In the first place, I doubt whether we are adequately prepared; and world public opinion will not approve acts of this kind... I have discussed this matter with Ambassador Chang and Dr. Oliver and we have come to the unanimous conclusion that this should be regarded as the fundamental plan of our Government, to be put into effect when we are ready and when the right moment has come.

As was noticed in *Light on Korea*, this was still the stage where the Americans were holding back the eager-bloodthirsty Syngman Rhee, who and whose agents were insisting that the unification of Korea should be achieved not by negotiation, as the North Koreans were always demanding, but by force of arms with American help. The Americans were plainly still taking the view that he was not yet ready. The speech of Syngman Rhee in which he complained publicly of this restraint, as quoted in *Light on Korea*, pp. 3, 4 (and *Korea Handbook* pp. 16-17), was made less than a month after this letter.

In the course of that same October, General Roberts, the head of the American military mission in South Korea, who is mentioned above and appears frequently in the pages of *Light on Korea*, made another address to a meeting of Divisional Commanders of the South Korean Army, in which he made it clearer than ever to what source the incidents along the parallel were due. He said, obviously by way of rebuke to the irresponsible and incompetent leaders of the South Korean forces:

Attacks on territory north of the 38th Parallel have been and will continue to be carried out *on my orders*. However, many military units launch arbitrary attacks against the North, squander masses of shells and obtain no results in spite of heavy losses. Attacks on territory north of the 38th Parallel may be carried out *by the National Defence Army only on the orders of the United States Military Experts' Mission*.

This is a frank enough declaration of the degree of control exercised by the United States over the aggressive operations of Syngman Rhee's forces.

A few days afterwards, we find Cho Bion Ok writing again to Syngman Rhee, emphasising not only that the unity of Korea was to be obtained by violence and not by peaceful means, but also that South Korea must 'work in' with the expected Third World War, and carry its military preparations further at once. He writes:

I am absolutely convinced that Korea can be unified only *by utilizing the sovereign power of our Government*.<sup>1</sup> Any policy of compromise or conference is out of the question... The cold war cannot continue indefinitely. All these world problems are insoluble without a third world war. Our unification plan must be adapted to the development of the international situation as a whole. Meanwhile the most important task of the Government is to increase our military and economic preparedness.

Cho Bion Ok, writing on the same day, gave Syngman Rhee an account of the efforts being made in the U.S.A. to secure that U.N.C.O.K., the United Nations Commission on Korea, whose supposedly impartial reports were later made the basis both of United Nations action and of the defence of that action by many Right-wing propagandists, should be 'reliable'. He reports with satisfaction – performing unconsciously a 'debunking' operation for lovers of truth – that, under the pressure of the U.S. delegation and State Department, the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary General of the United Nations had begun to give adequate attention to the 'selection' of appropriate members for the Commission. Syria, which had previously caused some unpleasantness in the Commission, was to be replaced by Turkey, and Secretary General Trygve Lie had appealed to the member governments of the Commission to appoint persons with strong convictions as their representatives on the Commission.

Cho Bion Ok further reported that Trygve Lie and his assistant Cordier (an American) had assured him that five former members of the Commission's Secretariat who were undesirable to the Syngman Rhee Government would be replaced and that a completely 'new

<sup>1</sup> i.e., by levying war, with the assistance of the 'sovereign power' of **the U.S.A.**

and sound' Secretariat would be created.

This 'packing' of U.N.C.O.K. may explain, if it does not excuse, the nature of some of its activities and reports – which deserve a more thorough examination than there is space for in this article.

The next matter of importance that emerges from the documents is a statement made by Syngman Rhee at a Press conference held on the 30th December, 1949:

In the new year we shall all strive as one man to regain the lost territory. Up to now, in view of the international situation, we have pursued a peaceful policy corresponding to the peaceful policy of the United States and the United Nations. We must remember, however, that in the new year, in accordance with the changed international situation, it is our duty to unify Southern and Northern Korea by our own strength.

**Very soon after that, according to Kim I Sek, General Roberts spoke as follows to the Ministers of the Syngman Rhee government:**

The plan of campaign against the North has been decided upon. There is not much time left now before a beginning must be made with putting it into effect. Even though we shall begin the attack, we must nevertheless find a pretext providing some justification. The report of the U.N. Commission is of paramount importance in this connection. The U.N. Commission will naturally submit a report favourable to the United States. But you all know that you also must win the sympathy of the U.N. Commission and give your attention to this matter.

According to Kim I Sek, Sebald, the chief adviser of General MacArthur, visited Seoul in January, 1950, and assured Syngman Rhee that, when the campaign against the North began, the American fleet and aircraft based on Japan would fight on the side of the South Korean government. In February, 1950, Syngman Rhee, accompanied by the Chief of Staff of the South Korean army, went to Tokyo, where an agreement was reached with MacArthur for intensifying the preparations for an attack on the North. According to a statement by Mun Hak Won, Syngman Rhee's political adviser, MacArthur gave Rhee concrete instructions on preparatory measures, remarking that control of the military operations of Rhee's army must be transferred to himself (MacArthur).

It seems to have been a little later, about the month of May, that the Americans were convinced that the South Korean army was now fully prepared to attack. The proposed operations – which in the end started, as we know, on the 25th June, were plotted in some detail on a strategic map, drawn up jointly by the Syngman Rhee government and the American military representatives in Seoul, which was among the documents captured; and in an *American* film, also captured in Seoul and recently shown in various parts of Europe, Mr. Dulles, then on his famous June visit to Korea, is seen, with this map, in the front lines of the South Korean army near the parallel, looking over the North Korean territory they were then arranging to invade. This story, reported at some length in *Light on Korea*, can now be supplemented.

It is not uninteresting to read the report of Ambassador Chang, written on the 14th June, 1950, giving an account of a dinner party at which he had entertained Mr. Dulles just before the latter left Washington on this visit. Chang wrote:

...This visit Mr. Dulles is about to make is most important in view of the fact that he has a strong voice in preparing decisions of the State Department concerning the Far East. I am confident that his visit may bring about a change in the Department's policy in regard to the Far East. I impressed upon him how much my people are looking forward to his visit, in the hope that it will bring about a firmer stand in the State Department on the anti-Communist issue. I summed up the hopes of our people and our Government as to Mr. Dulles' part as follows:

He should make a strong statement assuring Koreans that the United States will stand behind Korea both in peace and in trouble, both economically and militarily... He (Mr. Dulles) said he was certain that the United States would not abandon Korea, and that he was even now preparing a statement to the effect that Korea would be backed by the United States. He said he would assure the Korean people that the United States would assist them.

Mr. Dulles kept his word, as was shown in *Light on Korea*, but the documents also disclose that he made a speech to Syngman Rhee troops on his visit, in which he said:

Not even a strong opponent will be able to resist you.  
You will not have to wait long for the time when you will



be able -to display your strength.

On the 19th June, Mr. Dulles made the now notorious speech to the South Korean National Assembly, stating that the U.S. was prepared to *support* a South Korea in its fight against Communism; and the documents add a letter which he wrote on the following day to Syngman Rhee, as he was leaving Korea, saying: 'I attach great importance to the decisive part which may be played by your country in the great drama that is now unfolding.' Who exactly was 'unfolding' it? The United States, it appears.

It is no wonder that Syngman Rhee reported to Ambassador Chang on 18th June that Dulles fully agreed with his whole policy.

According to Kim I Sek, Dulles explained to Syngman Rhee and his Minister Sin Sen Mo that although the situation in the country after the attack on the North would be unpleasant, it would be necessary to hold out for at least one week, during which the United States would force the United Nations to act, and that land, sea and air forces would be mobilized in the name of the United Nations. 'Unpleasant', I suppose, because by all the American and Syngman Rhee activities recounted in *Light on Korea* and in this article, the North Koreans were fully alive to the danger – indeed the certainty – of an attack on them by the South, and were ready to repel it and to counter attack before American troops could arrive in large numbers. The North Koreans claim, it may be remarked, to have had reliable information of the South Korean invasion plans in May, 1950.

This fits with tragic exactness the course of the operations carried out by the U.S. government in relation to the Security Council and to its own military movements in the last week of June, 1950; and puts President Truman's 'Statement of the 27th June', in reality an insolent declaration of war on world communism in Korea, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indo-China issued without even waiting for the request from the Security Council, which was to come an hour or two later, for military aid to South Korea (see *Light on Korea*, pp. 13-14; *Korea Handbook*, pp. 29-30) into a new light. It must be promoted from the category of hot-headed jingoism to that of an infamous swindle worked on the peoples of the civilised world and of the U.S.A. in the interests of the warmongers of Wall Street and the Pentagon.