Canada & the Korean War
Canada & the Korean War: Overview

PART I
- A glimpse of Korean History
- Early Canadian-Korean Relations (Missionaries)
- Japanese Colonial Era
- Dr. Schofield & March 1st movement
- The Cairo Declaration 1943
- Japan’s Defeat & End of WWII
- Korean Independence
- 45-47: division of Korea
- United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea & Canada
- “Fall of China” 1949

PART II
- Outbreak of the Korean War
- Immediate responses
- Historiography on the Korean War
- Nature & Causes of Canadian involvement in the Korean War
- Commemorating the Korean War
- Lessons of the Korean War for Canadian foreign policy
- Since the Korean War: Evolution of Canadian-Korean relations
- RECAP & EXAM PREP
- Guest presentation: Jean Riley
Korea: “a country where people wore funny hats...” – Brooke Claxton (1950)
Some questions to explore… EXAM*

1. The Korean War & the Cold War: WHY/HOW
2. Why did Canada get involved in the Korean War?
3. How significant was the Canadian involvement in the Korean War?
4. How did the Korean War transform:
   a) Canada’s approach towards the Cold War;
   b) Canadian-Korean relations in the years to come?
PART I: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

- Korean history
  2000 B.C. ->
- Three Kingdoms
- Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910)
- Geo-strategically: Powerful neighbours
Time travel to Korea >>>

- 15th century: **King Sejong**'s reforms & invention of **Hangul** (Korean alphabet)
- Korea remained as a **Hermit Kingdom**
- 16-19th centuries: frequent invasions
- Rise of Japanese empire & Japan's colonial rule (1910-1945)
- Division of Korea (1945-48)
- Korean War 1950-53

King Sejong the Great (1418-1450)

A famous painting of Korean wrestling from the Joseon Dynasty Era by **Kim, Heung-Do** (late 18th century)
CAN-KOR Relations: Early beginnings

- First Canadian to arrive on the shores of Busan: James S. Gale (1888) sent from YMCA @ U of T
- Building schools & hospitals, teaching English, translating the Bible, dictionary, books
- “human bridges” & positive cultural interactions
Japanese Colonial Rule (1910-1945)

First began as a protectorate through the Japan–Korea Treaty of 1905 (Russo-Japanese War), and then officially annexed in the Annexation Treaty of 1910.

For the first ten years Japan ruled directly through the military, and any Korean dissent was ruthlessly crushed.

Rhetoric of “anti-colonialism” against Western imperialism & rapid expansion.

Forced to abandon language, live in Japanese-style homes, dress in Japanese clothing and to reorganize their lifestyle according to Japanese customs.

Absolutely no freedom of speech, association/press & economic subjugation.

Korean women taken as hostages for Japanese military & oppressive rule.
Dr. Schofield & Independence Movement in Korea

- Dr. Frank William Schofield (1889-1970)
- Educated @ U of T
- Taught at Ontario Veterinary College
- 1916: arrival in Korea w/ his wife as Presbyterian missionaries
- March 1, 1919: Schofield was actively involved with the Independence Movement; later taught @Seoul National University
- Only foreigner buried in the National Independence cemetery in Korea
Cairo Declaration 1943

- Nov 1943 @ Cairo (near the Giza Pyramids)
- Joint Declaration from the US (Roosevelt), Great Britain (Churchill) & Rep of China (Chiang Kai-Shek)
- Outlined Allied position against Japan & general discussions about post-War Asia
- Stalin did not attend because of Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact 1941
- “Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed. In due course Korea shall become free and independent...”
- The Cairo Communiqué was broadcast through radio on December 1, 1943
- Cited in Clause Eight (8) of the Potsdam Declaration (Japanese Instrument of Surrender)
Aug 15th 1945: Japan’s Surrender

- Japanese Instrument of Surrender (acceptance of the Potsdam Agreement)
- signing took place on the deck of USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay
- Japanese Emperor Hirohito’s radio address “Imperial Rescript on the Termination of the War” was broadcast throughout Japan/colonies
- “The authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the State shall be subject to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, who will take such steps as he deems proper to effectuate these terms of surrender.”
- Immediate end to the WWII -> implications for Japanese colonies in Asia

Japanese Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu signing the Instrument of Surrender on behalf of the Japanese Government, formally ending World War II
Korea Liberated
Division of two Koreas

- **General Order No. 1** for the surrender of Japan, was prepared by the **Joint Chiefs of Staff of U.S. military forces** and approved by President Harry Truman on 17 August 1945.

- Instructed Japanese forces to surrender to designated Allied commanders completely.

- **Division of Korea at the 38th Parallel** in that Japanese forces surrendered to USSR/US.

- Each occupying power promoted its own system & two Koreas became more polarized.
UN Temporary Commission on Korea 1948

- Occupation = expensive & politically troublesome; US wanted to withdraw
- Seemed impossible to organize a stable government in the South and equally impossible to come to an agreement with a Soviet-sponsored Communist regime in the North
- To reduce costs, the U.S. turned to the UN to supervise elections and wanted a Canadian delegation on the UNTCOK => official beginning of our involvement
- Soviets in North Korea refused to recognize the commission & obstructed
- Canadian rep, Dr. George Patterson: elections must be in both Koreas; US wanted to go ahead with South Korea
- South Korea organized as a state at the end with Syngman Rhee as the first president of the Rep. of Korea
“The Fall of China” 1949

- Mao Zedong’s Communist forces drove out Chiang Kai-Shek to the offshore province of Formosa (Taiwan)
- Mao proclaimed the PRC in Oct 1949.
- Upsets Americans who hoped that Chiang could serve as a buffer to communism and had strong political/economic links to China
- Fear of communist take-over inspires the idea of McCarthyism in the US
- UK & India recognizes Mao’s China, but the US & Canada refuse to do so (UN seat occupied by Nationalists & Soviets boycott UNSC for 8 months)
- Mao-Kim Il Sung –Stalin relationship
PART II: The Korean War (1950-1953)
Outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950 EXAM*

- North & South Korea already divided on the 38th parallel; each side interested in uniting the country
- North Korea invades early morning on June 25
- Tactical surprise, outgunning & outclassing
- “If the best minds in the world had set out to find us the worst possible location to fight this damnable war politically and militarily, the unanimous choice would have been Korea.” – U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson
The American attitude & approach

- Test of maintaining the **credibility** of the US and Truman’s credibility at home (a “serious blow to the American prestige in Asia”)
- The **Munich syndrome** & “lessons learned” that appeasement could lead to further acts of aggression
- “All eyes on America” >> Time to show “**firmness**” (potential for the **domino effect**)
- Acheson: “As long as Sovs can utilize their satellites or stooges to take aggressive action without serious danger of becoming involved themselves, they will be likely to employ this device with increasing boldness.”

- **NSC-68** (April 1950): Top secret American strategy centered around the idea of containment & vertical flexibility of military power >> The Korean War verified the assumptions of NSC-68.
Ottawa’s reaction to the Korean War

- Hot summer day in Ottawa – summer vacation!
- Prime Minister St. Laurent away in Quebec; Acting Under-Secretary Reid & Secretary of State Pearson at their cottages in Gatineau Hills (neither cottage had a phone)
- Mary Macdonald, Pearson’s secretary, heard the news on radio and met up with Reid in the middle of the lake where he was rowing with his son; Macdonald then drove out to Pearson to tell the news; Pearson then went to a nearest payphone to call PM St. Laurent
- Cabinet meeting on June 26th: 3 destroyers to Korea
UN Declares Reds Guilty

**WAR IN KOREA**

U.S. Rushes Arms Aid, Truman, Chiefs Confer

**International Peace Threatened by Outbreak In Korea, UN Warning**

New York Times Special to The Globe and Mail. Copyright Lake Success, June 25 — The United Nations Commission in Korea warned today that the fighting in the country was assuming the character of full-scale war and might endanger international peace and security.

In a cabled report to Secretary-General Trygve Lie, the seven-member commission gave details of the fighting but said that there had been no confirmation of the report that the Communist Government of North Korea had actually declared war.

The commission, boycotted by the Soviet bloc in the United Nations and by the North Korean Government, quoted Southern Korean authorities as saying this picture of events:

At 4 a.m. today, Korea time, attacks in strength were launched by North Korean forces all along planes strafed civilian and military air fields outside Seoul. Planes, gas tanks and jeeps were destroyed by the attackers. The commission said that the Communist radi0 at Pyongyang had reported that South Korean forces had begun the attack during the night. These reports, said the commission, were declared entirely false by the president and foreign minister of South Korea when they met with commission members.

The text of the communique from the commission, received here at 10:30 a.m. today, follows:

Government of Republic of Korea states that about 04:00 hours, 25 June, attacks were launched in strength by North Korean forces all along the 38th parallel. Major points of attack have included Ongjin Peninsula, KAESONG area and Chunchon and east coast, where scaborned landings have been reported north and south of Kang-
UN Action in Korea

- North Korea’s attack was seen as a test for the legitimacy of the United Nations & American credibility as a leader of the “free world”
- UN Security Council Resolution (82) condemned North Korea’s aggression and demanded its withdrawal from the South (Soviets boycotting UNSC)
- UN appointed Douglas MacArthur (Former Supreme Allied Commander in Japan) to head the war against North Korea & Unified UN command established to repel the attack of North Koreans and restore peace
- Difficult first two months, Americans forced back to the port of Busan >> Americans called for help from allies
- St. Laurent government called for volunteer troops: first units landed in Korea on Dec 18, 1950 -> put to action by Feb 1951
- MacArthur’s landing behind the North Korean lines at Inchon >> North Koreans crumbled & the UN troops made a northward movement to the 38th parallel >> raised alarm bells for the Chinese & the Chinese fought back >> MacArthur wanted to expand the war (Canadians disagreed)
Countries on South Korean side during Korean War (63)

- Troop commitment: 16 countries
- Medical support: 5 countries
- Supply/Logistics: 39 countries
- Supply/Logistics announcement: 3 countries

[source: Embassy of the ROK in Canada]
# The Korean War & Overview of Contributing Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Comfort / Casualties</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>1,789,000 / 36,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>56,000 / 1,078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Canada</strong></td>
<td><strong>27,000 / 516</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>14,900 / 741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>8,400 / 339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippine</td>
<td>7,400 / 112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>6,300 / 129</td>
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<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>5,300 / 120</td>
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<td>5,100 / 163</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>3,400 / 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Africa</td>
<td>800 / 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxemburg</td>
<td>83 / 2</td>
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Figures: Canada & the Korean War

Over 27,000+ volunteers from English-Canada & French-Canada

- Army: 21,000
- Navy: 3,600 (8 Naval Ships)
- Air Force: 2,000 (426 Air Transport SQ)
  * 22 Canadian fighter pilots flown in USAF
“Diplomacy of constraint”

Believed that it was important to limit American expansion in the Korean War and maintain Canada’s commitment to the greater Cold War (European outlook)

April 10th 1951: Pearson angry over MacArthur’s expansion plans and gave a famous speech “...days of easy and automatic relations were over”

Truman fired MacArthur on April 11th (already planned) and after years of conflict & negotiations, an armistice was signed on July 27, 1953 >> temporary end to the Korean War
Canada & the Korean War

“We have started something very important, the importance of which is very much broader than Korea. We think that by this precedent, we have begun the establishment of the United Nations forces, not only for Korea but elsewhere.”

- Lester B. Pearson
The division endures...
Significance of the Korean War

- The first armed test of the rivalry between the East and the West in the Cold War (*CREDIBILITY*)
- The first test of American leadership of the Western alliance & the legitimacy of the UN
- First test of alliance relations between Canada and the US ("diplomacy of constraint")
- Signal for a change in the direction of Canadian domestic policy (rearmament & maintenance of a large peacetime military)
- Firmly sets Canada’s position during the Cold War in the minds of the public ("red menace")
The Korean War: Historiography

ORTHODOX

KOREA: the limited war
DAVID REES

REVISIONIST

THE ORIGINS OF THE KOREAN WAR
BRUCE CUMINGS
Volume II
The Roaring of the Coreact 1947-1950

POST-REVISIONIST

THE KOREAN WAR
An International History
WILLIAM STUECK
The Limits of Constraint: Canadian-American Relations and the Korean War, 1950-51

Prince, Robert S., Journal of Canadian Studies

Based on new research from documents in the National Archives of Canada and in the Foreign Relations of the United States series, this paper re-examines some of the key issues of Canadian-American diplomacy during the first seven months of the Korean War. Canadian foreign policy-makers faced several difficult decisions during that period. As Denis Stairs has observed, Canada wanted to restrict American actions in Korea; yet at the same time, Canada was itself constrained by the need to preserve unity among the Western allies, by the desire to safeguard Canadian influence in Washington for more vital issues, and by the shared Cold War assumptions which dominated both Canadian and American perceptions of events in Korea.
“Lessons Learned” from Canadian participation in the Korean War
Lesson #1: Balancing our strategic priorities with the United States

▶ “Diplomacy of Constraint” – Denis Stairs

▶ “We have made it absolutely clear in Washington that if Canada is to help, it must be to help the United Nations.”
  – Lester B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs
Lesson #2: Fulfilling our responsibility

- 1947 “Gray Lecture” by Louis St. Laurent
  - Laid down the key pillars of postwar Canadian internationalism & set Canada’s Cold War policy for the next fifty years
  1) National Unity
  2) Political Liberty
  3) Rule of Law
  4) Supporting our core values in IR
  5) Accepting international responsibility
Lesson #3: Upholding national unity

- Instead of forced conscription, volunteer forces made up the Canadian contribution to the Korean War, with nearly 1/3 from French-Canada.
- Fear of the Soviet Union & communism
- Supporting our allies
- Doing our share in IR
Lesson #4: Strengthening Canada’s defence capabilities

- The Korean War galvanized Canada’s military spending and its defence industry.
- Canada’s total defence budget in 1947: $196 million
- Canada’s total defence budget in 1953: $2 billion (7.6% of its GNP)
- Total armed forces: 35,000 in 1947 to over 100,000 by 1953
Lesson #5: Successful multilateral engagement can set the foundations for future cooperation

- St. Laurent told Canadians that the UN action in Korea was a “police action intended to prevent war by discouraging aggression.” (Aug 1950)
- Canada’s obligation under the UN Charter & NATO
- UN Mandate “...furnish immediate assistance to the Republic of Korea as necessary to repel the armed attack and restore international peace & security.”
The “Forgotten War”? 

➢ Took a long time for the Canadian government to recognize the veterans
➢ Initially perceived as a “police action”
➢ Vietnam War & other events in the Cold War overshadowed the Korean War
➢ Recent efforts to recognize the Korean War veterans
CAN-KOR Relations: The Korean War

- Commemorations the 60th anniversary of the Korean War
- 2013: Year of the Korean War Veteran & Year of Korea in Canada
- Of some 27,000 Canadian soldiers who fought in the Korean War, 516 of them sacrificed their lives on duty.
- Bill-213, “Korean War Veterans Day Act,” by MP Blaine Calkins & Senator Yonah Martin, which designates July 27 every year as a national day of recognition for the Korean War Veterans.
Remembering the Korean War
Canada & The Korean War

[Oct 25, 2015] Senator Yonah Martin and His Worship John Becker, Mayor of Pitt Meadows, unveiled a Memorial Stone commemorating the Korean War. The stone is dedicated to all those who served and sacrificed their lives in the Korean War.

Korean War navy veteran E. Bruce Udle, 84, makes sure his poppy is on properly as he waits for ceremonies to begin at the National War Memorial in Ottawa.
Embassy of the ROK: Imjin Hockey Classic

- On **September 26, 2015**, Korean and Canadian flags were raised side-by-side at the Canadian Tire Centre Hockey Arena in Ottawa.
- Around 1,200 spectators were on hand to witness a historic hockey match, the **Imjin Hockey Classic**, between two hockey rivals: the PPCLI (Princess Patricia’s Canadian Light Infantry) and the Royal 22nd Regiment (R22R) of the Canadian Armed Forces.
Canadian-Korean community
CAN-KOR today: Politics & Defence

- High-level visits, Agreements & MOUs
- Canada-Korea Inter-parliamentary Friendship Group
- Canada-Korea Dialogue Series on the Hill
- Canada-Korea Forum (Track 1.5 annual policy meeting)
- UN Command Military Armistice Commission
- Military training exchange program & Exercise Maple Flag
- Key Resolve exercise & Ulchi Freedom Exercise
- Defence procurement & Naval co-operations
- Korean War Veteran efforts
South Korea Today: Economic Highlights

- World’s 12th largest economy
- GDP: $1.1 trillion
- Focus on innovation & creativity
- Annual growth at 4%
- Real GDP growth rate: 2.7%
- FTA with the US, EU, Australia
- Top export partners: China (24.4%), US (10.1%), Japan (7.1%)
- Total exports: $553 billion/Total imports: $514.2 billion
- Highly educated workforce, strong infrastructure and efficient corporate governance
CAN-KOR economic relations today

- Merchandise imports from Canada: $3713.08 million CAD
- Canadian direct investment: $569 million CAD
- Main imports: oil & gas, machinery, equipment
- Canada’s 7th largest merchandise trading partner
- Key industries for Canada: agriculture, construction, mining/metals, oil/gas, power, telecommunications
The Canada-Korea Free Trade Agreement is projected to increase exports by 32% and boost the Canadian economy by $1.7 billion annually.
Future Prospects for Cooperation between Canada & South Korea

- CKFTA & strategic implications
- Defence Procurement
- Military cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region (UNPKO)
- Humanitarian aid & disaster relief/development projects
- “Smart power” diplomacy
- Cyber security
- Arctic security
Understanding Canada’s participation

- Historical foundations: missionary ties & the UN Temporary Commission on Korea
- Public’s attitude on the Cold War
- “Red menace” & post-Gouzenko fear
- Supporting our ally, the United States
- Defending legitimacy & relevance of the United Nations = important
- Galvanized the defense industry & Impact on the domestic economy
- St. Laurent’s Gray Lecture: fulfilling our responsibility
Canada & the Korean War: RECAP & EXAM PREP

Key terms: Cairo Declaration, General Order No.1, UNTCOK, NSC-68, Domino effect, containment, diplomacy of constraint, St.Laurent, Pearson

Korean War as a turning point in Canadian-Korean relations, the Cold War, and CA-US relations

Collective security through the lens of international communist menace & UN-authorized military involvement

The war necessitated close collaboration with the US

Emergence of Canada as a true “middle power”?

Next class: The Dissolving Commonwealth
Meet Jean Riley...