through the years adopted successive Constitutional amendments which together have drastically changed the pattern of government established by the founders. And during the early years of your history, conservative nations abroad pointed to the American experiment as a dangerous trend toward anarchy. Yet your leaders, despite bitter criticism, went steadily ahead with their program of insuring a government of, by, and for the people.

The political developments in Korea during this past spring and summer have similarly wrought changes in our Constitution which have notably increased democratic control. Significantly, these changes were voted into law on July 4. The date for the epochal 163 to 0 vote in our National Assembly, approving four amendments to our Constitution, was not merely coincidental, for the spirit which from the beginning has animated our democracy has been nurtured by your own example.

The four amendments which were unanimously adopted provide: (1) that the President of Korea henceforth shall be elected by all the voters, rather than by the members of the National Assembly; (2) that the National Assembly shall be converted from one to two chambers; (3) that Cabinet members henceforth shall be nominated by the Prime Minister and shall be subject to confirmation by the Assembly; and (4) that the Assembly may, by majority vote, dissolve the Cabinet at will. The first two amendments have been sought by President Syngman Rhee ever since our government was inaugurated on August 15, 1948. The latter two have long been advocated by some members of the National Assembly.

Wherever democracy is honored in fact, and not merely in words, the first amendment must be applauded as a vital step toward insuring the reality and survival of government by the people. The virtue of the second amendment is attested by the experience of the national and state governments of the United States. The third and fourth amendments are compromises won by Assemblymen and give the direct lie to those who charge that President Rhee dictatorially dominated the Assembly. In my own judgment, the present lack of a responsible two-party system in Korea will make the fourth amendment unworkable and will lead either to its repeal or the development of such a system.

Foreign opinion, as expressed both in official statements by the UN Secretary-General and by several heads of State and in extensive newspaper and radio commentaries, has generally approved of the goals represented in at least the first two amendments, but has been harshly critical of the methods leading to their adoption.

This criticism was based largely upon an unfounded fear that President Rhee intended to utilize the power of the police and army to enforce adoption of his program by the Assembly. His proclamation of martial law in the Pusan area was particularly attacked. In retrospect, even the harshest of his critics must be aware of two vital facts: First, that the power derived from martial law was not so utilized; second, that a succession of serious guerrilla outbreaks, and widespread demonstrations resulting from public disapproval of the Assembly's resistance to the amendments, made necessary the temporary imposition of martial law.

The Koreans Are Democratic

Only the uninformed can believe that political methods in Korea could possibly parallel those in the United States. Your people are educated in 1200 colleges and 600 junior colleges. You have some eighty million radio sets and seventeen million television receivers. Newspapers and magazines bring detailed discussions of political and social issues into virtually every American home. Motion picture newsreels are viewed by almost eighty million Americans weekly. And you have a long tradition of democratic participation to fortify the determination of your voters to control their own political destinies. The situation in Korea is not comparable in any significant respect.

Nevertheless, the Korean people have proved themselves to be devotedly democratic. In our first national election on May 10, 1948, 92.4 per cent of all our registered voters went to the polls to cast their secret ballots. On May 30, 1950, the percentage was 87 per cent. And in the local and provincial elections of April and May, 1952, 89 per cent of all registered voters went to the polls to elect 17,558 officials. Such high percentages have never been achieved in the Western democracies. Moreover, all of our elections have been under the observation of United Nations officials, who have certified to their fairness.

Another significant fact is that what Korea lacks in facilities for nation-wide debate of the issues, it makes up with an intensive, grass-roots democracy. Over 70 per cent of our people live in small villages, where public opinion is potent, candidates are known to all their neighbors, and democracy on the village level is centuries old.

President Rhee's problem was to find a way of bringing the national issues comprised in his proposed Constitutional amendments to the attention of the people. His views were not suddenly developed when the time arrived for the Presidential election in the National Assembly. When the Constitution was adopted, in July 1948, he and others in the Assembly declared that direct election of the President should be sought as soon as the people demonstrated their ability for self-government. On December 22, 1950, in an interview with Ansel F. Talbert of the *New York Herald Tribune*, President Rhee declared that, "Personally, I prefer a bicameral legislature and direct election of the President." In November 1951, he submitted his two proposed amendments to the Assembly, and he advocated them again in a press conference on March 2, 1952. Because of the limited scope and disruption of Korean news media, these methods of presentation were not adequate to reach the masses of the people.

When the National Prosecuting Attorney uncovered evidence that several Assemblymen had accepted bribes to vote for a President who would favor a political coalition with the North Korean Communist regime, these Assemblymen were arrested. Thus the people of all South Korea became aware of the struggle precipitated in Pusan, and at once began to make very manifest their support of President Rhee.

In the May 10, 1952, election of 378 members of Provincial Assemblies, only ten members of the Anti-Rhee Democratic Nationalist Party were elected. The seven Provincial Assemblies all adopted resolutions supporting the demand that the President be elected by the people. Sixteen hundred local communities adopted similar resolutions. Committees sent to Pusan to present these resolutions to President Rhee and to the National Assembly were inaccurately described in some press reports as "mobs." Finally, while many Assemblymen remained at home, thus preventing formation of a quorum, President Rhee indicated that he might call a national plebiscite to let the people themselves decide whether the Assembly should be dissolved and new Assemblymen be elected to carry out the people's will. Since it was perfectly apparent that the people were strongly in favor of the proposed amendments, the Assembly finally capitulated.

Government by the People

The destructiveness of the war, the long delay in UN plans for assisting in Korean reconstruction, and the dragging truce talks have all had inevitable political repercussions in Korea. President Rhee has long been recognized, both inside and outside of Korea, as the only Korean statesmen who is qualified to deal effectively with the serious international problems confronting our country. His determined fight for the reunification, rehabilitation and independence of our nation has won for him the affection and confidence of our people. On the other hand, his insistence upon land reform and his fight to prevent the rise of a privileged class have resulted in winning for him the ill-will of certain segments of the landlord, business and commercial groups. These groups, in control of the National Assembly, would rather deprive the nation of his leadership than be themselves deprived of opportunities for special privilege. Furthermore, Communist and other foreign influences that wished to dominate Korea could affect the Presidential choice much more easily if the President were to be elected by 183 members of the Assembly than if he were elected by the people.

As all the facts of the Korean political developments are reviewed, I believe it will be evident that President Rhee has successfully led a notable crusade for basic democracy, and that those foreigners who have criticized him either have not understood the problems or have misinterpreted his purposes. Now that the new Constitutional provisions have been adopted and the Presidential election has been placed in the hands of the people, President Rhee has been thoroughly vindicated. But, far more important, essential democracy in Korea has been safeguarded and notably advanced. History will hail the events of this past spring and summer in Korea as being fully as important for our nation as was the revolutionary change in the United States in 1787, when the admirable American Constitution was adopted to replace the unworkable Articles of Confederation. Such changes never come about easily. They can not come about at all unless a nation has a truly great leadership which is genuinely responsive to the deeply-held convictions of the masses of the people.

In Praise of War

People have always damned war and praised peace. When Ben Franklin said: "There never was a good war or a bad peace," most people agreed with him. Yet neither peace nor war is good or bad in itself. We don't praise a night in which criminals quietly rob and kill. On such a night we prefer the noise of police at work to silence. There comes a time like that when war rates more praise than peace. The noise may be damnable—but no one can damn it without damning the silence that preceded it.

All peace is bad just before war begins. On the side of the attacked the leaders appease evil. On the side of the attacker there's every crime known. But once the war begins, hope comes back. Hope says this evil on both sides will be purged by fire from the earth. War is never as bad as the peace that begins it; and when, and if, it brings back hope, we can say even war is good.

What do we call a good peace? Define peace as the absence of war, and you leave a vacuum which any evil may rush to fill. A good peace is one that sets no value on itself. A good peace goes to war at the drop of a hat. A good peace warns all would-be disturbers of liberty: "Gentlemen, you realize this means war!" There's a peace that won't have to go to war, at least not to big war.

It sounds paradoxical, this warlike peace; but we can see its precedent in history. The Pax Romana and the Pax Britannica never lasted so long from desire for peace, but from desire for international law and order which both Romans and British willingly enforced. The Pax Romana and the Pax Britannica really cry, *pax in bello*, peace in war: peace that skirmishes, patrols in unending vigilance and makes threats of war. They showed us the longest, most benign periods of peace the world has ever seen.

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