## Causes of the Korean War - I

# A - The Cold War

## Origins of the Cold War

- 1. WWII: USA & USSR were allies vs Nazi Germany, but ≠ friends.
  - USA = Capitalist (free market, individual profit); USSR = Communist (state econ control, individual duty).
  - USA = political freedom; USSR = political control.
  - USA wanted Democracy & trade partners inc. Germany; USSR wanted world communist revolution + East Europe buffer states + destroy Germany.
- 2. Cold War followed WWII:
  - Stalin-backed coups in E. Europe; 1948–49: Stalin blockaded W. Berlin.
  - In Asia, communist demonstrations & revolutions → CHINA became communist, 1949.

#### Two Standpoints

#### **USA saw USSR as aggressor:**

- 1. 1947: 'Truman Doctrine' → 'CONTAINMENT' policy; Congress gave \$17b Marshall Aid to support democracy.
- 2. Acheson: Communism = the rotten apple which will ruin the whole barrel.
- 3. April 1950: NSC-68 report said containment ≠ enough → USA must 'roll back' Communism.
- 4. US anti-communism ↑ after 1948:
  - 'PUMPKIN Papers' showed Alger Hiss (top US official, UN founder) = Soviet spy.
  - HUAC launched → started w. 1947 'Hollywood Ten'.
  - Govt loyalty checks began; 425 employees sacked by Truman : homosexual (seen as blackmail risk).

#### **USSR saw USA as aggressor:**

- 1. Stalin took Churchill's 1946 'Iron Curtain' speech as war threat, saw Marshall Aid = US econ blackmail, accused USA of Empire-building.
- 2. USSR only got Atomic bomb in 1949; still behind in nukes until 1960s → USSR options limited.

## B - The USA and the USSR in Korea

## Background:

- 1943 CAIRO Conference = Allies said Korea would become free & indep.
- 10 Aug 1945: USSR entered Korea; USSR & USA agreed to divide Korea at 38th parallel → North = Soviet occupation, South = US occupation.
- 1945–50 = plan for 5-year TRUSTEESHIP.
- 1946–47: US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION failed to agree unification plan.

#### The USSR

- 1. 10 Aug 1945: Soviet army entered N. Korea.
  - Local 'People's Committees' already running areas → became basis for govt.
  - USSR brought 67 Korean officers from USSR incl KIM IL SUNG → made DPRK leader.
  - (though nb Cumings: Soviet control ≈ limited to Pyongyang.)
  - Stalin gave Kim Soviet weapons left in Korea/Manchuria; USSR advisers trained NKPA.
  - But 1949: Stalin told Kim USSR would not back invasion of South.

#### The USA

- 1. 8 Sept 1945: US forces entered S. Korea.
  - Warned about Communists by Japan → USA dropped leaflets telling Koreans to obey Japan 'til US arrived.
  - Even after arrival, Japanese kept guarding assets in US armbands (= unpopular).
- 2. Found 'People's Committees' running govt + 'People's Republic of Korea' in Seoul → USA banned them, set up US military govt using old Japanese systems (= unpopular).
- 3. US govt = failure:
  - Japanese had run everything → US soldiers (≠ trained, ≠ qualified, ≠ Korean-speaking) ran govt.
  - Befriended right-wing, Christian, English-speakers.
  - US soldiers abused locals, looted, drank, assaulted, harassed women.
  - 1946 poll: almost half S. Koreans preferred Japanese rule.
- 4. US flew in SYNGMAN RHEE (Christian Korean nationalist in USA since 1925) → made S. Korea's President.
- 5. Widespread hatred of US occupation:
  - 1946: DAEGU uprising after police fired on strike → US army crushed revolt → 611 dead, 2,609 arrested.
- 6. 1949: US troops withdrew but left ROK \$110m in weapons no tanks or planes, ∵ USA feared Rhee would invade North → global war risk.

# Causes of the Korean War - II

# **Timeline**

10 Aug 1945	USA & USSR agree to split Korea at 38th parallel.
Sept 1945	• USA sets up Military Govt in South Korea/ Syngman Rhee (right-wing nationalist)
	flown in → future South Korean leader
	USSR installs Kim Il Sung (communist nationalist) as North Korean leader.
Dec 1945	USA & USSR agree to 5-year 'trusteeship' of their zones.
Oct 1946	Anti-US uprising in Daegu, South Korea.
1946–47	US-USSR Joint Commission fails to agree unification plan.
Mar 1947	Truman Doctrine = 'containment' of communism.
Nov 1947	<ul> <li>USA takes Korean issue to UN → UN creates UN Commission on Korea (UNCOK).</li> </ul>
May 1948	Rhee 'elected' South Korean President in sham vote. He uses brutal forces (eg HYANGBODAN) to crush opposition.
Apr 1948–May 1949	Anti-Rhee uprisings in JEJU & Yeosu-Suncheon crushed violently.
Mar 1949	<ul> <li>Kim II Sung asks Stalin to back invasion of South Korea → told to wait (risk of NUCLEAR war).</li> </ul>
May-Aug 1949	ROK Army invades North Korea. Gen Kim SOK-WON tells UN to support plan to conquer North Korea.
June 1949	US Army leaves South Korea, but leaves \$110m kit + 500 KMAG advisers (no tanks/planes).
Aug 1949	<ul> <li>USSR gets atomic bomb → ends US nuclear dominance of arms race.</li> </ul>
Sep 1949	<ul> <li>Kim asks Stalin again to back invasion → Stalin refuses again, but sends tanks, artillery, planes.</li> </ul>
Oct 1949	Mao conquers China/ 30k communist Korean GUERRILLAS (who fought w. Mao) return to North Korea.
1949–50	• Rhee & Gen MacArthur discuss conquering North Korea/ ROK Army = 114k men; NKPA = 150k men.
12 Jan 1950	US Sec of State Dean ACHESON says Korea is NOT part of US Far East SECURITY CORDON.
April 1950	Stalin agrees to invasion. Soviet Gen ANTONOV writes war plan. North Korean troops start moving into position.
May 1950	Rhee loses election → South Korean govt in chaos
	Kim visits MAO ZEDONG → gets Chinese support.
19 June 1950	<ul> <li>US ambassador John Foster DULLES visits South Korea → promises support, tours DMZ w. ROK leaders.</li> </ul>
25 June 1950	NKPA invades South Korea.

# WHY did Stalin change his mind in April 1950?

- 1. Aug 1949: USSR gets atomic bomb  $\rightarrow$  ends US nuclear dominance of arms race.
- 2. Oct 1949: China goes communist  $\rightarrow$  shifts power in Asia.
- 3. Jan 1950: Acheson says Korea = outside US defence zone → Stalin thinks USA ≠ react w. nuclear war.
- 4. Terentii SHTYKOV (Soviet ambassador & military adviser to North Korea) strongly backed Kim.
- 5. Jan 1950: Shtykov warns Stalin if USSR says no, Kim may go to China instead  $\rightarrow$  Stalin fears losing influence.

# The North Korean Invasion

# **Sunday 25 June 1950**

- 4:00am NKPA launched *Operation POKPUNG*, a full-scale invasion of South Korea, catching the ROK Army by surprise; most units not in position or on weekend leave.
- ROK weapons and suicide attacks failed against T-34 tanks.
- NKPA pushed south towards strategic location of Uijongbu.

# Monday 26 June 1950

- ROK Gen. 'FATTY' Chae demanded pincer attack on NKPA army, even though General Yu's 7th Division and Gen. Lee's 2nd Division were not ready → the NKPA overran Lee and Yu was forced to retreat.
- → UIJONGBU fell, leaving the way open to Seoul.

# Tuesday 27 June 1950

- US ordered evacuation of EMBASSY; 2,000 staff evacuated under air cover; supplies and sensitive employee records left behind.
- Mass civilian and military flight across Han River.
- NKPA reached Seoul by 7:30pm; Communist SLEEPER guerrilla units activated.
- ROK leadership fled south without informing troops.
- Vice-Minister of Defence ordered destruction of Han River bridge.

# Wednesday 28 June 1950

- 2:15am Han River BRIDGE blown without warning; c.1,000 civilians killed.
- $\rightarrow$  44,000 ROK troops trapped north of river; most killed or disappeared.
- Seoul fell; in 3 days, ROK Army had lost 80% of its men and 70% of its equipment.
- Fehrenbach: "It had not been defeated ... it had been DESTROYED."

# The USA Enters the War

# **CAUSES**

### 1. Cold War context: an Existential Threat

- 1950 = v soon after WWII → West feared global comm takeover.
- Communist scare in the US.
- US saw invasion as USSR plot → Korea = frontline in survival of democratic world.

# 2. Cultural psychology: slaughter or be slaughtered

- 1950s = physically aggressive society (eg executions).
- Films showed heroic violence vs faceless enemies → war seen as righteous.

#### 3. North Korea atrocities

North Korea repressive, brutal tactics (eg: July 1950 – killed c.5,000 in TAEJON (govt staff, police, civilians).

## 4. US interests

- Jan 1950: Acheson had said Korea outside US defence zone → now reversed this view.
  - Saw Korea as vital to Jap's safety + a matter of PRESTIGE.
  - If US did nothing → allies lose faith, comm expands in far east.
  - Korea also important to US commercial empire (no colonies but key TRADE routes).

#### 5. Racism

• Many US attitudes to Asians = racist (lazy, sly, cruel). US saw itself as civilising "primitive peoples".

#### 6. MacArthur's military assessment → political decision

- 27 June: MacArthur visited Korea → restructured ROK command, ordered US bombing of NKPA airfields.
- Saw ROK collapse → told US gov to send ground troops immediately.

## 7. 'Any means necessary' – How did the UN come to back war vs North Korea?

- UN Sec-Gen TRYGVE LIE (Norwegian) sympathised w. South Korea (: Norway's WWII exp).
- UN had taken responsibility for Korea (Nov 1947).
- 27 June: UN Security Council passed RESOLUTION 83 = members should help South Korea restore peace.
- USSR was BOYCOTTING UN (re Communist China issue) → couldn't veto Res 83.
- US pressure: wrote Res 83 + Truman pushed it hard.
- Support for US in UN: many UN states feared comm, trusted USA as defender of democracy.
- **Nov**: Gen Assembly passed RESOLUTION 377 to act if Security Council deadlocked → passed 52–5.
- US forces were fighting from Day 2 UN gave 'MORAL CLOAK' to avoid blame for risking world war.

### THE NKPA ADVANCE INTO SOUTH KOREA

- US troops arrived arrogant, thinking NKPA would flee at sight of US uniform.
- NKPA paused at Seoul, then resumed advance. No ROK forces left to resist.
- 5 July Task Force Smith at OSAN: US forces couldn't stop NKPA tanks/ briefly slowed NKPA but then fled.
- 6 July Battle of PYONGTAEK:
  - US 34th Infantry = under-equipped, no anti-tank, no radios, v inexperienced.
  - Command failures + panic → mass retreat, some soldiers froze + were shot.
- 16-20 July Battle of TAEJON:
  - US 24th Division: 3,602 killed/wounded + 2,962 captured (incl commander).
  - US kept setting up lines → quickly collapsed.
- August: Recovery:
  - More troops + tanks + anti-tank weapons + supplies arrived from Japan.
  - USAF bombed bridges, depots, roads to disrupt NKPA supplies.
  - US formed defensive line at Natkong River (perimeter around port of PUSAN).
  - NKPA = exhausted → paused.
- Sept: NKPA regrouped + renewed attack → US driven back again.

# **China Enters the War**

## THE NKPA ARE DEFEATED

- Sep 1950: US amphibious force left Pusan, landed INCHON "strategically brilliant" but risky. USSR had warned Kim re danger, but he focussed on Pusan.
- 10 Sep: USAF used napalm to clear path.
- 15 Sep: US troops landed, took Seoul airfield; by 22 Sep, 6,600 vehicles, 25k tons fuel & 54k troops flown in.
- 28 Sep: Seoul liberated; US pushed inland.
- Simultaneously, US 8th Army broke out from Pusan → NKPA trapped. USSR & China urged Kim to retreat too late → Gen. Walker: "Pursue & DESTROY".
- NKPA officer Pak Ki-song later claimed retreat was a trap most historians disagree: NKPA disintegrated.
- NKPA losses: 135k POWs, 200k casualties, all tanks & heavy weapons, whole supply trains. Survivors regrouped near Pyongyang = only 30k.

#### WHY did the UN defeat the NKPA?

- 1. UN = 385k troops, 5× tanks, better artillery, full air/sea control (270 ships); USAF flattened Inchon.
- 2. Inchon only defended by 2k poorly-trained troops. Kim had ignored USSR advice to mine harbour.
- 3. Bruce Cumings: Inchon success = due to Admiral Arthur STRUBLE organising landing.
- 4. Kim had focused all 98k troops at Pusan  $\rightarrow$  Inchon flanked NKPA.
- 5. NKPA expected 50-day op; by Sep = exhausted, hungry (USAF cut supplies).

## THE UN INVADES NORTH KOREA

- By end-Sep, Rhee restored as South Korean President; UN troops reached 38th Parallel.
- 1 Oct: MacArthur demanded NKPA surrender.
- 7 Oct: UN Resolution 376 = authorised "ALL APPROPRIATE STEPS" → 9 Oct: MacArthur invaded North Korea.
- Truman wanted to stop at 38th Parallel (feared China entering), but others saw chance to roll back communism.
- 15 Oct: Truman met MacArthur (WAKE Island). MacArthur claimed China wouldn't intervene. Truman reassured.
- 19 Oct: US 8th Army took Pyongyang.
- 24 Oct: ROK 6th Div reached Yalu (China border); US & Australian forces close behind.

#### WHY did the UN invade North Korea?

- 1. To destroy NKPA military capacity in North Korea
- 2. NKPA appeared defeated; no resistance.
- 3. US policy shift: NSC68 (Apr 1950; containment) → NSC81 (Sep: rollback). Truman happy for MacArthur to invade if China stayed out.
- 4. MacArthur (v. influential) insisted China wouldn't intervene.
- 5. Many Americans wanted revenge for deaths & atrocities status quo was not enough.
- 6. UN agreed: aim = reunify Korea  $\rightarrow$  Resolution 376.
- 7. Syngman RHEE pushed hard for full unification; ROK forces led advance.

#### THE CHINESE CAMPAIGNS - I

- MacArthur promised victory by Xmas.
- Planned 'PINCER' invasion: ROK + X Corps (east), 8th Army (west), mountains between = no comms.
- Progress = easy; media reported success. Recon saw no sign of Chinese forces.
- In reality, PVA had begun crossing Yalu on 13 Oct.
- Mao had decided to act by Aug; 1 Sep warned he'd not accept North Korean invasion.

#### WHY did the Chinese intervene?

- 1. PRC = fanatical communists, fresh from 20 years of civil war, wanted to extend rev.
- 2. Also proud nationalists, wanted revenge for past imperialist humiliations.
- 3. Called forces 'People's VOLUNTEERS' to avoid direct war w. US.
- 4. North Korea begged China for help after 15 Sep.
- 5. Mao: felt a moral duty to help Korean allies "who have stood on our side".
- 6. Mao feared US/Rhee-led Korea on China's border.
- 7. Helping North Korea would ↑ China's PRESTIGE in communist bloc.
- By 19 Oct: 200k Chinese troops hidden in mountains.
- 25 Oct: launched FIRST PHASE OFFENSIVE hit UN west advance hard, then vanished.
- UN regrouped, resumed push north in late Nov.
- By then, PVA = 380k.
- 25 Nov: Second Phase Offensive drove UN back in -22°C temps.
- Followed by 3rd, 4th, 5th offensives.
- Seoul fell 4 Jan 1951; by end Jan, PVA controlled ¾ of Korea.
- US = shocked. MacArthur considered nuking North Korean supply routes.

## WHY were the Chinese able to drive back the UN troops?

- 1. MacArthur = overconfident; ignored frontline warnings.
- 2. UN forces = over-stretched, stuck on narrow roads; no link between east & west prongs.
- 3. Chinese tricked UN into over-advancing, then ambushed.
- 4. UN recon missed build-up: PVA moved at night, hid by day. Troops deliberately misinformed → gave inconsistent info when captured → US intelligence wrongly concluded no Chinese Army present.
- 5. PVA = veteran guerrillas, tough, disciplined, led by trained officers.
- 6. No heavy kit light infantry using surprise night attacks, bugles, terrifying 'HUMAN WAVE' charges.
- 7. I close combat used classic trap: let US advance into 'V', then close behind  $\rightarrow$  panic & retreat.
- 8. Weather helped PVA US gear froze, Chinese used to harsh winters.

## The End of the War

## THE UN INVADES NORTH KOREA ... AGAIN

Feb–Mar 1951: 8th Army launched Operations Thunderbolt, Killer, Ripper, Courageous, Tomahawk → pushed PVA back to 38th Parallel.

Apr 1951: Operation Rugged crossed Parallel, reaching 'Kansas Line' (5 miles into North Korea). Operation DAUNTLESS pushed to 'WYOMING Line' (20 miles in).

#### WHY did UN Command invade North Korea a second time?

- 1. PVA/NKPA were retreating  $\rightarrow$  aim = push them back as far as possible.
- 2. Strategic reasons: 38th Parallel = undefendable; Wyoming Line = stronger ground.
- 3. Wanted to threaten IRON TRIANGLE (key flatland east of Pyongyang).
- 4. Ceasefire talks had begun  $\rightarrow$  aim = gain best position before politicians halted war.
- 5. MacArthur disagreed w. Truman, esp. over nukes & escalation.

#### WHY did Truman sack MacArthur?

- 1. He had been forced to meet MacArthur at Wake Island (seen as a huge insult).
- 2. MacArthur kept making PUBLIC STATEMENTS opposing official policy (in defiance of orders).
- 3. MacArthur wanted to use nuclear weapons.
- 4. His 2nd invasion broke clear instructions to avoid provoking China.

On 11 APRIL 1951: Truman sacked MacArthur.

### **STALEMATE**

**1951 fighting** = disaster for both sides:

- Apr–May: Chinese Fifth Phase Offensive failed → est. 100k PVA losses.
- UN's Sept offensive incl. 'Bloody Ridge' & 'HEARTBREAK Ridge' = equally costly.

# $\rightarrow$ war of attrition:

- Mostly night raids. Front stayed static.
- 1/3 of all US losses came during this period.
- PVA tactics = swarm UN positions, then fight to death as UN retook them.
- Avg 24k shells/day fired onto UN lines; in attacks, up to 1k in 10 mins.
- Eg: White Horse Hill changed hands 24× in 10 days (6–15 Oct 1952).
- PORK CHOP Hill (July 1953) = 1.5k UN vs 5.5k Chinese casualties in 6 days, incl. hand-to-hand fighting.

#### Air war:

- USAF bombed North Korea so heavily they reported no targets left.
- USSR sent MiG jets & pilots (disguised as Chinese).
- Huge air losses: Soviets/PVA 3k planes, UN 3.5k.

#### **Behind lines:**

- Communist POWs on KOJE Island (off Pusan) rioted, kidnapped US camp commander = propaganda win.
- → UN could hold South Koreans plains, but not North Korean hills = too costly to retake (WWI-level deaths).
- → US govt told Army losses no longer politically acceptable.
- → UN passed RESOLUTION 384: stopped demanding Chinese withdrawal, seek ceasefire.

#### Peace talks began.

## **ATROCITIES**

By the North Koreans – 1954 US Army report (based on POW accounts) found:

- Many US troops murdered after capture.
- Survivors = beaten, tortured, starved, marched long distances w/o food, water, clothes, shelter or medical care.
- Also humiliated, displayed, or molested.

### By the South Koreans:

• ROK troops may have killed 100k civilians during communist retreat (eg 30k BODO LEAGUE massacred).

## By the US:

- At NO GUN RI (July 1950): US troops & planes killed at least 150 fleeing civilians (mainly women, kids, old men).
- Saturation BOMBING (eg: Pyongyang = 10k litres napalm + 697 tons bombs dropped → 8k deaths.)

# **Ceasefire and Aftermath**

## Ceasefire

#### WHY did USA seek Ceasefire?

- 1. To push NKPA off hills would = WWI-level deaths.
- 2. Policy had shifted: rollback  $\rightarrow$  containment (Wyoming Line)  $\rightarrow$  war couldn't be won.
- 3. MacArthur sacked → no more total victory aims.
- 4. Govt + public wanted end to casualties.
- 5. To recover US POWs + remove 135k enemy POWs.
- 6. War cost \$bns esp. due to artillery use.
- 7. USA's full military capacity was tied up but threats in Europe, Indochina, Persia were growing.
- 8. UN/world opinion had turned: wanted peace not unification.
- 9. EISENHOWER (elected Nov 1952) had promised quick end to war.

## WHY did China agree to Ceasefire?

- 1. US had battlefield-ready nuclear weapons.
- 2. Eisenhower (Pres. March 1953) rumoured to be willing to use nukes if no deal by summer.
- 3. STALIN died (1 Mar 1953)  $\rightarrow$  USSR disunited  $\rightarrow$  'peaceful coexistence' = support unreliable.
- 4. War = prestige  $\uparrow$  for China, but delaying peace = prestige  $\downarrow$ .
- 5. Army wanted more support, but civil govt wanted to build economy  $\rightarrow$  tensions inside China.
- 6. 400k Chinese military deaths + bad rice harvest (esp. North East).
- 7. UN promised to enforce ceasefire on S. Korea.

## Ceasefire talks

• Talks began at KAESONG (July 1951) but broke down – Communists used talks to buy time to reinforce.

#### The DMZ

- Talks restarted at PANMUNJOM (Oct 1951), but dragged.
- 27 Nov 1951: 4-mile De-Militarised Zone (DMZ) agreed at current front line, but fighting continued.

## The POWs

- Issue = ½ of 135k enemy POWs didn't want repatriation = propaganda defeat for Communists.
- Communists demanded full return, accused US of mistreatment + germ warfare → UN had to disprove.
- Oct 1952: UN said no new offers; talks paused.
- Dec 1952: Red Cross suggested exchange of sick/wounded.
- Feb 1953: Gen. Clark wrote to Kim + Peng → March: Chinese reply agreed to 'LITTLE SWITCH' (April).
- 4 June: agreed to 'Big Switch' → India would handle non-returnees, but 90 days allowed for persuasion.

## **Syngman Rhee**

- Rhee was furious: didn't want to return to pre-war status quo: "never, never, never."
- 18 June: removed ROK troops from UN Command + freed 27k anti-Communist POWs = risked wrecking Ceasefire.
- Eventually, under US pressure, didn't sign but agreed not to block.
- Armistice signed 27 July 1953 = Ceasefire only, no peace. War has never officially ended.

## WHY did Rhee agree not to block the Ceasefire?

- US offered in June 1953: MUTUAL SECURITY Treaty (expand ROK army, US-funded)/ Long-term econ aid/ \$200m + 5k tons food immediately
- 2. Rhee knew S. Korea depended on US couldn't survive or fight on without them : HAD to agree.

# **Aftermath**

#### Cold War → intensified

- 1. War didn't solve USA-USSR tensions (Bruce, 2017).
- 2. It was a 'PROXY WAR' → the way the Cold War was fought (eg Vietnam, Cuba, Afghanistan).
- 3. Cold War  $\rightarrow$  global, not just European.
- 4. Fear of communism grew → US gave \$3bn to help France in Indochina; West Germany rearmed.
- 5. World  $\rightarrow$  2 hostile blocs:
  - US added Greece, Turkey, West Germany to NATO (1955) vs. USSR formed Warsaw Pact (1955)
  - US formed SEATO (1954, w. France, GB, NZ, Australia, Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan) v. communism.
- 6. ARMS RACE → speeded up
  - a. NSC-68 → US military spending grew:
    - Hydrogen bomb (1952)/ Tactical nukes/ ICBMs (1957)/ US had 2k nuclear warheads by 1955/ NATO nuclear bombers in Europe/ NATO bases in Turkey + Greece (joined 1952)
  - b. USSR = hydrogen bomb (1953), Red Army =  $2.8m \rightarrow 5.8m$  (1955)  $\rightarrow$  huge conventional power.

#### US-China hostility → increased

#### 1. USA:

- Communism now seen as global threat → affected whole US foreign policy. PRC = new main enemy.
- US refused to recognise PRC; held Taiwan was 'China' till 1971; used veto to block PRC admission to UN.
- Full trade embargo on China (1950–71).
- Strengthened anti-China alliances: ANZUS (1951)/ SEATO (1954)
- US bases: Japan, Philippines, Taiwan, S. Korea; rearmed Japan; helped France in Indochina; → Vietnam.
- US 7th FLEET sent to Taiwan Strait → military standoff.

#### 2. China:

- War = PRC now a global Cold War power.
- PRC more aggressive vs USA.
- War confirmed Chinese belief that revolution was threatened by global capitalism.
- PRC saw US as new imperialist (like UK/Japan had been).
- US bases = encirclement/siege → all Asian conflicts seen as US plots.
- → Justified arms build-up + backing anti-US movements.
- PRC = defender of weak nations (claimed to have 'saved' N. Korea).
- China saw 'peaceful coexistence' as betrayal → PRC-USSR relations worsened.
- Chinese Communist Party → stronger at home (eg 'RESIST AMERICA, Aid Korea' campaign).

#### United Nations → enhanced

- 1. UN showed it could act collectively to defend peace.
- 2. USSR returned to UN but used veto often → UN General Assembly passed RESOLUTION 377 to be able to overrule Security Council.
- 3. Trygve Lie (UN Sec-Gen) resigned (1953) USSR refused to work w. him; said he favoured US.
- 4. Debate: UN = peacekeeper or US tool for containment? As membership grew, US influence fell.

#### North Korea → destroyed

- 1. Total devastation: almost all cities bombed, >1m killed/missing, 1.5m wounded.
- 2. USSR + China cancelled North Korea's debts + gave aid but much less than US aid to South Korea.
- 3. Communist countries sent aid in kind:
  - Albania: asphalt/Czechoslovakia: buses + engines/ Hungary: tool factory/ E. Germany: phones + engines/ Poland: Pyongyang rail factory/ Bulgaria: wooden tools factory/ Romania: Pyongyang hospital/ USSR: engines, freight, hospital support

#### South Korea → developed

- 1. Massive loss of population (1.2 m killed/missing; 430k wounded)
- 2. UN Command remained to protect  $\rightarrow$  US military bases  $\rightarrow$  an economic boost.
- After the 'April Revolution' (1960) displaced Rhee' corrupt government → an 'economic miracle'.
- 5. NB: mandatory military conscription/ defectors from North Korea.