

UNITED NATIONS TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA

SIXTH INFORMATION REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION**

(Period 21 March - 3 April 1948)

I. GENERAL

1. During the two-week period covered by this report, four plenary meetings of the Commission were held on the following dates:

Twenty-eighth - 30 March 1948

Twenty-ninth - 30 March 1948

Thirtieth - 31 March 1948

Thirty-first - 3 April 1948

2. In accordance with the decision of the Commission at its twenty-sixth meeting, the representative of India succeeded to the Chairmanship on 1 April for a period of fifteen days.

3. The twenty-ninth and final meeting of Sub-Committee 2 was held on 29 March 1948 in view of the Commission's decision at its twenty-seventh meeting that existing Sub-Committees should be merged in a Main Committee on that date***. The Main Committee held its first meeting on 3 April 1948.

II. PLENARY MEETINGS OF THE COMMISSION

Correspondence concerning a request for the postponement of the election date (Twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth meetings)

4. The Commission considered a communication from the Commanding General, United States Army Forces in Korea, to the Chairman in which he stated that it was found necessary to change the election date because of certain technical difficulties, and requested the advice of the Commission as to its attitude toward postponement of the election (Annex 1 C).

5. The National Election Committee had previously requested the assistance of the Commission in changing the election date from 9 May to 24 May 1948 (Annex 1 A). The Chairman of the Commission accordingly drew the Commanding General's attention to this request (Annex 1 B).

* First issued at Seoul as document A/AC.19/63.

** For the last report, see document A/529.

*** See document A/529, Annex 7, paragraph 13.

6. The members of the Commission were divided as to whether the Commission should observe the election at a later date, as requested by General Hodge. However, during the discussion it appeared that the majority was against postponement.

7. At the twenty-ninth meeting, the Chairman presented the text of a draft letter to the Commanding General. The Commission adopted this text, as amended, stating (a) that it was the wish of the Commission that the elections should be held on 9 May 1948 and (b) that a Main Committee would eventually take such new decisions as circumstances would warrant (Annex 1 D). It was further decided to annex to the letter a statement of facts prepared by the Chairman and the Principal Secretary concerning the contents of the communication from the Commanding General.

Suggested items of observation proposed by the ad hoc Sub-Committee and time-table and facilities for observation groups (Thirtieth meeting)

8. The report of the ad hoc Sub-Committee on items of observation proposed for the guidance of observation groups was adopted by the Commission (Annex 2).

9. The time-table and facilities for observation groups was agreed to by the Commission* (See also Annex 3).

10. The Commission adopted the text of a press release to the effect that, in carrying out its observations functions, it must decline all social invitations although it much appreciated the good intentions of welcoming parties.

11. It was also agreed that members of the National Election Committee would not be attached to observation groups, as suggested by that body in a conversation with the Principal Secretary.

Final report of Sub-Committee 2 (Thirtieth meeting)

12. The Commission reviewed the report of Sub-Committee 2 in the light of its Chairman's statement that the work of the Sub-Committee was unfinished and that it would be the task of the Main Committee to continue it.

13. After some discussion, the report, with an amendment in paragraph 13, and its annexes were adopted (Annex 4).

Letter from the Commanding General, United States Army Forces in Korea, concerning postponement of the elections (Thirty-first meeting)

14. The Commission considered a communication dated 2 April 1948, from the Commanding General proposing that the election date be postponed until 10 May 1948 (Annex 1 E). On the basis of the facts, as presented by the Commanding General, the Commission agreed to the proposal submitted (Annex 1F).

* Documents A/528, Annex 4 and A/529, Annex 6a.

III. WORK OF THE SUB-COMMITTEES

Sub-Committee 2

15. Sub-Committee 2 held its twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth meetings during the period covered by this report. The twenty-ninth was the final meeting of the Sub-Committee.

16. The two meetings were devoted principally to a consideration of the draft report (with annexes) of Sub-Committee 2 to the Commission. The draft report as amended was approved by the Sub-Committee.*

Main Committee

17. The following principal items of business were discussed at the first meeting held on 3 April 1948:

(a) Election of the Chairman

18. The Main Committee decided to follow the schedule of rotation adopted by the Commission. Accordingly, the representative of India assumed the Chair.

(b) Work of observation groups

19. The Committee agreed that press correspondents would be welcome to associate themselves with the observation groups, but on their own responsibility and on condition that they would provide their own facilities.

(c) Communication from Mr. Rhee Syng Man concerning participation of the "Representative delegation of the Korean people" in the work of the Commission (Annex 5)

20. The Committee agreed to decline Mr. Rhee's proposal and to inform him that whenever the Committee wished to have information of the kind offered, it would bear in mind the request of the organization concerned.

(d) Memorandum from the United States Liaison Officer concerning the interpretation of section 16 of the Election Law (Annex 6A)

21. The Committee declared itself in full accord with the interpretation of section 16 as cited in the memorandum, and recommended that the Commission should formally adopt that interpretation (Annex 6B).

(e) Examination of communications received from Korean sources

22. It was agreed that the Main Committee continue the procedure for dealing with communications, as previously set up by Sub-Committee 2, bearing in mind that in case of doubt, any communication might be referred to the Committee

* See paragraphs 12 and 13 above.

ANNEX 1

POSTPONEMENT OF THE ELECTION DATE

A*

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL ELECTION COMMITTEE
TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED NATIONS TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA

Seoul, 25 March 1948

The National Election Committee, realizing the sincere craving of all Koreans for independence and for their own Government, has been working wholeheartedly day and night to ensure a free election on 9 May 1948.

In spite of our efforts and the thorough co-operation of Military Government we feel, with sorrow in our hearts, that a short postponement of the election will be necessary for reasons stated hereafter.

All concerned realize the acute necessity for proper information to reach the most remote villages. The National Election Committee, after much work and serious thought, regrets to report the following schedule:

Printing of Election Law and Regulations completed 25 March

Breakdown and packaging for distribution - 2 days 27 March

Laws and Regulations delivered to all places (remote villages) - 10 days 6 April

Local Committees to get familiar with Law, etc.

and ensure correct information to the public -
minimum 3 days 9 April

Start of registration 10 April

Based on law setting registration as 40 days before
election - - - - - Election Day 20 May

In view of the above facts and with due consideration to printing and distribution difficulties actually encountered to date plus foreseeable practical difficulties in the future, a period of grace should be added to the above schedule.

With much regret we ask your generous assistance in obtaining a change of Election Day from 9 May 1948 to 24 May 1948.

(signed) Ro Chin Sul
Chairman, National Election Committee

B*

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
UNITED NATIONS TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA
TO THE COMMANDING GENERAL, UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA
Seoul, 27 March 1948

On Thursday, 25 March 1948, I received a letter from the Chairman of the National Election Committee, Mr. Ro Chin Sul, asking the assistance of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea in obtaining a short postponement of the Election Day. You will find a copy of the letter enclosed herewith (Annex 1A).

I have orally informed the Chairman of the National Election Committee that, as the election date has been fixed by the Commanding General of the United States Army Forces in Korea, any request for such a postponement, should be addressed to you for your attention.

In the meantime, copies of this letter and of the letter of the Chairman of the National Election Committee have been distributed to members of the Commission for their information and for consideration, if they wish to do so.

(signed) Jean-Louis Paul-Boncour
Chairman, United Nations Temporary Commission
on Korea

C*

COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMANDING GENERAL,
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA TO THE CHAIRMAN
OF THE UNITED NATIONS TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA

Seoul, 29 March 1948

With reference to your letter of 27 March 1948, I find it urgently necessary, for reasons indicated below, to change the date of the forthcoming election of representatives of the Korean people, to be held under the observation of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea.

1. From the very beginning it was believed by this Command that at least eighty days would be required between announcement of the date set for an election and the election itself to complete essential arrangements, based on the assumption that Public Act No. 5 of 3 September 1947 would be used as the framework for the necessary election legislation. In a letter addressed to the Principal Secretary of the Commission on 27 February 1948, my Liaison Officer, Brigadier-General Weckerling, anticipating announcement of election on 1 March, stated that "I would suggest that in order to accelerate completion of preparation for elections in South Korea 20 May be established as the election date."

After the announcement of the date of 1 March 1948, General Weckerling called attention to the necessity of going forward with certain technical preparations immediately, for otherwise the entire election programme would be vitiated, and emphasis was again laid on the assumption that the KILA** would be applied to the election.

However, there was an unexpectedly long delay in approving an election law. So many changes were recommended by the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea that the complete redrafting of the law was necessary. The discussions of the last of these changes between my Liaison Officer and the Legal Counsellor of UNFUCK took place as late as 18 March 1948, the evening before Mr. Marc Schreiber's departure from Korea. During these eighteen days most of the essential technical preparations could not go forward prior to announcement of the final details of the law by the Military Governor.

* Document A/AC.19/58/Add.2.

** Law for the election of Members of the Korean Interim Legislative Assembly (Public Act No. 5)

/To quote

To quote only one example: As a result of the recommendation of UNTCOK, writing-in ballots are replaced by printed ballots. The printing of the ballots now prescribed cannot be undertaken until after the nomination of the candidates has become final. Taking into consideration that in accordance with the changed election law, each electoral district will have its own ballot and the limited printing facilities of this country, the distribution of the ballots could not be accomplished in time if the original date of 9 May were adhered to.

2. It is vital to the interest of the new Korean nation that the largest possible number of voters cast their ballots. This requires an extensive education campaign as well as the opportunities for the various groups of the population to nominate candidates and for the candidates to present their case to their constituents. In the time now allowed these opportunities would be greatly curtailed, thus detracting from the democratic nature of the election. Since the revised law and election regulations have just been promulgated, the instructions to the various election committees, including the voting district election committees on the village level, would reach these committees too late to enable them to familiarize themselves with the important details concerning functions which are entirely new to them. In order to avoid unfairness due to lack of knowledge, this fact alone makes imperative a reasonable postponement.

3. One of the reasons previously advanced for the date of 9 May was the desirability of holding the election before the rice-planting season. It now develops that the planting season is so advanced that a postponement will not interfere to any considerable extent with agricultural labours. The winter of 1947 in its latter stages was the mildest in the last thirty years and I am informed by the agricultural authorities that it will enable farmers to complete preparations sooner than usual.

4. The National Election Committee and the Military Governor, after preparing the necessary schedule of activities and preparations, both urgently recommended a change in the date of election from 9 May 1948 to 24 May 1948. The reasons given by the National Election Committee were made known to you in the letter dated 25 March 1948, addressed to you by the Chairman of that Committee.

5. Although the Chinese delegate, Dr. Liu Yu-Wan, on 1 March 1948 at a meeting at the Seoul Stadium,* announced, after consultation between the Commission and this Command, that elections were to be held not later

* Document A/528, Annex 1, I.

than 10 May 1948, I must recall to you that this date was only reluctantly agreed to by me because of Mr. Menon's statement in the United States (heard in Korea on 28 February) suggesting that elections be held during the first week in May. Also, my agreement was given before we encountered the delay in obtaining the recommendations of the Commission on the Election Law.

I am convinced that the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea will see the wisdom of the short postponement and will realize that such postponement is being suggested only for the most compelling reasons and only after its necessity became apparent in the interest of ensuring that the first democratic election in the history of Korea is a success.

In view of the foregoing, I request that the Commission advise me at an early date as to its attitude in this matter, in order that I may adjust my final decision to the realities of the situation and at the same time be co-ordinated with the desires of the Commission.

(signed) John R. Hodge
Lieutenant-General, U.S. Army

D*

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
UNITED NATIONS TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA
TO THE COMMANDING GENERAL, UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA

Seoul, 30 March 1948

I have duly submitted to the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea the considerations outlined in your letter dated 29 March, concerning the suggested postponement until 24 May of the elections previously fixed for 9 May 1948.

Inasmuch as some of the considerations for the postponement involve retrospectively the responsibility of our Commission or of its Secretariat, you will find a clarifying statement annexed to this letter.

I am instructed to inform you that it is the wish of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea that the elections should still be held on the date of 9 May 1948 as adopted in its resolution of 12 March 1948.

Generally speaking, our Commission does not intend, at the present stage of the preparations for elections, to reconsider its previous recommendations, resolutions or decisions. The Commission, however, has decided to establish technical organs for purposes of observation, particularly the implementation of its recommendations. A Main Committee has been established in Seoul and authorized to receive, examine and discuss such considerations or requests as may be submitted to it with regard to the implementation of electoral procedures. The United States Military Authorities will therefore have the opportunity to present their views for the consideration of the Committee.

On the recommendations of this Main Committee, the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea will eventually take such new decisions as the existing circumstances warrant.

(signed) Jean-Louis Paul-Boncour
Chairman,
United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea

APPENDIX

STATEMENT OF FACTS

CONCERNING THE CONTENTS OF THE COMMUNICATION
FROM THE COMMANDING GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA
TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION

30 March 1948

1. In the first paragraph of General Hodge's letter of 29 March 1948, it is stated that "from the very beginning it was believed by this Command that at least eighty days would be required between announcement of the date set for an election and the election itself". It is correct that this term of eighty days has been mentioned, but it is also correct to say that references were made repeatedly to the possibility of reducing these eighty days to seventy or sixty days. In the meeting of Sub-Committee 1 of 24 February 1948, Mr. Wang (China) put the following question: "...What is your opinion regarding the length of time required for the dissemination of such information? How long will it take sufficiently to satisfy us that the average voter will know his rights and know how to vote?" To this question, General Dean replied, according to the verbatim record, as follows: "Any answer on that would be relative because, naturally, the more time you have, the better education you can give. I feel that sixty days would be the time, and when I say sixty days, I take into account the fact that that education started before the United Nations Commission came over here."

2. At the end of paragraph 1 of General Hodge's letter, it is stated that a letter was addressed to the Principal Secretary of the Commission on 27 February 1948 by the Liaison Officer, Brigadier General Weckerling, anticipating announcement of election on 1 March, and saying that, "I would suggest that in order to accelerate completion of preparation for elections in South Korea, 20 May be established as the election date". However, in that same memorandum of General Weckerling, the following sentence is included, which is omitted from the letter of General Hodge: "If you should see fit to shorten this period by about ten days, I could see no great objection to that procedure."

3. General Hodge stated on page 3, paragraph 5, that he "only reluctantly agreed" to the formula "not later than 10 May 1948" because of Mr. Menon's statement in the United States, "suggesting that elections be held during the first week in May". It should, in this connection, be pointed out that on 2 February, the Commission received a document from

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the United States Liaison Officer concerning the "Korean Spring Agricultural Calendar and its bearing on the Election Date", of which the last paragraph runs as follows:

"It is suggested from the viewpoint of agriculture that the first week in May is the very latest period during which the election should be held. A specified time earlier than that would be even better; the earlier the better."

It was, among other things, on that statement that Mr. Menon's suggestion of the first week in May was made. Since the Agricultural Calendar was issued, on 2 February, there has never been any indication whatever that a change in this agricultural situation was possible. It is only in the letter from General Hodge, dated 29 March 1948, that for the first time facts are given with regard to more favourable conditions concerning farm labour.

4. Page 2 of the letter from General Hodge might create the impression that the Commission and the Secretariat are, to a certain extent, responsible for the request to postpone the Election Day by recommending changes in the Election Law, and it is stated that the discussions of these changes between the United States Liaison Officer and the Legal Counsellor of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea "took place as late as 18 March 1948, the evening before Mr. Schreiber's departure from Korea".

5. It should be noted, firstly, that neither Mr. Schreiber, nor the Principal Secretary, nor any other officer of the Secretariat had any indication from the United States authorities, either before or after Mr. Schreiber's departure, that the discussion on the recommendations would cause a postponement of the Election Day; and secondly, that the reference solely to 18 March tends to give an entirely wrong impression of the way in which the Commission and Sub-Committee 3 dealt with the matter. The facts are as follows:

6. On 1 March 1948, the United States Liaison Officer to the Commission drew the attention of the Principal Secretary of the Commission to certain provisions of the Election Law, the application of which involved technical preparations which were to be started immediately, in view of the fixing of the election date on 9 May 1948.

7. Since he requested an expression of views as early as possible, the Sub-Committee considered these questions on 2 March, and the Chairman of Sub-Committee 3 authorized the Secretariat to transmit the substance

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of the decisions of the Sub-Committee as to the recommendations it would make to the Commission on the points mentioned in the United States Liaison Officer's memorandum.

8. Accordingly, on 3 March, the Principal Secretary transmitted the recommendations of Sub-Committee 3 to the United States Liaison Officer.

9. This Officer replied to the memorandum of the Principal Secretary on 4 March, in which he pointed out that the United States authorities, while accepting most of the recommendations of the Sub-Committee, requested the reconsideration of three of its recommendations, namely, (1) the elimination of provincial election committees; (2) the appointment by the National Election Committee of the members of lower echelon election committees on the basis of lists of personalities recommended by the administrative head of the district concerned and the president of the highest tribunal located in or having jurisdiction over the district; and (3) the establishment of voting districts of not more than 2,000 inhabitants.

10. The Sub-Committee, on 7 March, agreed with the first two points presented by the United States authorities, but felt unable to change its recommendation on the last point. This information was immediately communicated to the United States Liaison Officer on 8 March, and on that date, the negotiations between the United States authorities and the Commission on the electoral provisions were virtually completed.

11. The Commission gave formal consideration to this matter on 10 and 11 March, and approved with only one important amendment, namely, a change in voting age from twenty to twenty-one years, the recommendations of the Sub-Committee. The recommendations of the Commission with respect to the election law were transmitted by the Chairman to the United States Liaison Officer on 12 March.* Furthermore, the Commission believed this matter to be of such vital importance that it was taken up prior to consideration of the question of the implementation of the Interim Committee's resolution of 26 February.

12. From the above facts, it is quite clear that the Commission, by accepting the formula "not later than 10 May 1948", based its action entirely on information given by the United States authorities themselves, and the Commission and the Secretariat, in arranging their time-table accordingly, can in no way be made responsible for bringing about the request for a postponement of the election day.

* Document A/529, Annex 4.

E*

LETTER FROM THE COMMANDING GENERAL,
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES IN KOREA
TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
UNITED NATIONS TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA

Seoul, 2 April 1948

I acknowledge the receipt of letter, dated 30 March 1948, signed by M. Jean-Louis Paul-Boncour, as Chairman of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea, answering my letter of 29 March 1948, and note that it is the wish of the Commission that the Korean election be held "on the date of 9 May 1948 as adopted in its resolution of 12 March 1948". I have informed all agencies concerned with election arrangements of the attitude of the Commission, and that, regardless of difficulties encountered, all plans and efforts on their part shall be directed at the completion of the election by the date previously announced.

However, while noting the decision of the Commission in this matter, I feel that a one-day postponement of the election, i.e. to 10 May 1948, would not contravene the wishes of the Commission as expressed in its original formula that the election should be held "not later than 10 May 1948". Action to this end will avoid holding the election on a day when there will occur in this area during the middle of the day a total eclipse of the sun, which fact was not known to me at the time the date of 9 May was agreed upon. I am reliably informed that such an occurrence is considered an ill omen by many Koreans, particularly in the rural districts, which might operate to keep an appreciable number of voters from participation.

Therefore, unless such action is subject to specific objection on the part of the United Nations Commission, I shall shortly announce 10 May as the new date for the election.

(signed) John R. Hodge
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Commanding

F*

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED NATIONS
TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA TO THE
COMMANDING GENERAL, UNITED STATES ARMY
FORCES IN KOREA

Seoul, 3 April 1948

I desire to refer to your letter of 2 April 1948 and to advise you that the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea, after consideration of the issues raised, decided at its thirty-first meeting this morning to concur in your proposal for a one-day postponement of the election, i.e. from 9 to 10 May 1948.

In making this decision the Commission presumes that any legal implications affecting electoral procedures which may arise from the postponement will be taken into account by the responsible authorities.

(signed) I.J. Bahadur Singh
Chairman, United Nations Temporary Commission on
Korea

* Document A/AC.19/58/Add.5.

ANNEX 2*

METHODS OF OBSERVATION OF ELECTIONS

SUGGESTED ITEMS OF OBSERVATION

(Proposed by the ad hoc Sub-Committee)

The ad hoc Sub-Committee on methods of observation of elections met on 27 March 1948 and, having considered the draft report prepared by the Secretariat, the Sub-Committee proposes the following suggested items.

The items enumerated herewith are considered as being useful from the standpoint of serving as a guide to observation teams in the interests of uniform and comprehensive reporting, and are to be complied with only insofar as circumstances permit.

A. Concerning the Free Atmosphere for Elections

The United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea, on 20 March 1948, adopted a number of decisions concerning methods of observation of the elections in South Korea, reading in part as follows:**

"The Commission recognizes that observation consists not only in examining the extent to which the requirements of the election law and regulations are complied with. The Commission considers that political and other activities occurring during the election period are important from the viewpoint of determining whether elections are to be held in a free atmosphere. Such political aspects include activities of political parties and organizations; behaviour of youth organizations; conduct of the police; extent of and reasons for non-participation in the elections both by individual voters and political organizations; attitude of the police and other authorities towards such non-participation; extent to which candidates are unopposed; and the general public reaction to the elections. In this respect the Commission notes the relevance of the recommendations concerning a free atmosphere for elections adopted by the Commission."

Taking into account the above considerations, the following are the major points the Commission should observe as a result of the adoption of the recommendations on a free atmosphere for elections, which the Commission adopted on 17 March 1948 at its twenty-sixth meeting:

* Document A/AC.19/59.

** Document A/529, Annex 7, paragraph 5.

1. The conduct of parties, groups and youth organizations which participate in the elections; programmes and platforms; electioneering methods; intimidation of the electorate.
2. The conduct of parties, groups and youth organizations which oppose the elections; propaganda and tactics; intimidation of the electorate.
3. The conduct of the police; their relations with participating parties and candidates; their attitude toward the non-participating parties.
4. The general situation in the constituencies; the attitude of the general public. Is there real interest or apathy or opposition among the general public? Is the candidate opposed? If so, by one or more bona fide opponents or by a figurehead who has either no chance to be elected or does not represent a different political faith?
5. The attitude of the authorities and officials, especially towards non-participants.
6. Official information and propaganda concerning the elections: What has been done to make the Koreans aware of the elections and the issues involved by the authorities.
7. Newsprint and radio time. Are there complaints about unfair distribution?
8. The situation on the Election Day itself, especially in and near the polling places.

B. Concerning the Election Law and Regulations

The following are the more important points the Commission may wish to take into account in the observance of elections:

I. PRE-ELECTION PERIOD

1. The extent of fraudulent registration for purposes of voting and/or being elected: e.g. persons under twenty-one years of age; persons who are declared ineligible by definition; persons registering at more than one registration place.
2. The extent to which freedom of campaigning is in any way restricted.
3. General state of preparedness for the election: e.g. polling place facilities.
4. Compliance with the law that at the time at which the poll register is established, the qualifications of each registered voter shall be examined and decided on the basis of clear and definite evidence, wherever possible on the basis of official documents. Unless clear and definite evidence has been received that a registrant is ineligible to vote, he shall be recorded in the poll register.

/5. Compliance

5. Compliance with the law that poll registers shall be open for public inspection from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. daily, including public holidays, during the period of such inspection.

6. The extent to which the election committees are carrying out their respective functions as specified in the election law and regulations.

II. ELECTION DAY (INCLUDING POST-ELECTION PERIOD)

1. Voting. Whether the voting procedure is in accordance with the Election Law and Regulations in respect to:

- (a) Observance of hours for voting;
- (b) The preparation and casting of ballots;
- (c) Closing of ballot box and polling place after voting is completed;
- (d) Observance of secrecy of voting.

2. Compliance with the law that only duly authorized persons shall be permitted to remain in polling places.

3. Compliance with the law that candidates or their representatives may be present at the opening of ballot boxes.

4. Extent of voting by fraudulent means.

5. Whether any person forces entrance into the polling place carrying weapons.

6. The extent to which the election committees are carrying out their respective functions as specified in the Election Law and Regulations.

7. Compliance with the law that on the day of the elections, no posters and signboards for the purpose of campaigning will be permitted within 100 metres distance from the entrance of each polling place, nor shall any pamphlets be distributed within that distance.

8. The general physical arrangement of polling places in conformity with the Law and Regulations.

9. Whether more than half the members of the election committee of the voting district are present at the polling place during the period of voting.

10. Whether the counting of votes is in conformity with the election laws and regulations.

C. Concerning General Observations

I. PRE-ELECTION PERIOD

1. A comparison of the total number of registrants with the number of potential voters in the voting district.

2. Number and party affiliation of candidates for election in an electoral district.

3. Nature and extent of complaints presented concerning election procedures and practices.

/II. ELECTION DAY

II. ELECTION DAY (INCLUDING POST-ELECTION PERIOD)

1. A comparison of the number of ballots cast with the number of registrants in the voting district.
2. Nature and extent of complaints presented concerning election procedures and practices.

ANNEX 3*

ORGANIZATION OF OBSERVATION GROUPS

(Week ending 10 April 1948)

Note Prepared by the Secretariat

During the first week of observation of elections, observation groups will consist of the following members:

	GROUP I (Main Committee)	GROUP II	GROUP III
<u>Representatives:</u>	Mr. S.R. Jackson Mr. Liu Yu-Wan Mr. H. Luna Mr. J.L. Paul-Boncour Mr. B. Singh Mr. T. Sartu Mr. M.A.P. Valle	Mr. Y. Mughir Mr. G. Patterson	Mr. H. Lindo Mr. O. Manet Mr. Wang Heng-Ssir
<u>Secretariat:</u>			
<u>Officers:</u>	Mr. I. Milner Mr. J. Engers	Mr. G. Lucas	Mr. P.J. Schmidt Mr. R.S. Hausner
<u>Precis-Writers:</u>	Mr. C. Campbell	Mr. A. Balinski	Miss M. Montague
<u>Secretary-Typists:</u>	Miss C. Coppée Miss J. Stieren	Miss A. Smith	Miss I. Glance
<u>Interpreters:</u>	Mr. Hurb Hyun	Mr. Kim Chai Kun	Mr. Zong In Sob

The membership of each group is subject to change, depending upon the desires of the representatives and the requirements of the Secretariat.

It is desirable that a quorum of the Main Committee remain in Seoul for the normal conduct of the Committee's business.

The plane for Cheju-Do will accommodate a maximum of nine persons, and lodging on the Island is restricted to male members only. The Air Officer, United States Army Forces in Korea, has requested that the Secretary of the group notify him not later than 0800, Thursday, 8 April, of the number of persons comprising the group. Representatives are therefore requested to notify the Secretary in advance of 0800, Thursday, if they wish to accompany the group.

Mr. Grand, the Information Officer, will join each of the groups at intervals during the week. He will keep the groups informed as to where and when he may be reached by telephone. Press releases will be issued

* Document A/AC.19/W.42/Add.3

by the Information Officer, in consultation with the representatives and the Secretary of each observation group.

The attention of the Secretariat staff is drawn to Press release No.50 concerning the Commission's wish that all social engagements of a public or private nature be declined during the period of observation. This instruction must be strictly adhered to if the groups are to accomplish their task during the limited time at their disposal.

It is requested that members of observation groups be aboard the trains at least fifteen minutes prior to departure from railroad stations while en route. Members are also requested to be ready to leave the Kockje Hotel thirty minutes prior to scheduled train departures from Seoul Station.

ANNEX 4*

FINAL REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE 2 AS ADOPTED BY THE
COMMISSION AT THE THIRTIETH MEETING,
31 MARCH 1948

1. Sub-Committee 2, consisting of the representatives of Australia, China, France and the Philippines, was established by resolution of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea at the fifth meeting on 17 January 1948. The representative of El Salvador was elected to the Sub-Committee at the seventh meeting of the Commission on 31 January. At the first meeting of the Sub-Committee, Mr. S. H. Jackson (Australia) was elected Chairman.
2. The terms of reference of ~~the Sub-Committee~~ were defined by the Commission at its fifth meeting as follows:
 - (a) To examine any documents already received or which may be received from Korean sources by the Secretariat;
 - (b) To secure statements from Korean personalities whose views may be helpful to the Commission in the discharge of its duties.
3. The Sub-Committee has held ~~twenty-nine~~ meetings. As a result of its deliberations selected communications and verbatim or summary records of all interviews have been distributed to members of the Commission. These have provided basic material for discussions in the Commission and in its Sub-Committees. The activities and major decisions of the Sub-Committee in regard to its terms of reference are set out in detail in documents A/AC.19/21, A/AC.19/21/Add.1, and A/AC.19/21/Add.2.**
4. At its eleventh meeting the Commission adopted the following resolution concerning the Sub-Committee:
 - (a) That Sub-Committee 2, with the assistance of representatives of Sub-Committees 1 and 3, make a survey of the information collected by this Sub-Committee to date;
 - (b) That this survey, together with important conclusions approved by the Commission at a session called for the purpose of examining it, be handed to the Chairman for his guidance during discussions with the Interim Committee.

In accordance with this resolution a survey of information collected was prepared by the Sub-Committee. At the twelfth meeting of the Commission

* Document A/AC.19/60/Rev.1.

** Documents A/525, Annex 2; A/527, Annex 5; A/528, Annex 5.

it was decided that the survey should be "designated as a paper for the use of the Chairman alone" during his discussions with the Interim Committee of the General Assembly.

5. At its twenty-seventh meeting, in considering methods of observation of the elections, the Commission decided "that on 29 March 1948 the existing Sub-Committees will be merged into one committee".* The Sub-Committee considers it important that the work of ascertaining Korean opinion concerning the question of elections should continue in order that the information obtained from oral and written statements may be as comprehensive as possible. In this regard the Sub-Committee notes that the Commission has authorized functions for the above-mentioned committee which include "the obtaining and analyzing of information concerning attitudes of Koreans towards participation in the elections".

Hearings of Korean Personalities

6. The Sub-Committee gave considerable attention to the selection for hearings of Korean personalities such as would "secure a balanced representation of the main trends of public opinion" and which would include "individuals and representatives of right, moderate and left political parties and of important organizations not directly political in character".** The Sub-Committee has heard the views of twenty-four Korean personalities,*** and held a special interview with the Chairman of the Federation of Korean Trade Unions,**** In addition, a consultation was arranged with the Commanding General, United States Army Forces in Korea.

7. In commencing its hearings of Korean opinion the Sub-Committee announced that it wished to learn the views of the following prominent political leaders:

CHO Man Sik	KIM Kyu Sik
HUE Hun	KIM Il Sung
KIM Doo Bong	KIM Sung Soo
KIM Koo	PAK Heun Young
	RHEE Syng Man

The Sub-Committee heard the views of Kim Koo, Kim Kyu Sik, Kim Sung Soo and Rhee Syng Man. Of the others, two were residents of North Korea

* Document A/529, Annex 7, paragraph 13.

** Document A/525, Annex 2, paragraphs 4 and 5.

*** Document A/528, Appendix to Annex 5.

**** Document A/527, paragraph 21 and Annex 3, Sections 3 and 4.

/(Kim Doo Bong

(Kim Doo Bong and Kim Il Sung), one (Cho Man Sik) was under detention in North Korea, and two others (Huh Eun and Pak Heun Young) were leftist leaders who were under order of arrest by the South Korean authorities. Despite repeated efforts, the Sub-Committee has not found it possible to make contact with these persons. In all the Sub-Committee has been able to hear the views of representatives of three rightist, three moderate and three leftist political parties. Extreme leftist political parties and organizations declined invitations to a hearing before the Sub-Committee on the stated grounds of political objections to the Commission's activities in Korea and lack of confidence in the assurances given by the authorities regarding their immunity from police surveillance.*

8. The Sub-Committee's examination of Korean opinion was not limited to the representatives of political organizations. In making its selection of personalities to be invited to hearings, the Sub-Committee had in mind the desirability of securing the opinion of religious, educational and cultural, business and financial and civic organizations, and the views of certain leading representatives of such organizations have been heard (see Appendix).

Communications Received

9. On 21 January 1948, the Sub-Committee invited "individuals and organizations, religious, cultural and political, to express their views in writing..." and on 28 January indicated that it wished "to continue to receive written statements".** The Sub-Committee has determined a procedure whereby a selection is made of relevant communications in accordance with principles agreed on by the Sub-Committee, and the selected communications issued as documents of the Commission.

10. Up to 15 March inclusive, 613 communications have been received: 404 from organizations and 209 from individuals. Of these, 388 were from individuals and organizations in Seoul, and 225 from individuals and organizations in the provinces. Of the communications received from organizations, 134 were from political parties, 202 from social organizations, thirty from youth organizations, sixteen from women's organizations, nineteen from the national mass meeting, and three from the South Korean Interim Legislative Assembly. A considerable number of communications received were in the form of signed petitions, sponsored both by organizations and individuals. The subjects mostly dealt with

* Document A/528, Annex 5, paragraphs 4 to 8.

** Document A/525, Annex 2, paragraph 2.

in the signed petitions include statements of support for or opposition to the holding of elections and expressions of opinion concerning the functions of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea. A list of all communications received, indicating the nature and subject-matter in each case, has been issued to the members of the Commission in documents A/AC.19/NC.1, A/AC.19/NC.2, A/AC.19/NC.2/Add.1 et seq., A/AC.19/NC.3 and A/AC.19/NC.3/Add.1 et seq.

11. The Sub-Committee has taken note of a communication referred to it by the Commission at its twenty-sixth meeting from Mr. Rhee Syng Man as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Representative Delegation of the Korean People. (See Annex 5 to the present report) In view of the fact that it would not be practicable after 29 March 1948 for the Sub-Committee to take action concerning this communication, the Sub-Committee decided to refer it to the Main Committee of the Commission for appropriate action.

Opinion Concerning the Holding of Elections

12. In discharging its terms of reference, the Sub-Committee considered as a major task the examining of Korean opinion regarding the question of elections.

13. In seeking information concerning the attitude of Koreans towards the holding of elections the Sub-Committee recognizes that political trends in Korea under present circumstances are liable to fluctuate and change.

14. In these circumstances, the Sub-Committee has not formulated any final estimate of the attitudes of the various political groups and organizations, but rather sought to classify the information at its disposal with a view to indicating the main trends of opinion concerning the elections.

15. A survey of the opinions expressed during the hearings of Korean personalities and in written communications examined by the Sub-Committee is set out in the Appendix to this report.

APPENDIX

SURVEY OF KOREAN OPINION CONCERNING THE ELECTIONS

Source Material

1. The survey which follows is based upon the following documentary material:

(a) Hearings of Korean personalities, including certain officials, by Sub-Committee 2 (documents A/AC.19/SC.2/5-9, 11-15, 23-25; A/AC.19/SC.2/SR.26).*

(b) Communications received by the Commission (selected communications are to be found in the document series A/AC.19/NC.1 et seq.).*

(c) Special consultations or interviews with certain Korean personalities (documents A/AC.19/28 and A/AC.19/SC.2/9) and with the Commanding General, United States Army Forces in Korea (A/AC.19/SC.2/PV.16).*

2. For purposes of background information only, note has been taken of the intercepts from Pyongyang (North Korea) radio broadcasts** and of statements and comment translated from the Korean press.***

Method of Analysis

3. In examining the main trends of Korean opinion concerning the question of elections, a selection has been made of five major aspects based upon the questionnaire used during the hearings of Korean personalities by Sub-Committee 2, as follows:

(i) Attitude toward the holding of elections (a) throughout Korea and (b) in South Korea only.

(ii) Opinion regarding the conditions necessary for ensuring a free atmosphere for elections.

(iii) Opinion as to the prospects of holding free elections.

(iv) Opinion concerning political prisoners.

4. Alternative proposals suggested for the attainment of the national independence of Korea are examined in a separate section.

5. A summary of the available information in regard to the above aspects will be made as follows:

* Documents issued in Seoul, but not reproduced in New York.

** Issued by Headquarters XXIV Corps (Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff G-2), Seoul.

*** Issued by Headquarters, U.S. Army Forces in Korea (Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2: Language and Document Section); Public Information Office, Headquarters XXIV Corps, Seoul; Headquarters USAMGIK (Bureau of Public Opinion.)

- (i) The views of representatives of political parties and organizations of South Korea, considered in terms of right, moderate and left political orientation (see paragraphs 6-10 below).
- (ii) The views of certain officials of the South Korean Interim Government, namely, the Civil Administrator (Mr. Ahn Chai Hong), the Chief Justice (Mr. Kim Yung Moo) and the Director of National Police (Mr. Chough Pyung Ok).
- (iii) The views of representatives of religious, educational and cultural, economic and women's organizations.
- (iv) The views of a village headman.
- (v) The views of the Commanding General, United States Army Forces in Korea, Lt.-General John R. Hodge.

Present Political Trends in Korea

6. In view of the fact that it was not possible to hear the views of North Korean political leaders* nor to visit North Korea, the Sub-Committee can give no information from its own sources on the current political situation in the North. Examination of the intercepts of Pyongyang radio broadcasts, however, indicates clearly enough the negative attitude of the North Korea authorities and major political organizations towards the holding of elections under the observation of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea.

7. In South Korea a feature of political life is its shifting character: new political parties and movements emerge, and re-alignments of political forces occur, frequently and at times abruptly. In such circumstances, it would be unreal to prescribe any rigid classification of political movements. With this qualification in mind, however, there may be distinguished at present the following major political groupings which for convenience sake will be adopted in classifying trends of opinion in South Korea.

Right

8. (a) Hankook Democratic Party (Chairman, Mr. Kim Sung Soo): This party is probably the most effectively organized and influentially supported of the right organizations. It has the support of some of the largest landowners in Korea and, through its connections in the rural areas, has been able to develop, particularly in recent

* Document A/527, Annex 5, paragraph 2 (b).

months, a relatively widespread network of organization. Although denied by the party leadership, facts have been produced to support the claim that in the provinces especially the Party's activities are directly or indirectly aided by the members of the Korean police.

(b) National Association for the Rapid Realization of Korean Independence (Chairman, Dr. Rhee Syng Man): This organization is not a political party, but a combination of various societies and individuals pledged to the general objective of early attainment of Korean independence. The Association serves, however, as the mechanism for extending Dr. Rhee's political influence throughout South Korea.

(c) Korean Independence Party (Chairman, Mr. Kim Koo): The Independence Party derives its strength in considerable degree from the fact that Mr. Kim Koo personally expresses the traditions of the struggle for independence centred in the Provisional Government, which was established after the Declaration of Independence of 1 March 1919. Mr. Kim's political influence is reinforced also by his connections with certain youth organizations of the right, such as the Dai Dong Youth Association.

Moderate

9. (a) National Independence Federation: The so-called "middle of the road" political groups have made repeated efforts to establish some kind of coalition with a view to meeting the impasse created by the conflict of interests between the Soviet Union and the United States, as reflected in the Korean situation and by the uncompromising attitude of the extreme right and left. In May 1946, the Coalition Committee had been organized under the joint chairmanship of Mr. Kim Kyu Sik and the late Lyuh Wook Hyung, representing both moderate and some leftist groups. Seeking a broader basis of coalition, Mr. Kim Kyu Sik and others on 20 December 1947 inaugurated the National Independence Federation, with the basic objective of "bringing together all the patriotic parties, organizations and individuals in order to obtain democratic national unity both in name and reality".* The Federation, which is now composed of fourteen distinct political parties and fifty-one social organizations* has as its main objective the unification of North and South Korea.

* Manifesto of the National Independence Federation: see document A/AC.19/NC.4: Annex 1. (not reproduced in New York)

(b) Political Parties Council: Another coalition of political parties of the centre and moderate left was established at the end of 1947 and is now known as the South Korean Political Parties Council.* The Council embraces certain moderate and leftist parties and one important rightist party, the Korean Independence Party of Mr. Kim Koo (subject to a reservation in regard to action undertaken by the Council). Other component parties have included the Labouring People's Party, Independent Labour and Farmers' Party, Social-Democratic Party, New Progressive Party, Democratic Korean Independence Party, People's League, Democratic Independence Party. With one or two exceptions, the member parties also belong to the National Independence Federation and on major immediate issues, such as those of a separate election in South Korea and the proposed joint conference of political leaders of North and South Korea, the views of the two bodies are similar.

Left

10. The major parties of the left are the South Korea Labour Party (former Communist party), the Democratic National (People's) Front, the People's Republican Party, the Young Friends' Party and Labouring People's Party (The latter's present leadership reflects both moderate and leftist influences within the Party). If any distinction is to be made amongst the parties and organizations of the left, it would be in terms of the extent to which any group adheres to the clearly defined Communist line of policy as expressed in the programme of the South Korea Labour Party.

11. A distinctive organization of the left is the Democratic National Front, which is a broad federation of political parties, trade unions, farmers', women's, cultural and other associations. It maintains a consistent South Korea Labour Party ideology in its leadership, though variations of political programme may occur in some of the constituent bodies.

* See documents A/AC.19/NC.20 and A/AC.19/NC.20/Add.1 (not reproduced in New York). During February-March 1948 the Council experienced some dissensions over policy and certain of the more moderate parties withdrew support.

Views of Political Parties and Organizations
of South Korea

Attitude Toward the Holding of Elections (a) Throughout Korea and (b) in
South Korea only

Right

12. The rightists are insistent that given the fact of non-co-operation by the North Korea authorities, elections should be held in South Korea alone. The one exception is the Korean Independence Party of Mr. Kim Koo, who is opposed to a separate election which he considers would perpetuate the unnatural cleavage of North and South Korea. In a series of public statements made during March 1948 Mr. Kim Koo has re-emphasized his opposition to the holding of elections in South Korea. Commenting on the resolution of the Interim Committee of the General Assembly he stated, in a message to the National Association for the Rapid Realization of Korean Independence, on 18 March:

"The resolution of the Interim Committee was made (1) to settle trusteeship by one nation in Korea with the co-operation of the United Nations; (2) to justify internationally the 38th parallel line which was set up by the United States and the Soviet Union; and (3) to encourage the split of the Korean people instead of encouraging their harmony. Those are, by no means, in accord with the spirit of the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly on Korea".*

13. Mr. Rhee and the Hankook Democratic Party, on the other hand, have expressed their desire for an election in South Korea as early as possible with a view to the establishment of a National Assembly and a National Government. On 26 January 1948 Mr. Rhee told the Sub-Committee:

"It is possible, highly possible, to complete an election within four weeks. We have done all the preliminary work so if the United Nations Commission declares that the election shall be held on such and such a date, we will get it through".

This view was endorsed by a group of twenty-one rightist parties and social organizations (other than the Korean Independence Party).

14. Regarding the National Assembly, the view expressed by Mr. Kim Sung Soo (Hankook Democratic Party) was that no seat should be reserved for North Korea constituencies, but that North Korea refugees in South Korea should elect representatives to the Assembly from special constituencies on the

* Seoul Times, 20 March 1948.

basis of one representative for each 100,000. Since the elimination from the revised law for the elections of the provision in Public Act, No. 5 for a special electoral district for North Koreans resident in North Korea, a number of rightist organizations have urged re-consideration of the matter. It was the view of Mr. Rhee that a national government established in South Korea would require assistance from a United States "small token force" in order that it might have time in which to organize a national defence force.

Moderate

15. The moderate groups would in general favour a general election throughout Korea, provided it were held in a genuinely free atmosphere and would lead to the unification of Korea. During the period of the Sub-Committee's enquiries, from the end of January to the end of March 1948, all representatives of moderate groups heard by or in communication with the Sub-Committee voiced opposition to the holding of elections in South Korea. While differences of view and emphasis occur, the reasons most frequently given for the moderate attitude are:

- (a) That under present conditions of civil liberties and police power in South Korea no free atmosphere for elections exists;
- (b) That in these circumstances an election would result in an unrepresentative government;
- (c) That an election in South Korea, leading to the establishment of a separate government, would perpetuate the division of North and South Korea and inflame existing political differences.

16. The moderate attitude concerning (a) above is discussed below (paragraphs 23-25). Regarding (c) the view was stated to the Sub-Committee by Mr. Kim Kyu Sik in the following terms:

"However, any Korean who talks about a South Korean unilateral government will go down in history as a 'bad egg' because once that term is used, the Communists in the North under the direction of the Soviet Union will establish what is called the 'People's Republic', or the 'People's Committee'. Then you will have two unilateral governments in this little space of something over 85,000 square miles. Not only that, but once such a thing occurs in history, it will go down forever, and it will be perpetuated; and then you are responsible, and we are responsible for perpetuating the division of Korea into a northern half and into a southern half".

Left

17. Certain moderate left organizations have not opposed in principle the holding of a general election throughout Korea, subject to the following conditions: (a) that the election would follow the withdrawal of United States and Soviet forces and (b) the re-organization of the South Korean police "in order to create an atmosphere for a fair election". The major parties and organizations of the left, however, are opposed to any election proposed prior to the withdrawal of foreign troops or held under the observation of the United Nations Commission.

18. Regarding a separate election in South Korea, the South Korea Labour Party and the Democratic National Front express unqualified opposition on the grounds that such an election (a) would lead to the establishment of a separate government composed of "reactionary and pro-Japanese elements" which, since it will be set up under the observation of the United Nations Temporary Commission, will claim "international legality"; (b) the General Assembly's decision to establish the United Nations Commission was made without the participation of Koreans and without agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union; (c) no free election is possible in South Korea under present circumstances; (d) the provision for withdrawal of foreign troops in the General Assembly's resolution of 14 November 1947 is "uncertain" in operation and would facilitate United States domination of South Korea and its conversion into an American "colony" and "military base"; (e) The United Nations Commission is composed of nations under the control of United States imperialism and is consequently the agent of American policy. Other leftist organizations affiliated with the Democratic National Front, such as the Federation of Korean Trade Unions and the All Korea Farmers' Union have expressed, with varying emphasis, substantially the same views.

Opinion Regarding the Conditions Needed to Ensure a Free Atmosphere for Elections

19. The preamble to one of the questions of the questionnaire used by Sub-Committee 2 during the hearings of Korean personalities stated:

"It is the opinion of the Sub-Committee dealing with the question of ensuring a free atmosphere for elections (Sub-Committee 1) that there must be the following minimum requirements: freedom of expression, freedom of press and information, freedom of assembly and association, freedom of movement, protection against arbitrary arrest and detention, and protection against threats of violence or violence".

/These minimum

These minimum requirements have been assented to at least in principle, by spokesmen for the right, moderate and left parties and organizations. Important differences arose, however, when the question of the extent to which those principles are in fact operative was under consideration. (see paragraphs 21-29, 39-44 below).

20. One qualification should be made regarding the attitude of the major left organizations toward so-called "pro-Japanese elements, national traitors and pro-Fascists". An affiliated organization of the Democratic National Front makes it a prerequisite of a free election that such elements be "swept away from political, economic and cultural spheres in South Korea".

Opinion as to the Prospects of Holding Free Elections

Right

21. The view expressed by Mr. Rhee and Mr. Kim Sung Soo (Hankook Democratic Party) was that a free atmosphere for elections existed. Mr. Kim suggested that there was in fact too much freedom, which permitted Communist activities, such as strikes, riots and assaults. Mr. Rhee claimed that as the result of the issuing of new currency in North Korea, millions of yen in the form of reclaimed bills were being sent down to aid South Korea Communists for the election campaign. He also suggested that support given by officers of the Military Government to the so-called "middle-roads party" (National Independence Federation of Mr. Kim Kyu Sik) might encourage the moderates in what he implied was a working liaison with local government officials and Communists.

22. Mr. Kim Koo (Korean Independence Party), on the other hand, claimed that no fair elections were possible in South Korea. He believed that the elections would be manipulated in the interests of a certain party and that in effect there would prevail in South Korea a one-party situation similar to that in the North. A first prerequisite for a free election was the withdrawal of occupation troops and the disarming and disbanding of all military and semi-military organizations in North and South Korea.

Moderate

23. The moderates maintain that both in South and North Korea there is in practice no genuine freedom of expression, freedom of press and information, freedom of assembly and association, freedom of movement, protection against arbitrary arrest and detention or protection against threats of violence and violence. They draw attention to the non-existence of habeas corpus in South Korea and to restrictions upon the right of assembly which, in practice, are said to prevent meetings of more than three persons without
/a permit,

a permit, for which application must be made several days in advance. Under the present police system, which makes the national police an independent organization and not in fact responsible to the civil administration and which permits, it is claimed, a certain rightist party (Hankook Democratic Party) to use the police for its own ends, a fair and free election in South Korea is not considered possible. In support of this view Mr. Kim Kyu Sik has stated:

"The course of the elections had already been arranged in the provinces; names had already been decided upon and certain people had been made to deposit their seals. As far as certain parties and groups were concerned, the elections were already arranged. People were being forced to buy photos, calendars, etc. and to contribute money for the maintenance of police billets, youth corps and other organizations. A certain youth corps was canvassing from door to door, and when a householder refused to comply with its desires, it was branded as Leftist. Even if the elections were free on the surface, what would happen to persons who did not carry out previous instructions after the Commission had departed? A government would be established but the situation might be worse than at present".

24. With a view to improving present conditions which might obstruct free elections, Mr. Kim Kyu Sik proposed (a) that the national police and government officials be re-orientated; (b) changes of personnel should be made; and (c) a checking committee consisting of three or five persons of integrity should be appointed to find out the conditions prevailing in various localities during the election.

25. The composition and role of the police force are frequently criticized in terms similar to the following:

"So long as we have so many of the police officers who worked under Japan - I understand about eighty-five per cent - and so long as we have this pro-Japanese element in the police force, even if the Director of the Police Department and the Chief of the Metropolitan Police tried to be fair, it is impossible to have a free and fair election".

Left

26. All the left parties and organizations are strongly of the opinion that in South Korea conditions do not permit a free expression of the people's will. The major factors obstructing a free and democratic atmosphere in South Korea are said to be (a) the denial of the basic democratic rights, such as freedom of speech, press, assembly, organization,

/to the people;

to the people; (b) the composition, organization and political affiliations of the Korean police and (c) the presence of foreign occupation forces.

27. In regard to (a) above, the Democratic National Front submitted that during the period of strikes and disorder in August 1947, 13,769 persons were arrested and 8,030 suffered terrorism. The Federation of Korean Trade Unions and the All Korea Farmers' Union submitted similar information concerning alleged police discrimination and acts of terrorism practised against their members.

28. In regard to (b) above, the left parties and organizations share the view already outlined as that of moderate opinion. A representative of a moderate left organization, after analyzing the composition and organization of the Korean police force, alleged that it had direct political affiliations with the right and, in particular, with the Hankook Democratic Party and Mr. Rhee.

29. So far as North Korea is concerned, the South Korea Labour Party and the Democratic National Front contrast what they allege is the democratically elected government (People's Committee of North Korea) with the political conditions prevailing in South Korea, under which, it is claimed, no freely elected representative government could be established.

Opinion Concerning Political Prisoners

Right

30. The view of Mr. Rhee and of the Hankook Democratic Party is that there are no political prisoners in South Korea. Mr. Kim Koo considered that there are tens of thousands of political prisoners in both South and North Korea. He expressed the opinion that political prisoners and those under arrest or warrant of arrest for political reasons should be released. The question whether they should be permitted to vote in an election would have to be decided under the conditions prevailing at that time. Mr. Rhee's view was that in general persons in prison were not entitled to vote.

Moderate

31. The moderate groups contend that there are political prisoners in South and North Korea. They take the view that all political prisoners should be released for the purpose of voting in an election and some of them advocate the cancellation of arrest warrants in addition to the release of political prisoners. Mr. Kim Kyu Sik considered that since "people in the North had been clamouring for two years for the release of political prisoners, they might be induced to co-operate if an amnesty were declared in the South".

/Left

Left

32. Left opinion insists that political prisoners are being held in South Korea in very considerable numbers. The view is expressed that Military Government ordinances limiting the right of assembly or prohibiting strikes, if violated, are necessarily violated for political reasons and those in prison, must in consequence, be considered political prisoners.

33. The above opinion was stated to the Sub-Committee during an interview with the Chairman of the Federation of Korean Trade Unions following his release from Seoul Prison on 19 February 1948 after serving a year's sentence for unlawful assembly. Mr. Hwang Sawng Taik claimed that he, and the vice-chairman of his Federation, had been arrested solely as "a political criminal" and that "more than 600 political criminals who were jailed by such false accusation are in Sodaimun Jail now".

34. All the left groups demand the immediate release of political prisoners and restoration of their full civil rights. Regarding the position in North Korea, no mention is made of political prisoners, though it is acknowledged that "pro-Japanese and reactionary groups" are denied freedom of expression, or have been "purged".

Alternative Proposals for the Attainment of the National Independence of KoreaRight

35. One rightist leader, Mr. Kim Koo, has strongly advocated, in place of an election, the convening of a joint conference of political leaders from North and South Korea and the withdrawal of all foreign troops. When he first stated his views before the Sub-Committee, he made the withdrawal of troops a prerequisite for the convening of the conference. Later he aligned himself with Mr. Kim Kyu Sik's view that consultation might precede the withdrawal of troops.

Moderate

36. The alternative plan to a separate election in South Korea, sponsored by Mr. Kim Kyu Sik and the National Independence Federation, and concurred in by Mr. Kim Koo, proposed:

- (a) A political conference of selected representatives of North and South political parties;
- (b) Restoration of civil rights for political offenders in North and South Korea;
- (c) Cancellation or suspension of arrest warrants for political leaders;

/(d) Freedom

- (d) Freedom of speech, press, assembly and association to be made effective;
- (e) Agreement to be reached by the two occupying Powers concerning the conditions and time of evacuation of troops.

Left

37. The left parties and organizations, with some differences of emphasis, reject unconditionally the programme of the Commission and urge the Commission to cease its activities in Korea. The South Korean Labour Party and the Democratic National Front propose:

- (a) Joint withdrawal of occupation forces by agreement between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;
- (b) Establishment of the Koreans themselves of a unified democratic government in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

One leftist party associated itself in principle with the proposal for a joint North-South political leaders' conference, subject to (a) agreement by the United States and the Soviet Union that their forces would withdraw by 31 March 1948; and (b) that an amnesty for political prisoners and effective guarantees of civil rights be provided to "enable a free exchange of opinion" at the conference.*

Views of Korean Officials

38. During the hearings of the Sub-Committee, the Civil Administrator (Mr. Ahn Chai Hong), the Chief Justice (Mr. Kim Yung Moo) and the Director of National Police (Dr. Chough Pyung Ok) expressed their views on questions related to the holding of free elections and in particular on the organization and role of the National Police.

Views Concerning a Free Atmosphere for Elections

39. The Chief Justice drew attention to the non-existence of habeas corpus in South Korea and the retention of Japanese laws permitting arrest without warrant in the following terms:

"If you want to see a free election in Korea, this system should be corrected. If you leave this system as it is, a free election may be hindered. For instance, the police may want to interfere with a certain political party and they may violate the election rules, but they may make charges, for their own purposes, of suspicion of fraud, embezzlement, or larceny. They may arrest or detain a person three to five months, and it may not be only one person but a thousand people. They may even arrest ten thousand or fifty thousand people, and this may interfere with a free election. Since the Korean people are aware of this kind of system, it should be corrected and a court writ should be required".

* Communication from Mr. Kim Won Bong, Chairman, Central Executive Committee, People's Republic Party.

The Chief Justice stated that such a provision could easily be furnished by means of a Military Government ordinance. He described as "exactly right" the following interpretation of the existing state of civil liberties:

"...Any individual Korean is at the mercy of the police. He may be arrested at any time without a warrant of arrest, kept in jail for indefinite periods of time and without any law providing for his imprisonment to be reviewed by the court".

40. The Director of National Police considered that there were no conditions which would interfere with the holding of free elections other than the possibility of a movement directed from North Korea intended to "stir up trouble in South Korea so that an election may not be held".

Role of the National Police

41. The Civil Administrator dealt at some length with the question of the status of the Director of National Police. He indicated that, in relation to the routine aspects of his governmental function, the Director of Police was nominally responsible to the Civil Administrator but that "the inside power of the Department of Police... is more or less controlled by the occupation forces". He further stated that "in the technical part, it is not quite well understood by the Department Head of the National Police that whatever the Civil Administrator says must be obeyed. This is not well performed yet".

42. The Director of National Police indicated that he had been appointed by and was responsible to the United States Military Governor but that in the exercise of his functions, "personal power has been given to me direct by the Military Governor". The following question and response indicate the Director of National Police's conception of his position:

"CHAIRMAN: Actually, apart from interference or directives from the Military Government, which come, I assume, very seldom, you are really a law unto yourself in handling the police?"

"Mr. CHOUGH: I think that is somewhere near the truth. I am conscious of that fact, the fact that I hold tremendous power in my hands, and I feel that I have to be loyal to Korea and to the Government existing there".

43. In reply to questions, the Director stated that fifty-three per cent of all posts above that of lieutenant in the Korean Police Force were held by officers trained under the Japanese, including nine out of the ten Commanders of the Seoul Metropolitan Police. He justified retention of such persons on the grounds that (a) they had served under

/the Japanese

the Japanese because of economic necessity and (b) "we are weeding out the undesirable elements". He acknowledged that many such persons had had a lengthy period of training under the Japanese and now objected to changes being introduced in police methods.

44. Concerning alleged political activities by the Police, the Director declared that there was no prohibition on members of the Police Force joining political parties. He indicated that he was a "plain member" of the Hankook Democratic Party though he had refused to take any prominent position.* The Police were instructed, however, not to participate in political activities. The general policy of the National Police was that all political parties should be treated on a basis of impartiality. He expressed doubt, however, as to whether this principle could be applied reasonably to Communist organizations carrying out "a destructive movement directed by external sources". Regarding youth organizations in South Korea, the Director considered that they were really "political parties", mainly led at the present time by rightists, since leftist youth leaders had mostly been arrested during 1947. He opposed the attempt by some political leaders "to utilize youth movements as pawns" and acknowledged that certain youth organizations had tried "to exercise the police power without rightful authorization".

Views of Representatives of Religious, Educational and Cultural, Economic and Women's Organizations

44. Owing to lack of time, the Sub-Committee was able to hear only a few representatives of religious, educational and cultural, economic and women's organizations. Nor have all such organizations submitted views in written form to the Commission. The following summary of views held cannot, therefore, be regarded as complete but serves to indicate the general trend of opinion of these organizations regarding the question of elections.

Educational and Cultural Organizations

45. Only one educator has appeared before Sub-Committee 2 but educational and cultural organizations with leftist and rightist views have sent written statements to the Commission. Their views regarding elections are divided for the most part along the same lines as the political groups. The National Education Federation would support a separate election and government in South Korea if it were impossible to hold elections throughout North and South Korea. The educational and cultural organizations with leftist leanings such as the Korean Educator's Association, Korean Writers' Union, Korean Dramatists' Union,

* The Chairman of the Hankook Democratic Party informed the Sub-Committee that Dr. Chough had resigned from his position as a member of the central executive committee of the party on becoming Director of National Police.

Korean Movie Union and Korean Language Research Association, as well as the Federation of Korean Cultural Associations, expressed opposition to the holding of elections and establishing of a separate government in South Korea. They maintain that the people in South Korea have been deprived of the fundamental freedoms of speech, press, assembly and belief, and cite detailed instances of police action against their members, allegedly for political reasons*. It is their belief that Koreans can and should solve their own problems and they urge that the occupation forces and the Commission withdraw from Korea.

46. Mr. Lee Choon Ho, President of Seoul National University, expressed no definite view for or against a separate election in South Korea. He emphasized that a free atmosphere for elections in the villages, where the people were more or less under the control of the headman, would be difficult to ensure unless a firm supervision were exercised**. Most of the families in the villages belonged to no political party but, in his view, it was likely that the police would support the rightist party in the election and that, without supervision by the Commission, either the left or the right elements might try to influence and intimidate the headmen and voters of villages, with a view to ensuring that people would vote for their candidates. If they were thus threatened or blackmailed, he considered that the village people would be afraid either to report to the police or take any other action.

Religious leaders and organizations

47. Both the Most Rev. Paul M. Ro, Bishop of Seoul and Rev. Han Kyung Chik, formerly in North Korea, stated before the Sub-Committee that there is no freedom of speech and religion in North Korea and that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to have free elections in North Korea. They both believed that it is important to hold elections as soon as possible in South Korea, leading to the establishment of a national government in Korea. Bishop Ro pointed out that, because of national pride and prestige, the Korean people could not ask the Commission to hold an election in part of Korea alone. While Rev. Han pointed out the importance of creating a special electoral district for electing representatives for North Korea, Bishop Ro thought that, with supervision and control of the Communists or the extreme Leftists who might oppose a general election in South Korea under United Nations supervision, there would be no problem in carrying out such an election. Neither of them thought that the character of the police force would prevent the holding of free elections. Rev. Han considered that there

* Communication from the Federation of Korean Cultural Associations, 28 January 1948.

** In this regard, see also the section below dealing with the views of a village headman (paragraph 53)

were political prisoners in North Korea and that in South Korea there was no persecution on the basis of political beliefs.

48. In general, these views were shared by such religious organizations as Christian Leaders from the North, North Korea Christian Friends' Society, Religious Bodies Association of Korea for the Promotion of National Independence, Korea National Christian Council and Christian People's League of Korea.

Women's Organizations

49. Mrs. Esther Whang Park, president of the Federation of Women's Clubs, and Mrs. Yoo Yawng Cheon, chairman of the South Korea Democratic Women's Federation (affiliated with the Democratic National Front) both received an invitation to appear before the Sub-Committee. Mrs. Park considered that the majority of the Korean people wanted a general election in South Korea, that the Communists would obstruct such an election in South Korea, but that under the protection of the police and supervision of the Commission, free elections would be possible. Mrs. Yoo declined the Sub-Committee's invitation, but, in communications to the Commission, the South Korea Democratic Women's Federation stated that there can be no free election in South Korea, where the police exercise repressive control of civil rights and where oppression and terrorism are said to be prevalent. It is considered that the Korean people will not participate in any election unless it is held freely by the Koreans themselves after the withdrawal of foreign troops. The Federation further urged that the Commission should cease its activities in Korea on the ground that it was merely an instrument of United States "imperialism".

Economic organizations

50. Mr. Lee Dong Sun and Mr. Chun Yong Soon, president and vice-president respectively of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Korea, and Mr. Chey Soon Ju, director of the Bank of Chosun, warned that the Communists, whom they considered had spent a great deal of money on propaganda in South Korea, might obstruct the holding of free elections. However, they maintained that present conditions in South Korea permitted free elections. According to Mr. Chey, the rightist youth organizations in South Korea have spent about 200,000,000 won on political activities, while the leftist organizations may have spent 2 billion won in South Korea for similar purposes. However, it was held that the rightist youth organizations would not interfere with elections. Generally speaking, most other business associations and certain rightist farmers' organizations held similar views.

51. Mr. Pak Keun-Ong, chairman of the Industry, Labour and Agriculture Committee of the South Korea Interim Legislative Assembly and a

/representative

representative of the Industrial Reconstruction Association of Korea, feared that a separate election in South Korea, leading to the establishment of a separate government, would divide Korea permanently. Such an election would divide Koreans into three groups: "The positive right wing parties will take part in the general election; and the positive left wing will oppose it. The neutral party will stand by". The result of such an election might cause confusion and serious friction between the Koreans themselves and discredit the United Nations. Mr. Pak warned that "even though an election is held in South Korea, the establishment of a government should be gravely considered".

52. The leftist trade and agricultural organizations such as the Federation of Korean Trade Unions and All Korean Farmers' Union expressed in communications to the Commission the same views as the Democratic National Front, of which they are affiliates, concerning a separate election, the occupation forces and the activities of the Commission in Korea (see section on the views of political parties and organizations above).

Views of a village Headman

Mr. Ham Undong, Headman of the Village of Yokchon, Yang P'Yong-Gun

53. According to Mr. Ham, the people in his village had been told by the Dai Dong Youth Organization (rightist) that an election was to be held in the South. Consequently, at the request of that organization, they had signed their names on a voting list indicating that they wished to take part in the election. The Chairman of the Dai Dong Youth Organization and the Chief Officer of the Myun would nominate a candidate. Mr. Ham stated that the village and the Myun people usually agreed with the choice of the candidates made by this youth organization and that he regarded one candidate as all that was necessary. In his view it was on the whole undesirable that the village should be divided into different parties and he stated that in fact no other organization than the Dai Dong Youth, which he considered "affiliated with the Hankook Democratic Party", had existed in his Myun. During the election, the voting would be observed by a member of the Dai Dong Youth Organization and the village headman.

Views of the Commanding General, United States Armed Forces in Korea

54. At the invitation of the Sub-Committee, the Commanding General, United States Armed Forces in Korea, Lt. General J. R. Hodge, on 7 February 1948, expressed his views concerning questions related to the holding of elections.

55. General Hodge indicated that when the Election Law (Public Act No. 5) had been passed by the Interim Legislative Assembly in June 1947, and promulgated in September, it had been realized that the Soviet-American

Joint Commission was destined to fail. It had been intended to hold elections in South Korea in accordance with the Election Law. However, since the question of Korean independence was then placed before the General Assembly of the United Nations, the elections had been postponed. General Hodge considered that the Commission should now go ahead with the elections since further delay would make the Koreans impatient. The United States had wished to see the establishment of a united government in Korea, but in the circumstances he considered that the only remedy for present troubles was to hold elections, with or without the Northern zone, and to give to Koreans the responsibility of government. It was his view that whether or not an election in the South could be free at present was a question of education. He indicated that the feudalistic tradition in Korea was the worst obstacle to a free election.

56. In regard to criticism of the Korean police, he considered that, with the exception of some individuals, the Koreans as a whole had not collaborated with the Japanese. Since only those Koreans who had served under the Japanese had any knowledge of police organization, it was necessary to retain them in the police force. However, new men had been trained for the police since the arrival of the American occupation forces in Korea. The police as a whole had proved loyal to the Military Government and had served to the best of its ability. The chief concern of the Military Government was to maintain peace and order in South Korea, and it was making efforts to improve the police system. A year previously, a joint conference of Koreans and Americans had examined charges against the police force, and found that 99 per cent of them could not be sustained.

57. Referring to suggestions that South Korea was a "police state", General Hodge stated:

"I would like to point out that South Korea is an occupied area. It is at present operated under the direction of the military. The police force is charged with maintenance of law and order and, in addition, the observation of subversive activity aimed at upsetting the peace and security of the area. The police force strength of South Korea is at the rate of less than 1.5 men per thousand people. The overall for the United States is almost two per thousand, and in the cities of the United States (I say the United States because it is my own country and I know it best) it runs well over two per thousand people. By those standards in numbers, I can establish that we are under-policed in South Korea. The constabulary and our soldiers do not perform police duty. Neither of them is engaged at present, nor have they been engaged to a great extent, in law enforcement".

58. In relation to the question of civil liberties, General Hodge stated that it was because of their loss of prestige and because of their subversive activities that the Communists had gone underground. There had been arrests of Communist members but it was not considered expedient to publish the number of such arrests. He expressed the view that the Communists had not been suppressed for political reasons but as a precaution against violence.

ANNEX 5*

COMMUNICATION DATED 10 MARCH 1948, FROM MR. RHEE SYNG MAN,
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE REPRESENTATIVE
DELEGATION OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE, 10 MARCH 1948
TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
UNITED NATIONS TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA

We wish to express to you our very deep gratitude for your endeavours on behalf of Korean independence. It is with profound relief and a stern sense of responsibility that we look forward to participation in the elections on 9 May, from which will come a sovereign and independent government for our nation. As only Koreans can, we view with the deepest sorrow the tragic situation which prohibits many millions of our fellow citizens from participation in these elections. We appreciate the concern expressed by many of you at this bitter division of our country, for which we Koreans share no responsibility. We are sure you must realize that as Koreans our concern is more profound than that of any other peoples, no matter how friendly they may be towards us. It is our constant hope that the time may soon come when the artificial barrier which divides Koreans from Koreans may be removed, and when all citizens may have the opportunity, now limited to those of us in South Korea, of participating in a truly independent government.

Being much concerned that the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea may have the assistance and advice of the widest possible number of Korean citizens, the representatives of seventy leading political parties, social and business organizations representing the overwhelming majority of the Korean people met on 5 March at the National Unity Headquarters in Wooni-dong, Seoul. A list of these parties and organizations is attached for your information.

The assembled representatives expressed their unanimous conviction that they should offer their help to assist the United Nations Commission in the discharge of its duties in connection with the elections. We believe that without wide Korean support, advice and assistance the Commission will find it difficult, if not impossible, satisfactorily to implement the decision to hold elections and to establish an independent Korean government. With regret we have noted in the past what appeared to be a tendency to listen to volunteer witnesses on the questions of elections, the mechanics of elections, the powers of the police, or the capacity to establish a free atmosphere, with little consideration as to the extent

* Document A/AC.19/WG.22.

that the witnesses have represented the general views of the Korean people. It is our hope that the Commission will welcome the testimony, the advice and the assistance of representatives of groups and societies which include all shades of political opinion excepting that of the Communists and their fellow travellers. We tell you frankly that we do not consider the views of Communists in any way as being representative of Korean opinion, even though the speakers may be Korean by birth, but instead to be the views of Korean representatives of the Soviet Union. We believe that the members of the Commission know that Communists, whatever their claimed nationality, are not representative of, nor are they concerned with, the true interests of the country in which they live unless they are living in the Soviet Union. We wish again to call your attention to the list of organizations attached to this letter so that you may assure yourself of the wide, patriotic, national base of our representation, and may recognize that we do not speak as a small group of contending politicians, but instead that we speak with a united voice for the people of Korea.

On 5 March, the representatives of the listed seventy societies and organizations resolved to organize a federation, called the Representative Delegation of the Korean People (MINJOK TAIPIYODAN) to assist the United Nations Commission in every possible way in the discharge of its duties in connection with coming elections. We hope that we can be of assistance in supplying information and advice to the members of the Commission, as well as assisting the Korean people by informing them and educating them concerning the Commission's decisions on the machinery for a free election.

Following the unanimous adoption of the resolution to establish the Representative Delegation of the Korean People for the purposes stated, the assembled delegates voted unanimously to establish a special committee, having the power of representing and acting for the member organizations, in assisting and advising the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea, in discussing and determining such matters as the adoption of election laws, the election date, election procedures, limitation of candidacies within election districts to reasonably practical numbers, and to conduct general educational activities regarding the elections. Thirty-three persons to serve as representatives of the national delegation were elected at this meeting. Their names follow:

Rhee Syng Man	Oh Sei Chang	Lee Si Young
Kim Chang Sock	Myung Che Sei	Lee Yoon Young
Kim Sung Soo	Paik Nam Hoon	Shin Icky
Lee Chung Chum	Lee Bum Suk	Lee Chong Hyun
Pyun Yung Tai	Helen Kim	Sur Sang Chum

/Ryoo Chin Sar

Ryoo Chin San	Park Soon Chun	Park Hyun Sook
Whang Po Ik	Whang Ai Duk	Chun Chin Han
Chai Kyoo Heng	Moon Bong Che	Yoon Sei Pek
Choi Kyoo Sul	Kang In Taik	Yim Young Bin
Lee Tai Yoon	Kim Choon Yan	Whang Hyun Sook
Kim Hun	Oh Yoon When	Tjo So Whang

In addition to these names, ten or more representatives now being chosen by various provincial and other important centres, will soon arrive to join with this delegation.

From these thirty-three persons an executive committee was elected, and it is this committee which presents this letter to you on behalf of the many societies, organizations and political parties who represent so many millions of loyal Korean citizens. It is our earnest hope that you gentlemen of the Commission will recognize our eager desire to be of assistance to you in your difficult task as well as the wide range of our knowledge and understanding of the problems of our people and our country which we are certain will be of the greatest assistance to you when you call upon us for the help which we are qualified and eager to give.

We urge the earliest possible invitation from the Commission and its separate committees to the members of the Representative Delegation of the Korean People to give testimony, to tender advice, to give information on the questions to which we have devoted so much thought. We need not point out to you gentlemen that we Koreans are the people who will vote in the elections; it is we Koreans who will live under the new government and give it our support and our loyalty; it is we Koreans who will suffer from any errors in procedure or decision made at this critical time. It is not unreasonable, therefore, for us Koreans to urge upon you that we must play a role in the determination of the issues and the practices which will profoundly affect our lives long after you gentlemen have returned to your respective homes.

(signed) RHEE SYNG MAN
Chairman

APPENDIX

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE REPRESENTATIVE DELEGATION OF THE
KOREAN PEOPLE

Chairman:

Rhee Syng Man

Assistant Chairman:

Lee See-Young, Former Treasury Minister of the Korean
Provisional Government in Exile.

Oh Sei-Chang, One of the thirty-three signers of the Declaration of
Independence in 1919.

Committee Members:

Shin Icky, Former Minister of Exterior in the Korean
Provisional Government in Exile.

Kim Sung Soo, President of the Democratic Party of Korea.

Myung Che Sei, Assistant Chairman, the Independent National
Association.

Lee Chung Chun, Former Commander-in-Chief of the Korean
Kwangbok Army in China.

Lee Yoon Yung, Chairman of the Chosun Democratic Party
(in place of Cho Man Sik, held prisoner by the Russians).
Chairman, Federation of Patriotic Societies
of North Korea.

Park Hyun Sook, Member of the South Korea Interim Legislature;
Representative of the Federation of Women's Organizations
of North Korea.

Esther Whang, President of the Federation of Women's Organizations
in Korea.

PARTICIPATING LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS

'Daehan Dokup Gwak Sung Kookmin Hoi'

(National Society for the Acceleration of Korean Independence)

Myung Che Sei

'Daiphon Minjok Daipyoja Daihoi'

(Representative Assembly)

Choi Kyoo Sul

'Chong Sunku Dai Chaik Oiwon Hoi'

(General Election Committee)

Nam Song Hak

'Minchoo Oiwon'

(Representative Democratic Council)

Paik Nam Hoon

/'Han Hyup'

'Han Ryup'	
(United Support for Election)	Oh Yoon Whan
'Hinsok Tongil Chang Bonbo'	
(National Unity Headquarters)	Keng in Taik
'HanJok Dang'	
(Manjok Party)	Choo Suk San
'Soo Yo Hoi'	
(Wednesday Meeting)	Won Dal Ho
'Chosun Kwangup Hoi'	
(Korean Mining Businessmen's Association)	No Xu Hi
'Dongban Sasang Hoi'	
(Oriental Thought Development Society)	Lee Dong Sun
'Chosun Keimong Hyuphoi'	
(Korean Educating Society)	Kang Nam Hoon
'Sahoi Saup Hyuphoi'	
(Social Workers' Association)	Chang Il
'Bock-ak Dongji Hoi'	Pyun Wan Yong
'Chumkook Pantak Dongji Hoi'	
(Pan-Korea Anti Trusteeship Comrades' Society)	Park Soo Hal
'Chosun Tokun Hyuphoi'	
(Korea Constructors' Association)	Lee Won Sik
'Minchoo Chool Asea Ryunmaing'	
(Democratic Asia League)	Yi Book
'Chosun Kidokkyo Chungnyun Hoi Yumhaphoi'	
(All Korea League of Young Men's Christian Associations)	Kim Chi Mook
'Inwoo Dongji Hoi'	Lee Kyoo Taik
'Chumkook Hyuptong Chohap'	
(Hyuptong Corporation)	Ham Sang Hoon
'Chokook Moonwhasa'	
(National Culture Society)	Lee Hyuk
'Chosun Boolkyo Choongang Chongmoowon'	
(Korean Buddhists' Central Headquarters)	Kim Pup Nin
'Kunkook Chokjin Dan'	
(Urging Group for Foundation of Nation)	Cho Yong Kak
'Chosun Yakpoom Kongup Hyuphoi'	
(Korea Drug Industrialists' Association)	Shin Ho Kyoon
'Chosun Sangkong Hoilso'	
(Korea Chamber of Commerce)	Chun Hang Sup
	/ 'Seoul

'Seoul Sangkong Hoiiso'	
(Seoul Chamber of Commerce)	Whang Tai Moon
'Chosun Nyuja Kookmin Dang'	
(Women's Democratic Party)	Kim Sun
'Chosun Moolcha Oonyung Chohap Ryunhaphei'	
(Association of Korean commodities' corporations)	Chun Chang
'Chunkook Moonwha Dantche Chong Ryunhaphei'	
(All Korea Cultural Organizations' League)	Ko Hi Dong
'Hankook Minchoo Dang'	
(Democratic Party of Korea)	Cho Chong Koo
'Kyung Pook Daisung Hoi'	Kim Oo Sik
'Chosun Kanho Hyuphei'	
(Korean Nurses' Association)	Hong Ok Soon
'Chosun Nongup Chajai Hyuphei'	
(Association for Agricultural Utensils)	Kim Chung Won
'Dan-Chok' Tongil Dang'	
('Dan-Chok' Unity Party)	Shin Tai Sik
'Daihan Doknip Chungnyun Dan Chong Bonboo'	
(Korean Independent Young Men's Party)	Whang Hak Pong
'Hankook Minjok Weikyo Hoewon Hoi'	
(Supporting Committee for National diplomacy)	Kim Yang Soo
'Daijong Kyo Chong Bansa'	
(Daijong Religion Headquarters)	Kim Hi Kyoon
'Minchoong Dang'	
(Mingchoong Party)	Whang Ui Myung
'Shinheung Mookwan Hakkyo, Hakoo Dan'	
(Alumni's Group of Shinheung Military Officers' Training School)	Han Pyung Ik
'Chunkook Haksaing Chong Yungmaing'	
(All Korea Students' Association)	Lee Chul Seung
'Subook Hyuphei'	
(North Westerners' Association)	Lee Oon
'Chosun Kookmin Kunihoi'	Kim Kwang Shin
'Aikook Pochin Hoi'	
(Patriotic Women's Association)	Park Soon Chum
'Dongdaimoon Shijang Sangin Yunhaphei'	
(East Gate Market Merchants' Association)	Paik Nam Kei
'Seoul Sarga Hoi'	
(Seoul Midwives' Association)	Lim Yung Sook
'Chosun Chikwa Isa Hoi'	
(Korean Dentists' Association)	Sur Pyung Su
'Whanghai Hoi'	
(Whanghai Do People's Society)	Ham Suk Roon

'Daichoong Dang' (Daichoong Party)	Hong Doo Sik
'Han-mi Hyuphoi' (Korea-American Association)	Lee Suk Nak
'Anam Chungnyun Dan' (Anam Young Men's Association)	Cho Hi Chul
'Bantak Chungsin Dai' (Anti Trusteeship Movement Corps)	Kim Sung Whan
'Chosun Nyucha Kidokkyo Chulchehoi Yunghap Hoi' (Christian Women's Temperance Society)	Chung Hyun Sook
'Tangchun In Hoi' (Tanghun People's Society)	Ahn Ki Chung
'Chosun Chungnyun Koonhakira Hyuphoi' (Young Literary Men's Association)	Shin Eung Wha
'Kunsul Chungnyun Hyuphoi' (Kunsul Young Men's Association)	Ko Pyung Nam
'Hamnam Hoi' (Hamkyung Namdo People's Society)	Lee Sung Choo
'Donggook Dongjihoi' (North-Easterners' Society)	Kim Han Don
'Dankoon Chum Pongkun Hoi' (Dankoon Shrines Constructing Society)	Lee Chang Whan
'Kookminhoi Chungnyun Dan' (Young Men's Group for the Acceleration of Korean Independence)	Kim Seung Han
'Bantak Doknip Toojang Uiwonhoi' (Anti Trusteeship Committee)	Lee Tai Yoon
'Chungkook Euiyongdan Chong Bonboo' (All Korea Volunteers' Corps)	Lee Kyoo Chung
'Samli Dongjihoi' (Young Korean General Alliance)	Chung Tai Hi
'Chungnyun Chosun Chong Dongmaing' (Young Korean General Alliance)	Ryoo Chin San
'Kookchaik Yunkochoi' (Studying Committee for National Policy)	Kim Ho Yup
'Pook Kangwon Hoi' (North Kangwon Do People's Meeting)	Song Eun Ik
'Daehan Chungi Dan' (North West Young Men's Association)	Lee Il Soon
'Supook Chungnyun Hoi'	Moon Bong Che
	/ 'Daedong

'Daedong Chungnyun Hoi'

(United Young Men's Party)

Lee Chung Chun

'Whakwang Kyowon'

(Whakwang Buddhist Church)

Park Yung Hi

'Minjok Moonwhe Ooiwonhoi'

(National Culture Development Committee)

Ryang Oo Chung

'Kikok Kyodo Yungmaing'

(Christians' Association)

Chung Choon

ANNEX 6

INTERPRETATION OF SECTION 16 OF THE ELECTION LAW

A*

MEMORANDUM FROM THE UNITED STATES LIAISON OFFICER
TO THE PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMISSION

Seoul, 25 March 1948

1. Section 16, Election Law, provides that only those persons can be recorded in the poll register who had been in residence in the voting district since the day sixty days prior to the date of election.

2. The National Election Committee drew my attention to the fact that a literal interpretation of this provision may lead to the disfranchisement of all those people who changed their residence within a MYUN, EUP or DONG in case that their new residence belongs to another voting district than their original residence. This problem did not arise under the KILA law because the voting districts were much larger and coincided - as a rule - with the MYUN, EUP or DONG. After the voting districts have been reduced to a maximum of 2,000 population it is inevitable to divide each MYUN, EUP and DONG into several sub-districts which do not correspond to any administrative unit heretofore in existence.

3. The National Election Committee pointed out that the man on the street would be shocked to learn that change of residence within a MYUN, EUP or DONG may have bearing on his right to vote. It was therefore suggested that the National Election Committee issue the following instructions to all subordinate election committees:

Authentic Interpretation of section 16, Election Law:

A voter has been in residence in a voting district in the meaning of Section 16 Election Law since the date sixty days prior to the date of election if he has resided for at least sixty days prior to the election within the MYUN, EUP or DONG to which the voting district concerned belongs.

I suggest that we approve the suggested instructions which take cognizance of the realities and prohibit disfranchisements for artificial reasons. May I have expression of your views?

(signed) John WECKERLING
Brigadier General, U. S. A.

* Document A/AC.19/SC.4/3.

R*

MEMORANDUM TO THE UNITED STATES LIAISON OFFICER
FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE MAIN COMMITTEE OF THE TEMPORARY COMMISSION

Seoul, 5 April 1948

1. I refer to your memorandum of 25 March 1948 concerning the authentic interpretation of section 16 of the law for the elections. Your memorandum was referred to the Main Committee of the Commission at its first meeting on 3 April. After consideration of the issues raised in the memorandum, the Main Committee declared itself in full accord with the interpretation of section 16 as given in your memorandum, and recommended that the Commission should formally adopt this decision.
2. The Main Committee agreed that you should be immediately advised of this decision of which oral advice has already been given.
