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General MacArthur:

In reaction to the closing lines of my own letter I have run off the type of appeal which your own eloquence could convert into a challenge to this nation and the world.

Please excuse my presumption in enclosing it but maybe some of the ideas may have value.

Purposely I have woven in carefully worded praise of the Japanese and the signifance of the Korean attack to them in what is evidently deeply affecting their thinking.

'The people perish because they have no vision'.

Will you not give it to them?

HGB



TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN KOREA AND THEIR LOVED ONES:

We are now at what we hope is the turning point in one of the most unjustified attacks by a great military power upon a weak, peaceful democratic society in modern history. It is not merely that the strong attacks the weak, which awakens the resentment of every true warrior, but that this is the 'Judas Kiss' of a traditional friend with whom and for whom we twice fought a great war and to whom - in the comradeship of victory - we entrusted a share of the responsibilities we alone had won through our blood and toil and the sacrifice of tens of thousands of our sons and daughters. It is against such betrayal that not only we of the United States but of the United Nations are forced to arm ourselves.

The issue in this conflict is clear cut. In the gradual westernization and outward expansion developing from our own friendly intervention under Admiral Perry a century ago Japan had developed a natural leadership in the great Mongolian-Malay <sup>area</sup> from the Sea of Okhotsk southward to Indonesia - justified by the leadership, talents and ability of her thrifty, patient citizens. But in an evil hour, encouraged by our own <sup>neglect</sup> ~~support~~, the narrow military leadership which we had helped to throw off from the time of Admiral Perry onward reverted to its original brutality and trod mercilessly over the fellow Orientals whom Japan might have led towards a more perfect civilization. Ourselves attack<sup>ed</sup>, we had to intervene and after four years of costly warfare the Imperial Authority surrendered to the United Nations in Trust this great empire which her militarists had developed. It was a great Trust which we, in the heart of occupied Japan, have sought faithfully and truly to carry out --- with what results the people of Japan and the world are judges.



In the comradeship of a common victory and to avoid unnecessary bloodshed for our allies and ourselves we asked the Government of Russia to cooperate in the final occupation -- not as victors, for not a Japanese soldier had been defeated by Russia before this action-- but as comrades sharing a common trust. Thus we asked the Imperial Government of Japan to surrender to their generation-old enemies the mainland the Japanese had won and developed at a high cost in life and wealth -- not for Russia herself but to be held in trust for the newly developed new world union. Thus Russian soldiers, practically without a shot, re-occupied northern Korea and Manchuria and the vital Liautung peninsula with preponderance in the immediately adjacent area of North China.

But this was not all. In our surrender terms we asked Japan to surrender - not to us but to Russia - something over a million of their finest troops -- an army which had held the Japanese-Russian boundary line undefeated; an army which had never met defeat; an army self-sufficient in the vast resources and industry of then Japanese Korea, Manchuria and north China. Thus, in trust in Russian honor, we asked the Emperor to surrender the finest - undefeated - Army of Nippon with its sons and brothers and fathers of the common people of Japan.

This - let me repeat - was not the spoils of victory shared between conquering warriors but a TRUST -- a trust of human lives and human happiness of tens, potentially <sup>of millions</sup> hundreds of human beings. It was a trust we ourselves have sought to carry out in Japan where -- unprecedented in all history -- the victors sacrificed their own needs to provide food and clothing and shelter for their enemies. This was the standard of Christian charity with which we hoped to close the bloody record of war.



What was the answer of the Communist masters of the Kremlin?

Even before the surrender terms were agreed upon the massed Russian forces, freed from threat in the west by our common effort, poured in this Japanese developed area to overwhelm its inhabitants, seize the arms and munitions of the Japanese Army, and make prisoners of its undefeated personnel. This was a Trust they had accepted from our generosity but instead of cooperating they had but one objective to break down the whole civilization upon which not only Japan but the helpless inhabitants of this area had based their lives and those of their forefathers for thousands of years. This accumulated heritage of the past, the refuge of poverty stricken peasant and worker as of the brave Japanese soldiers, was ruthlessly swept away in replacement <sup>by</sup> ~~at~~ an alien philosophy they neither understood nor would voluntarily accept.

Not content with this perversion of their ancient faiths and customs the un-victorious victors supported the handful of Communist intellectuals in China, as previously the German General Staff had imposed Lenin-Trotzky-Stalin upon the Russian people, in overthrow of the constitutional and established government of China. For a <sup>tion</sup> general Chiang kai Shek had fought to establish a united China against the corruption of an ancient and now decadent society with hope that war would permit fruition of his efforts. Instead he was overwhelmed by this Russian supported tide of Communism until at last he withdrew with the remnants of his forces and resources to the island of Formosa. Close to half a billion souls - a quarter of the human race - have thus been literally beaten into acceptance of an alien Economy contrary to their ancient tradition and destructive of their own life and ideals.



Were this merely a matter of even some hundreds of millions of to us 'heathen' Chiense we might sit by, as we had to do in previous Japanese invasion of Manchuria-China, and protest what we could not prevent. But this time it is our responsibility. It was our soldiers and sailors and airmen - and Wacs and Waves and nurses - who defeat<sup>ed</sup> Japan and forced the Emperor to surrender not merely the area we had conquered but his undefeated and almost undefeatable army and continental empire on the mainland. It was to us - in the memorable occasion on the 'Big Mo' - to whom he entrusted this heritage of himself and nation: trusting in that justice and generosity of this nation which had marked our intercourse with Japan from the time of Admiral Perry onward.

This is not all. In the present clash of battle we fail to realize that it was our action -- the deliberate action of this nation under Theodore Roosevelt -- which made possible this Japanese occupation of Korea and threw back the then overwhelming masses of Russia in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05. It was the British developed Japanese fleet under Admiral Togo which defeated the Russians from Port Arthur to Tsushima and made Russian advance impossible. It was the British fleet which prevented France and potentially Germany from intervening in support of Russia. Finally, it was President 'Teddy' Roosevelt who insisted upon a victorious peace for Japan when almost exhausted.

We ourselves are responsible for Japanese control of Korea and indirectly Manchuria; much of Japanese development came from American investments; we acquiesced in a Japanese militarization, which, on the whole, was better than the previous Korean and Chinese corruption<sup>and</sup> under which Korea prospered materially and in numbers.



It is our responsibility in Korea, as previously in the Philippines and before that in Japan proper and China, when we prevented division among the European empires; when we insisted upon the 'open door'; when we spent hundreds of millions of dollars in missionary, medical and educational donations; when we prevented previous Russian and then Japanese aggression from dividing and de-nationalizing this great Mongolian bloc of half a billion human beings.

It is - more than that - our specific responsibility when we insisted upon an independent Republic of Korea and return of Manchuria to National China and at the same time insisted upon the surrender to Russia of the army and arms which might have defended these lands and people against aggression. Had Nationalist China and imperial Mainland Japan united against their common foe of Communism, together they had, at the close of the war, the strength to have limited its expansion. But for us - we the people of the United States - Korea and China would today be at peace and able to work for national and economic rebuilding.

That Russia betrayed the trust we placed in her leaders is something we should have foreseen in our knowledge of her recent history in Finland, Poland and her own terrible purges. Almost literally we turned these people of China, of Manchuria and specifically of northern Korea over to the devil and now we must pay in sacrifice of American lives and virtual war mobilization. It was we, we of the United States, who established an independent Republic of Korea; who organized its economy and trained its army; who furnished or failed to furnish it with the necessary 'carry-through' of equipment and trained leadership. It was our weakness which invited the attack we must now meet against greatly superior odds.



In this hour of growing national peril we may turn back to the words of Lincoln at Gettysburg as reminder of the task which we have assumed for ourselves and for the world. 'That there shall be a new birth of Freedom: that 'government of the people, for the people, by the people' shall not perish from the earth. 'That these dead shall not have died in vain'.

We of this immediate post-war generation owe an obligation we dare not surrender to the brave men and women who offered their lives that this trust shall not be in vain. It is not the millions of poverty-stricken Koreans fleeing from their homes before a brutal invader who alone demand our support: for even in the name of common humanity we should not stand idle. It is beyond that - in a standard which no man dare deny - in our own faith and honor that we must dare to meet this crisis. We received in solemn trust from <sup>the</sup> Japanese Emperor, for his people and even their subject populations, responsibility for their lives and property and sacred traditions: dearer to them than the lives they would willingly have sacrificed. If we entrusted part of this ~~x~~ trust to Russia and it was betrayed it is our responsibility to right the wrong.

Thus - in the final analysis - it is not for the lives and happiness of helpless millions in southern Korean; it is not to check the advance of an alien economic and political system; it is not even to protect our legitimate interests in the Orient that we fight. Beyond and beneath and within these obligations is that of our own sacred ~~obligation in the~~ trust we have accepted before the world and ultimately before God.

If we fail it is our own honor and duty and obligation to God and man which is sacrificed.



Yet - before closing - we must not forget that 'love of self' which with love of God and neighbor expresses the supreme obligation of man. If it is stated that the defense of England starts with the Rhine it may be stated with equal truth that the defense of America in the Pacific starts with Japan and Korea. Those of us who were on the tottering fighting line in the evil winter of 1941-42 know how perilously close we and with us the civilized world<sup>came</sup> to disaster saved by the narrow margin of El Alamin and Midway. Before us still rises the dreadful picture of that vast Empire which Japanese Militarism was raising southward even to Australia-India.

Yet today we face an even greater peril in that great integration of the Kremlin-directed Communism extending from the Elbe to the rivers of southeast Asia and potentially embracing all of the vast Eurasian landmass and its teeming millions and resources. But for our prompt intervention this flood of starvation-pressed hordes would have poured southward in occupation of Korea, only across the narrow Straits from unarmed Japan. Not since the fateful days of Kublai Khan has Japan faced such a danger and if the Communist flood should flow over into that virile military state God help the world and ourselves. We dare not picture the pressure of this Pan-Eurasian dictatorship upon our own land in this age of atomic bombs, snorkel submarines and guided missiles.

So the boys from Iowa and New York and California, with their backs to the Korean Straits, are fighting your battle and mine lest a new Ghengiz Khan or Timurlane overwhelm civilization in another and this time global barbarian invasion in denial of all things man holds dear.



HOWARD GRAY BROWNSON, PH. D.  
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July 22, 1950

General Douglas MacArthur, USA  
SCAP - UNITED NATIONS  
GHQ - Tokyo, Japan:

My dear General MacArthur:-

As previously expressed, I am enclosing a carefully worked out analysis of the implications of the Korean situation which may be, I hope, of value to you and your staff.

In re-survey of history I cannot but repeat previous conclusions that you are now assuming global leadership in development of United Nations unity which Washington assumed for this nation.

In other words, you are developing supreme economic-military-political leadership in the Far East, through the United Nations, superior in its ultimate implications even to that of the President.

This thought works forward to its logical conclusion that as the issue is drawn clear-cut in Korea between Christian Civilization and its destruction through essentially Communist diabolism you become <sup>its</sup> ~~the~~ divinely-selected champion against attacks which would engulf the Orient in not atheism but actual diabolism.

May I respectfully suggest that as God has given you both an outstanding personality and also vividness of expression there is need to re-state this issue so it becomes clear to all: especially to those offering their lives on the battlefield and <sup>to</sup> their friends and loved ones at home.

Respectfully yours

*H. G. Brownson*



TOP SECRET

HOWARD GRAY BROWNSON, PH. D.  
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DES MOINES 12, IOWA

July 22 1950

GENERAL MAC ARTHUR:\*

The enclosed Top-Secret memorandum outlines an overall strategy which is presented to yourself and Staff parallel to that of Admiral Radford in application of your own achievement at Leyte.

You will note this implies stabilization of the southern Korean line, reorganization of reserves, and development of east-west coast Triphibian beach/heads to throttle North Korean operations and disintegrate resistance through airpower.

You will also note this is the effective answer to Chinese and potentially Russian intervention in that the Korean peninsula is turned into a 'death trap' where any movement in force over this difficult terrain is 'channelized' against entrenched positions to be worn down through carrier-base Airforce.

This also implies the immediate re-activation of sufficient naval strength, along the lines at Leyte, in both off-shore and in-shore carrier-task-forces to meet any Russian air-naval attack.

There is also developed the ultimate 'pressure objective' of an atomic bomb attack upon Vladivostok (Potentially Port Arthur) in decisive elimination of these bases if Soviet action requires.

Finally, you will note that there is proposed immediate organization of a TRIPHIBIAN Marine Carrier-Task-Force Reserve and also of previous Japanese Army divisions as potential support.

Allowing for potential re-activation of the pre-war American ships, along the lines developed at Leyte, This places at your command a MOBILE TRIPHIBIAN CARRIER-TASK-FORCE able to dominate the Far East.

Development of such a potential Reserve, coincident with potential immobilization of the Russian position from Vladivostok to Port Arthur, immobilizes Russian strength in the Far East.

This would exert such pressure from the East, along the lines of previous Japanese organization, as to set up a self-sufficient eastern front drawing on the vast manpower of the Orient.

\* This reverses the end aimed at by Soviet policy.



TOP-SECRET

PROJECT OPERATIONS IN THE FAR EAST COMMAND.

A: KOREAN SITUATION: Re-establishment of United Nations Authority

a. FIRST PHASE: South Korea

- (a) STABILIZATION of S. Korean Line
- (b) REORGANIZATION OF FORCES - Japan S. Korea
- (c) TRIPHIBIAN operation at S. Korean neck
- (d) AIR DISINTEGRATION of enemy ground forces
- (d) MOP-UP: primarily S. Korean forces.
- (\*) DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN-UNITED NATIONS RESERVE.

b. SECOND PHASE: North Central Korea

- (\*) REPETITION OF FIRST PHASE: northern Neck

c. THIRD PHASE: Amur boundary line

- (\*) REPETITION OF FIRST PHASE: Amur Line

(\*) STRATEGIC RESERVE:

ORGANIZATION OF TRIPHIBIAN STRATEGIC RESERVE

B. CHINESE SITUATION: Immobilization Communist Forces

a. KOREA: Chinese concentration in Manchuria

- \* IMMOBILIZATION: Operations in Korea as above discourage direct Chinese intervention while developing disaster if attempting southward march.

b. FORMOSA: Carrier-Task-Force intervention.

- \* NAVAL BARRIER: American-United Nations Carrier-Task Force based on Formosa prevents Chinese attack -- permitting reorganization Nationalist forces.

c. SOUTHEAST ASIA: Stabilization.

- \* STRATEGIC RESERVES: Build up of United Nations reserves in Formosa permits TRIPHIBIAN intervention in force if necessary.

- \* STRATEGIC RESERVE: Immediate rebuilding of mobile TRIPHIBIAN CARRIER-TASK-FORCE/GROUP for stabilization of FAR EAST situation.

C. STRATEGIC RESERVE: American-United Nations.

- \* MOBILE TRIPHIBIAN CARRIER-TASK-FORCE/GROUP: As rapidly as possible withdrawal of American forces to Strategic Reserve in utilization of Asiatic forces.



STRATEGIC RESERVES

- \* It is essential - in view of the overall situation - to develop effective STRATEGIC RESERVES as rapidly as possible --- based upon COMBAT -- CARRIER-TASK-FORCES.
1. EAST KOREAN MARINE DIVISION: Reorganization on Hawaii/Japan as TRIPHIBIAN Carrier-Task-Force for beach/head operations along the east Korean coast to northern boundary.

\* This establishes the equivalent of a MARINE DIVISION in strategic TRIPHIBIAN reserve, with its own shipping and support of its own Combat Carrier Task Force.
  2. WEST COAST TRIPHIBIAN FORCE: This would be assembled from various units released from land operations, including potential Chinese National Forces from Formosa in case of Communist attack from Manchuria.

\* This Force is directed primarily at the Seoul basin and implies equivalent of Corps strength: primarily American nucleus for Asiatic-United Nations forces.
  3. JAPAN: Return as soon as possible of divisions sent to Korea, reorganization on basis of Combat Corps, assembly of reserve shipping and development as major Veteran Combat reserve.

\* These divisions are replaced in S. Korea by S. Korean-United Nations forces around American nucleus and potentially in Japan by American-Japanese reserves.
  4. FORMOSA: Interposition of American naval/air forces permits reorganization of Nationalist Armies as Strategic Reserve in relation to China, potentially the Far East.

\* This allows for organization of a completely mechanized Army Corps, with its own Airforce, shipping and Carrier-Task Force around an American nucleus.
  5. PHILIPPINES: Re-establishment of effective American direction permits re-activation of Philippine Armed Service around assignment of American personnel with American materials.

\* This should be a complete reorganization including balanced Air-Land-Sea forces, including its own Carrier-Task-Force modernized for Philippine waters.

CONCLUSION: The resultant of the above program is to throw continuing operations in Korea upon Korean-United Nations forces while withdrawing American forces for Strategic Reserve.

- \* This establishes a STRATEGIC -TRIPHIBIAN- RESERVE of the equivalent of one Marine Division and one Army Corps with full Carrier-Task-Force/Group



TRIPHIBIAN CARRIER-TASK-GROUP - OBSOLETE SHIPS

\* Time-Factor: Immediate re-activation of obsolete ships permits development of usable Carrier-Task-Group coincident with completion of STRATEGIC RESERVE.

1. CARRIER-TASK-GROUP: This consists of 5 Combat Carrier-Task-Forces built around battleship nucleus, with secondary type carriers, sufficient to dominate Far East coastal-island area.

\* This provides equivalent of one Carrier-Task-Force at each of the main strategic positions outlined above, together with alternative Group organization.

2. COASTAL-INSHORE FORCES: Modernization plans provide for re-utilization of usable replacements from pre-war ships in specially designed Coastal-Inland Combat Force.

\* This implies equivalent of coastal monitors, Escort Carriers/Destroyers, Gunboats, etc., especially designed for operation in coastal-inland waters.

3. COMBAT CARRIER-TASK-GROUP: Allowance is made between 1950-52 for re-activation of pre-war ships into a Combat Task Force able to operate against the main Russian positions.

\* This allows for completion of modernization, primarily as combat-support for Operational Airforce, with definite objective of Vladivostok as key Russian position.

4. ATOMIC BOMB: This COMBAT CARRIER-TASK-GROUP is designed primarily to support control of the Sea of Japan in potential Atomic Attack on Vladivostok, neutralizing Russian position.

\* This implies distinctly combat organization, with resulting losses, in ability to force through STRATEGIC AIR FORCE to accomplishment of this mission.

5. TRIPHIBIAN FORCES: This Force is organized on the basis of potential/actual Beach/Head-Island landings under combat conditions to control controlling and base positions.

\* This implies ability to operate primarily against Saghalin and/or the Kuriles and potential continental positions such as Darien-Port Arthur in Marine-Army operations.

CONCLUSION: Activation of Modernized COMBAT TRIPHIBIAN CARRIER-TASK-GROUP coincident with development of Marine-Army Strategic Reserve provides potential TRIPHIBIAN STRIKING FORCE.



\*D\*

## CONCLUSION

- \* Time-Factor: Time-table is such that the Korean situation can be stabilized, Strategic Reserves developed and Carrier-Task-Group organized coincident with crisis.
1. POTENTIAL RUSSIAN ACTION: Mobilization of American-United Nations Militarization forces Russia to a position where it must risk war as alternative to superior pressure forcing revolt.

\* This implies a LIMITED war, comparable to that of the Crimean and Japanese wars, in progressive isolation of Russia against a growing United Nations coalition.
  2. KOREAN STABILIZATION: It must be recognized that Korea cannot be held against a major Chinese-Russian attack but strategic operations may funnel this attack into local disaster.

\* A defensive position at the south protecting the coastal contact with Japan in relation to Beach/Heads at the neck channel potential Chinese-Russian attack into a trap.
  3. CHINESE INTERVENTION: Development of effective counter-pressure channels such an attack into pockets exposed to decisive Triphibian pressure with pressure against the exposed Coast.

\* Land intervention is possible only at the peninsulas of Korea-Southeast Asia which can be developed into 'traps' while a Striking Force at Formosa threatens the coast.
  4. RUSSIAN INTERVENTION: Developing American-United Nations power in the Far East limits Russian intervention to submarine-air operations north and south of Korea from Pt. Arthur-Vladivostok.

\* Stabilization of the Korean position channelizes potential intervention there while re-activation of Combat Carrier-Task-Force establishes decisive sea/air superiority.
  5. ELIMINATION OF COMMUNIST PRESSURE: The political-strategic-tactical objective of the above moves is to limit, immobilize and eliminate Communist pressure in the Far East.

\* This works through development of effective TRIPHIBIAN CARRIER-TASK-FORCE/GROUP able to develop successive decisive superiority at the strategic coastal points.

CONCLUSION: The strength of the American-United Nations position is ability to concentrate TRIPHIBIAN STRIKING POWER (Air-Sea-Land) in successive decisive actions based on Seapower.



TOP SECRET

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July 22 1950

General Douglas MacArthur, USA  
~~SEAP~~<sup>SCAP</sup> United Nations  
GHQ - Tokyo, Japan.

May I suggest that the attached Memorandum deserves the careful consideration of your Staff and yourself - even under the pressure of war duties - in general survey of the Korean problem.

Within the isolation of the Middle West it is possible to develop a view of the overall situation not easily possible under pressure of immediate conflict, in the thought of Marshal Foch:

'The paths which lead to knowledge are the path of History and that of Philosophy' 'Principles of War'.

From a lifetime survey of world history, more specifically its military-naval aspects, there has developed the attached overall picture of basic political-strategic-tactical policy which may, at least, be stimulative and suggestive.

It also seems to me that the essential American tradition of this nation should be taken into account in willingness to meet the cost of war but also to both know the end involved and to insist that American lives shall not be wasted.

As the immediate situation becomes stabilized, except for further Communist intervention, there is need to study the broader aspects of the conflict in relation to underlying principles.

Since specific strategy is outlined in the attached enclosed memorandum reference is necessary only to the principle that, after all, this is a Korean war and after the initial Communist attack is met it should be the Koreans themselves who must meet the price in blood and toil -- as we have had to do ourselves in the past.

There is the further vital factor that our limited first line forces should not be committed in a difficult terrain when careful strategy may withdraw the Marine and Japanese divisions for reorganization into an effective battle-trained Strategic Reserve for stabilization of peace in the Orient and elsewhere.

Hoping this may be of some value, I remain

Respectfully yours

*H. G. Brownson*



TOP-SECRET

POLITICAL-STRATEGIC-TACTICAL FACTORS  
of the  
KOREAN CRISIS

'The paths which lead to knowledge are the path  
of History and of Philosophy'

Marshal Foch - Principles of War.

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July 21, 1950



WAR - the supreme expression of Power in human society - is essentially the supremacy of Reason over irrational appeal to force in pursuance of human passions. Its direct objective is re-establishment of Authority, derived ultimately from that of the Supreme Being, over revolt from that authority. Since Authority rests on Reason it follows that supremacy of authority rests upon the superiority of rational against irrational use of force.

This conclusion applies specifically to the Korean situation in that the essential issue is the re-establishment of world authority centering in the United Nations against revolt from that authority now centering in Russian Communism. While the core of United Nations authority is American strength yet surrender of our own war-won authority to that of the United Nations establishes its supremacy and our own action as agent of this supreme authority. Although this formal world authority is still embryonic, as in development of our own constitutional system after independence, yet it expresses the necessary resultant of growing world unity.

The issue, however, is deeper in that active leadership in the United Nations, primarily Anglo-American coordination, expresses the westward/global expansion of increasingly universal Christian civilization. The revolt of Communism against this authority is, therefore, a revolt against both reason in its resultant of civilization and ultimate divine authority. For the first time in known history a true global civilization in the free unity of sovereign states faces enforcement of this supreme human/divine authority against what is essentially a revolt against Reason and God.

Civilization continues only as this authority is enforced.



1. BACKGROUND OF THE KOREAN CRISIS:

The present Korean crisis (1950) comes as growing culmination of global and regional (Far Eastern) trends in human society based upon basic geographical-political-racial factors. The major trend now approaching consummation in the United Nations is that of the unity of all mankind in a common world society and hence government in the free-intelligent decision of free-intelligent states and peoples. The minor trend, expressing the immediate Far Eastern crisis, is the natural unification of the isolated Malay-Mongolian coastal-island bloc from Sakhalin to Indonesia centering in the natural leadership of Japan surrendered in 1945 to the United Nations through SCAP.

As a result of previous expansion through war Japan, in 1945, exercised de jure/de facto hegemony over this belt of well over half a billion Malay-Mongolians inward to the mountain-desert boundaries. Through American pressure upon Japan proper, culminating in atomic bombing of Hiroshimo-Nagasaki, the supreme imperial authority surrendered this still undefeated hegemony to General MacArthur as SUPREME COMMANDER ALLIED POWERS (SCAP) in trust until its status was determined by formal peace treaties. This authority, in effect, was transferred to the United Nations so that it holds these former Japanese areas as virtual trustee pending final settlement.

The essential issue involved, initially in Korea but potentially for this whole mandate area, is the arbitrary action of Russia -- as formal part of the United Nations -- in refusing to recognize this supreme global authority and in supporting by force Communist expansion in open and fundamental revolt against this authority.



2. THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE:

Since Authority, ultimately in the creative power of God, rests upon the supremacy of Reason over irrational revolt against this authority it follows that the fundamental issue in every revolt against legitimate authority is re-establishment of this authority in the superiority of rational against irrational use of force. More correctly, it is the use of superior against inferior Reason in that no human act as such can be entirely irrational: even that of barbarism. Consequently, the fundamental issue is not reestablishment of authority by superior force but decisive supremacy of higher over lower use of Reason through superior use of force.

This distinction is essential in that the supremacy of civilization over barbarism rests not upon superiority of force, which rests in nature with barbarism, but the superior exercise of force through superior reason. Thus every civilization, specifically that of the Roman and British world empires, rests upon this supremacy of superior over less rational use of force: supremely when use of force becomes irrational. Irrational force, e.g. mob violence, is not of itself dangerous until, as in such upheavals as the French and Russian Revolutions, brute force is guided by high but perverted intelligent leadership, e.g. that of Lenin-Trotsky-Stalin.

The conclusion, therefore, is that in the present issue it is not merely supremacy of American-United Nations material/quantitative/qualitative force but superiority of civilization itself over what is essentially irrational appeal to force. Force is only the means which demonstrates this superiority of higher over lower use of reason as with every great military leader.



3. OBJECTIVE OF UNITED NATIONS STRATEGY:

From the previous argument it is clear that the objective of present American-United Nations strategy under General MacArthur is not mere overwhelming the North Korean and ultimately Chinese and even Russian Communist outbreak by superior material strength but decisive demonstration of the superiority of Christian civilization. Actually, as in all such revolts, e.g. the Barbarian Invasions, Islam, Jhegiz Khan and Timurlane, quantitative and even qualitative military superiority lies with this revolt to be overcome eventually through the superior morale of organized civilization. This applies specifically to the Korean situation in that the actual and potential Communist mass greatly exceeds that immediately available to the United Nations -- potentially even in material equipment.

The objective, therefore, of United Nations strategic - specifically in Korea, potentially as regards Communist China and ultimately as regards Pan-Slavic Communism - is to demonstrate decisively the spiritual superiority of ultimately Christian civilization, i.e. intelligence and will, through material force. This has been demonstrated heroically and decisively in the delaying action of American-South Korean forces against greatly superior manpower and equipment -- often in a ratio of ten to one against them. Ultimately, this must extend to not merely South Korea but the Malay-Mongolian belt held in trusteeship from Japan and potentially Soviet Russia.

This means that - ultimately - such superior pressure must be exerted at the source of this revolt, symbolized by the Kremlin, that United Nations authority will be accepted as alternative of decisive defeat ending in disaster if revolt persists.



4. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES IN THE FAR EAST COMMAND:

For clarity and simplicity the situation is limited specifically to the United Nations trusteeship of the Malay-Mongolian belt surrendered by Japan, including Japan proper, and the immediately adjacent Pacific area of Russia centering in Vladivostok.

The principle involved is clear, i.e. this Malay-Mongolian belt, including occupied Japan, is a trust of the United Nations for what is essentially Christian (democratic) civilization where Russian supported Communism refuses to recognize this authority and works to set up its own authority in complete revolt -- centering in Moscow. Re-establishment of United Nations <sup>authority</sup> may be consummated in one of two ways or in their adjustment, viz.: gradual reconquest through superior military power of the areas in question, e.g. South Korea - or such pressure on the Kremlin (literally-symbolic) as forces withdrawal of support and cooperation in reestablishment of United Nations authority. Actually these objectives must be coordinated in that the effects must be treated and causes removed before normalcy can be restarted to this Far Eastern area.

However -- and this is essential -- this re-assertion of United Nations authority must be that of decisive combat superiority such as proven against Japan from Midway to Leyte. Mere crushing of Communism through superior external strength serves only to force <sup>roots</sup> the ~~seeds~~ of revolt deeper for a later and more dangerous revolt. Only when decisive superiority on the battlefield forces interior recognition of the superior civilization behind this victory is abiding peace possible -- as with Japan from Perry to Halsey, and now the outstanding personality of MacArthur.



5. SEA-SUPPORTED AIRPOWER:

geographic  
The/isolation of the Malay-Mongolian belt from Saghalin to Indonesia is such that the only approach is through Seapower where American supremacy from Midway to Leyte permitted direct approach of American Airpower and potentially Military Power to direct contact with Japan culminating in the atomic bombs.

However, SEAPOWER in itself is unable to penetrate the interior of this coastal-island landmass -- as seen in the failure of both Western and Japanese Seapower and limited Military Power. This leads to the supremacy of AIRPOWER able to operate past geographical-military-political barriers to strike directly at the previously impenetrable interior. Yet this Airpower must rest upon Seapower because geography is such it is technically impossible for Aircraft to operate by itself across the Pacific.

This leads to the conclusion of SEA-SUPPORTED AIRPOWER, i.e. Seapower which can support decisively superior Airpower in tactical as well as strategic penetration of the self-sufficient interior. While Airpower is not of itself sufficient to eliminate possibility of resistance, as seen in both Germany and Japan, yet it develops such decisive destruction - especially in the atomic bomb - that no organized society can persist in the face of this superiority. Thus first German and then Japanese economic-military-political integrity was so worn down effective resistance was impossible leading to unconditional surrender of even undefeated land armies.

SEA-SUPPORTED AIRPOWER, with necessary supporting Military Power, is the specific expression of the superiority of world civilization which can enforce peace.



6. CARRIER-TASK-FORCE:

The specific instrument of SEA-SUPPORTED AIRPOWER through which the United Nations can enforce its trusteeship in the Orient is the CARRIER-TASK-FORCE: more generally the TRIPHIBIAN Carrier-Task-Force in effective concentration of Sea-Air-Military strength.

As the name indicates the TRIPHIBIAN CARRIER-TASK-FORCE implies the effective concentration of Air-Sea-Military power in a mobile sea unit under single command able to establish decisive local and hence general superiority. This unit force rests back upon what may be termed the BATTLE-CRUISER-CARRIER -- using the terms in their broad significance -- of ships in effective coordination able to develop the related functions of BATTLE-CRUISE-AIR SUPPORT: with emphasis upon the individual factors according to circumstance. This implies a SHIP-FORCE-GROUP organization at sea able to maintain its position in sustained mastery of the sea to a final decision; to establish combat supremacy against opposing forces within its range of action; and - under present conditions - support a decisively superior Airforce able to control the area of necessary penetration.

In principle the effectiveness of the Carrier-Task-Force is determined by the range of carrier and/or supported airplanes, tremendously increased through refueling at sea to include long-range land planes. Practically, it includes the necessity of establishing island-beach/head bases from which secondary operations can be extended: e.g. Okinawa-Iwo Jima, consequently the TRIPHIBIAN CHARACTER. This corresponds today to the ability of the ship-of-the-line --(frigate) occupying temporary or permanent supporting land bases for its own use and in ultimate military operations.



7. THE ATOMIC BOMB:

The A/H bomb expresses the theoretical as well as practical ultimate in destruction -- prescinding gas-bacterial-psychological warfare -- in supremacy of AMERICAN-CHRISTIAN-DEMOCRACY as nucleus of world civilization united under the United Nations. In principle, in the development of the Einstein equations, this expresses the ultimate in material action inherent in the magnetic-nuclear organization of matter-force: the utmost theoretically possible in rational organization of human society. While actually explosion is a merely physical act possible for any material being development of the bomb expresses the utmost of human civilization in its ultimate consummation in the isolation, spiritual basis and freedom included in the terms AMERICAN--CHRISTIAN--DEMOCRACY:--'men as gods'.

However, as at Hiroshima-Nagasaki, actual effectiveness of the atomic bomb (A/H) is proportional to its expression of the supremacy of superior over inferior rational society. Thus the destruction of the two Japanese cities merely culminated previous decisive American superiority going back to the days of Admiral Perry: which could be enforced in more costly ways such as standard bombing, blockade, etc. While the atomic bomb has a limited tactical value, increasing with technical development - e.g. destruction of an otherwise impregnable position or naval force - its primary value is strategic in concrete evidence of the superior civilization behind it.

This decisive resultant is not that of mere destruction, e.g. the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor or our own surprise dropping of the atomic bomb, but ability to drive home a decisive blow, where Japan failed and we succeeded.



CONCLUSION:      Decisive Atomic Attack of Carrier-Task Force.

The conclusion of this initial approach to basic strategy is that the ultimate and potentially decisive expression of the natural and hence authoritative supremacy of the United Nations is that of the Atomic (A/H) Bomb delivered from decisive AIRPOWER supported by COMBAT/TRIPHIBIAN CARRIER-AIR-FORCE.

The reason is that the military/air strength of Russian-Chinese Communism within the <sup>protected</sup> Eurasian interior is such that no existing or immediately possible United Nations Land/Air force can drive through a sustained Land/Air attack able to deliver sufficient volume of atomic bombs at critical centers ~~sufficient~~ to establish decision. Temporarily there exists ability to develop perhaps superior atomic attack and hence destruction, but not against vital points of Communist control, whereas Communist use of the bomb against highly vulnerable areas in western Europe, Japan and the United States is able to deliver possibly paralyzing surprise attacks. Against this, Communist Land/Air/coastal seapower is such that full mobilization implies <sup>its</sup> virtual occupation of the Eurasian landmass.

However, properly organized CARRIER-TASK-FORCES are able to support long-range Strategic Air attacks in force, directly and/or through occupation of intermediate island-beach/head advanced bases. Long range bombing, typified by the B36, with supported/re-fueled fighter escort can drive through sustained attacks from the Leningrad-Moscow-Stalingrad east to Vladivostok from such support. Such sustained attack establishes such evidence of the superiority of American-Christian-Democracy in the United Nations that it must be accepted as alternative to annihilation.



II

STRATEGY IN KOREA



From the previous analysis it is evident that overall United Nations strategy in Korea involves related factors much beyond mere re-occupation of the area south of the 38th Parallel: which Russia would probably concede as exchange for a seat by Communist China on the Council. It is also evident that it greatly exceeds distinctly American objectives in re-establishment of American prestige in use of mechanized equipment against increasingly conscript North Korean armies. By acceptance of the authority of the United Nations both it and this nation have bound themselves by major strategic considerations: primarily establishment of United Nations authority.

As a result immediate tactical-strategic-political objectives will have to be restrained in relation to this ultimate objective upon which permanent world peace rests, while other objectives will have to be attained which are not immediately related to Korea. Specifically this implies re-establishment of not merely American and then South Korean supremacy but ultimately that of the United Nations expressed through distinctly United Nations Armed Forces. This corresponds to the position of Washington in the Revolution where his ultimate victory came through his 'Continental' representing the Colonies as a whole as nucleus for ultimate supremacy of Federal Authority in the Civil War.

There is also the essential point that Korea, as Spain in the Civil War, is the testing ground as to the essential value of American-Christian-Democracy against its antithesis in Communist Dictatorship. While this includes the broad extent of American equipment culminating in the atomic bomb it rests ultimately upon the free-intelligent battle supremacy of free-intelligent citizens. It also includes the ultimate question of discipline, even for this nation, in supremacy of world authority.



1. THE AMERICAN POSITION:

Immediately, this nation is having to pay in blood and toil the price of its own betrayal of the unconquered mainland of the Japanese empire surrendered to it in trust by imperial authority. We had already beaten Japan to its knees and had we been more self-restrained we could have forced through a distinctly American surrender expressed in the unprecedented character of the MacArthur occupation policies. This would have retained effective control of not merely Japan but also external territories defended by undefeated Japanese armies in gradual readjustment.

However, for better or worse, in our irrevocable marriage to Christian Democracy we have accepted the principle -- as in emancipation of the negro -- that we must let the previously imperial-organized Orient work out for itself its free-intelligent citizenship. In this we become, as it were, an 'armed umpire' balancing our own superior strength against that of Russian Communism to permit the Koreans themselves to work out their own democratic destiny. It is not our responsibility nor even that of the United Nations to restore South Korea to its people at the price of our own blood and toil, nor even establish a re-united nation, but to assist them in establishing these objectives.

The immediate value of American intervention ends when we have shown decisively our military superiority to any Russian supported Asiatic Communism - provided Russia does not interfere directly - while assisting the quite capable South Koreans to re-establish their own state or work out adjustment between North and South for a united Republic. This is a policy the nation will support.



2. SOUTH KOREAN REPUBLIC:

Southern Korean is the more culturally developed part of the ancient Korean racial-national state which, as late as the 16th-17th century was able to defeat Japan at her then height of militarism. Experience now shows that the apparently pacifist South Koreans, when given proper support and leadership, are able to develop a high order of military action. The South Korean position is essentially that of American-supported Japan from Admiral Perry to MacArthur in re-establishment of traditional as against military rule.

South Korean, potentially the entire Korean population, must be prepared - in the thought of President Truman - to pay the price in its own blood and toil for the freedom which we have given them. Ruthless as it may seem, we must be prepared to see them 'work out their own' salvation' in 'blood and iron' as we had to do from exploration of the Americas down to the present. It is a curse not a blessing to encourage them in a standard of civilization they cannot themselves maintain: especially as South Korea is relatively much more permeated by Christianity than the North.

This determines American direction of South Korean strategy, not in imperialistic exploitation of native auxiliaries or the other extreme of 'pampering' but rather as in the Philippines, where, in the last war, we fought with them to overcome an exploitation they of themselves did not have the natural strength to resist. This price of 'blood and iron' is that which Nature, ultimately the Creator, establishes in the Natural as in the Supernatural Order. 'It is in the rugged battle of life that strength is born' -- is the cosmic/divine law so clearly expressed by Emerson.



3. UNITED NATIONS:

This same principle applies to newly-born United Nations only now taking its first independent action - under the temporary absence of Russia - in establishment of a real world society. In the thought of Wendell Wilkie in his 'One World' we are now part of a universal global society in which we deliberately subordinate our leadership to lift up weaker states and world society. Yet in this we must be, as it were, a wise and strong parent daring to let this nascent United Nations work through its own problems even in war.

It seems to be the universal law of Nature that national strength is forged through the fires of war, as with the Roman and our own Republic, so that we must accept this necessity in the present action. Korea itself is relatively insignificant, but the principle involved determines the entire course of civilization. Are the principles worked out through protective isolation of Seapower in our own nation such that all mankind can accept and follow them or is human society as a whole unwilling to pay the price of this new order?

The specific means of this unification, as in our own Revolution, is that of a UNITED NATIONS ARMED SERVICE - initially on a voluntary basis as with our own 'Continental' - which can express that 'will' to action which unites with intelligence to form the reality of the human soul and hence all human society. The League of Nations failed, in part to our own fault, when it failed to enforce 'Sanctions' against Japanese occupation of Manchuria leading to the IIInd world war. Now the United Nations, with our repeated nursing, is developing its own 'baby teeth' which can develop health and strength only as they are used.



4. AMERICAN-CHRISTIAN-DEMOCRACY in an ATOMIC AGE:

The ultimate decision in the immediate Korean situation is the reality of this ultimate upward evolution of human society in what may be termed AMERICAN-CHRISTIAN-DEMOCRACY as it approaches the consummation of human evolution as not merely 'men as gods' but in the true Christian sense 'man as God'.

The utmost possible culmination of human evolution is that of a free-intelligent society, essentially Christian, in supremacy of the supernatural over the natural, reaching the fulness of free-intelligent decision as to its own destiny in that mastery over its material environment expressed in the Four freedoms of an Atomic Age.

As in every upward evolution there is the ultimate cosmic-divine law that 'many are called but few chosen' expressed in evolutionary terms of 'struggle for survival' in elimination of the 'unfit' and stabilization of the 'fit' in the new upward cycle. This applies supremely to Christian civilization as it approaches its supreme conflict against the absolute and ultimately diabolic revolt included in the term Marxian Communism. As in its historic past, if Christian civilization is to survive it is only as it proves its right to survive in the supreme test of life and death.

For Christian civilization as such, in distinction from its inner spiritual life, the ultimate test of its value is on the field of battle from Constantine's 'Christian Legion' down to the present conflict against atheistic Communism in Korea. There was 'war in heaven' ushering in man's existence and this will continue by divine revelation to the end of this existence on earth. Christian civilization now faces its supreme test in global-atomic war.



5. RUSSIAN-SUPPORTED COMMUNISM:

The issue is now clearly drawn by President Truman and General MacArthur, which Stalin must ultimately accept whether he will or no, between Christian civilization and universal-absolute revolt from it in Marxian Communism. However, we must carefully distinguish between what is essentially Russian-Chinese 'National Communism' working outward from Moscow and the essential virus of essentially German Communism centering in Prussian Militarism as the underlying force in the 1st and 2nd world wars. While nominally orthodox actually the Communism of Stalin and Mao is a national variation which works towards distinctly national-racial objectives.

It is, therefore, essential to distinguish between the natural geographic-racial-cultural expansion of Pan-Slavic and Pan-Mongolian, as previously the Pan-Malay-Mongolian empire of Japan, and the immediate resultant of German Kultur in nominal Marxian Communism really studied only by a few but imposed upon the masses. The traditional Mongolian racial-cultural<sup>e</sup> of China reached its then furthest expansion a little over a century ago in the Manchu empire extending from the Pacific littoral of Russia to Indo-China inclusive, so that expansion of the vigorous Mao is racial more than Communist. The same principle applies to Russia in both unification of Slavic racial states and also continued eastward expansion into previous Mongolian territory from the Tartar expulsion onward.

Russian Communism is primarily Russian and secondarily Communist. The same conclusion applies to Chinese Communism in what is essentially a North-Chinese national awakening. Unification of the two movements is primarily in the revolt of Asia against Western conquest expressed in Communist terms.



6. UNIFICATION OF MALAY-MONGOLIAN CIVILIZATION:

The great Malay-Mongolian mass of approximately 1/3rd the population of the globe from the Sea of Okhotsk to Indonesia inclusive forms a relatively homogeneous racial-cultural-political society of its own in only slow impenetration of western influence. However, it must be recognized that this western, i.e. Aryan, penetration goes back to the beginning of the Christian era in that of Aryan Brahminism, Buddhism and Hellenism absorbed into racial tradition. Christian civilization has also been impenetrating this mass, probably from its initial expansion, in increasing measure.

It is as natural for this area to have its own common unity as that of Western Europe under British hegemony from 1815 to 1914 and that of the Americas under this nation. The natural center of this unity is Japan as the highest development of Malay-Mongolian civilization deeply impregnated with Western influence through sea contacts. Temporary defeat of Japan in 1945 has the effect of leaving a void into which pours the much less developed and <sup>less</sup> westernized militarism of the Continent now expressed in the Communist revolt.

The Korean situation cannot possibly be divorced from this two thousand year old point of contact between the essentially insular civilization of Japan and the essentially continental civilization of China in repeated interaction. Temporary weakness of Japan allows the temporary reaction of less developed continental militarism at this historic-geographic point of contact. Russian-Chinese supported North Korean invasion merely repeats previous barbarian invasions from the interior checked only in historic times by the rise of Japanese Seapower and its resulting superior military organization.



7. KOREAN FOCUS:

As recorded European history has flowed back and forth across the narrow British channel since the time of Julius Caesar, actually back to pre-historic times, so the insular-continental streams of Malay-Mongolian civilization have flowed back and forth across the narrow Korean Straits down to the present Korean incident.

The terrific population pressure of the mainland unable to cross the sea barriers of the Yellow-China seas develops its full pressure at the narrow gap between Korea and Japan as seen in the invasions of Kublai Khan, Korean-Japanese wars of the 16th-17th century, and the rise and then collapse of imperial Japan. In this terrific population pressure up to the Malthusian limit of subsistence human life counts as nothing in relation to preservation of the race. Perhaps ten million boy babies are born each year on the Mongolian mainland, each of them a potential soldier, while potential birth rate is limited only by food on a subsistence basis: with nearly half as many more born in the Island Chain from Japan to Indonesia.

This is the basic strategic factor in the Korean situation where human life is both cheaper and more abundant than bullets so that Communist China, even without Russian urging, could sacrifice a hundred million lives in this generation, to gain control of the rich island chains and re-people them with lower standard Chinese. American-Western influence has served only to <sup>raise tremendously</sup> the standard of living in this island chain while that of the mainland remains on the much lower subsistence basis. These streams of population pressure meet at the Korean Straits where the main Mongolian mass is prepared - in blind instinct - to sacrifice millions of human lives to regain control of this vital connection with the islands.



CONCLUSION:      'STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL'

Merely statement of the previously presented points shows that the massed population pressure of the great Eurasian Landmass and its eastward rich island chain is focusing at the narrow Korean contact in the illustration of two high-charged electric currents meeting at the gap of their carbon points to form an electric arc.

The few thousand Americans on the battle line are a mere handful to stop this population surge if it once gets started: perhaps a million North Korean conscripts, millions of veteran Chinese, the Pan-Slavic mass checked in its westward expansion and surging eastward along the Trans-Siberian under severity of Russian poverty.

Previous Aryan conquerors from the pre-historic Aryan invasion of India have poured eastward, down to the present European empires, to establish their military supremacy and exploit the labor of these teeming masses. Now, in the upward advance of human evolution, a new standard of civilization is arising ~~in that~~ of service rather than exploitation based upon the principles of Christian civilization and the enormous resources of the New World. This nation, in its vast self-sufficiency, has no need ~~for~~ either the resources or the manpower of the Orient: only the challenge for survival of the New World Order against its subjection to the Old.

American-Christian-Democracy in approach to this Atomic Age sets a new standard in human society and necessarily in warfare in the virtually unlimited capacity of this atomic age and yet it must exert this unprecedented power with the disciplined mastery of a highly skilled operator handling a powerful electric crane.



III

THE POLITICAL-STRATEGIC-TACTICAL  
PROBLEM



The immediate military command at one extreme and political leadership at the other, divorced from mutual balance, tend to that absoluteness in war which is contrary to both the natural and divine order. This implies MODERATION and MASTERY in relation to ultimate political ends, especially in maintenance of reserves for emergency. It also implies utmost conservation of resources, primarily human lives, in maximum efficiency-economy of action.

Applied to the Korean situation this implies that American forces develop primarily an initial stabilization and then reserve function where major local responsibility is assumed by South Korean forces and then those of the United Nations. This implies that tactical-strategic operations shall be kept within such limitations <sup>while</sup> ~~and~~ natural trend of the Military to absolute action be restrained within the major political objectives. In other words, in the relation of parent to child, force shall be used in that proportion to re-establish the supremacy of reason against passion.

Specifically, this implies that ground operations in a difficult terrain shall be kept at a minimum and that maximum use be made of TRIPHIBIAN CARRIER-TASK-FORCES in support of General Airpower. As rapidly as a strong defensive line can be established it becomes possible to take advantage of geographical conditions to cut off North Korean operations in successive Triphibian pressure at the narrow necks of the peninsula back to the natural Amur boundary. This minimizes American losses, uses Airpower to disintegrate opposing land forces, turns over necessary attack to South Korean and United Nations forces --- and builds up a STRATEGIC RESERVE.

AMERICAN RESOURCES MUST BE CONSERVED AS ~~THIS~~ STRATEGIC RESERVE.



1. POTENTIAL COMMUNIST STRENGTH:

American operations in the Far East are determined not so much by immediate North Korean forces - although this problem remains serious - but primarily by the possibilities of Chinese-Russian Communist intervention. The first, i.e. Chinese movement through Manchura-Korea, must be accepted as imminent at any time in a veteran force of perhaps a quarter million able to march through difficult terrain without modern transport. Russian intervention centers immediately in the possibility of air, submarine and technical forces providing a technical nucleus for Korean-Chinese attack.

Frankly, it must be recognized that Communist strength in the Far East is such in relation to latent discontent in the overpopulated island chain and to overall world pressure that Korea cannot be held in the face of a decisive Communist attack: with immediately available air-ground-submarine forces equal to our present total. At the same time the danger of attack in force against virtually defenseless Japan is such that at least the Straits coastal area must be held. This dictates American policy in what is not so much a 'holding' operation awaiting reinforcements as stabilization of a protective Beach/Head in relation to coastal Seapower.

However, as developed further in more detail, this offers opportunity for such 'channelization' of Korean-Chinese-Russian attack as to make the peninsula a pocket disastrous to such attack if it be forced contrary to sound military considerations in a difficult terrain subject to direct pressure of carrier-based Airforces.

This implies an overall Political-Strategic-Tactical Policy.



2. THE AMERICAN POSITION:

As emphasized previously, the essential American objective is establishment of such decisive tactical superiority that Communist leadership will be deterred from attack: realizing the vast potential of American mobilization. However, since Communist leadership is 'blind leadership of the blind' determined by static Marxian ideology in ruthless exploitation of the masses nothing but decisively superior force can effect a return to reason. This implies such losses, especially in the distinctly Communist nuclear organization, that this lesson is driven home in eventual popular reaction.

This principle determines American policy in an aspect of war different from that against the Axis, although foreshadowed with Japanese Bonzai-kmaski <sup>suicide</sup> attacks; i.e. deliberate entrapment of a fanatical enemy. This determines gradual retirement to a permanent defensive line; infliction of maximum casualties, especially against armor, guns, planes and transport; and continual punishment through air-sea-mechanized forces. This also leads to effective utilization of TRIPHIBIAN forces (Air-Naval-Marine) in beach/head technique so effective in the Pacific war.

Specifically, this implies retirement to a defensible line protective of the landing ports, exposure of enemy flanks to carrier-naval attack, and TRIPHIBIAN BEACH/HEADS at the narrow necks of the peninsula - ultimately to the Amur-mountain natural barrier. This 'channelizes' attack, potentially Chinese-Russian, into an interior valley approach, which can be continually pounded by carrier-base airforce and possibly long range gunfire and guided missiles. This inflicts disastrous loss of morale/nuclear forces.



3. SOUTH KOREAN FORCES: This is essentially a Korean war and the main combat losses should be borne by the Koreans themselves in the unavoidable strengthening of their democratic organization. Although pacifist for generations the Koreans have a heritage of able military power, repeatedly defeating Japan up to its westernization, and proving their ability now when properly organized and equipped. There also exists the manpower in South Korea, mobilize a military force equivalent to that of the less developed northern section. This leads directly to full mobilization of all Koreans in the unconquered zone, including refugees; infiltration and mobilization across the military line; and inclusion of deserters from the North Korean forces on an all-Korean basis. Sufficient nucleus organization exists to build such a KOREAN force able not only to reunify the nation but also defend it against subsequent attacks. In this Communist policies can be utilized in the way of indoctrination, use of short-time trainees around veteran nuclei, and popular support. Moreover, sufficient Japanese industrialization remains to permit an increasing production of war potential through intensive utilization of an abundance of labor. This implies effective rationing and supply of food, to be brought in immediately from Formosa, Southeast Asia and Burma. With organization, food and leadership Nationalist Korea can re-establish its traditional nationalism.

This implies use of American-United Nations forces primarily as protective shield during this re-mobilization and such tactical advances as may be necessary to secure essential areas: specifically a carefully organized TRIPHIBIAN re-occupation of the densely settled and industrialized Seoul Plain.



4. UNITED NATIONS FORCES:

As previously emphasized, the United Nations, as our own Continental Congress in the Revolution, necessarily grows its way to effective organization through the blood and toil of war. In this, MacArthur repeats the role of Washington as the central economic-military-political leader in advance from national to world unity. Thus a United Nations force is not that of volunteers or even detached national units in a private war but the nucleus of United Nations unity in growing strength - as in the 'Continental's.

This principle determines recruiting, organization and utilization of a United Nations Force -- behind American-South Korean protection until properly orientated. It should not be a mere 'token' force, although that is important, but the nucleus of an actual combat organization capable of ultimately global extension. At the same time national factors need to be recognized in initial organization on such a basis, although more like the French 'Foreign Legion'.

An effective United Nations Force from divisional to corps basis can be developed rapidly from the mass of war-trained and war-eager nationals, especially if attracted by the standard of American pay-rations-treatment. As with the French in support of Washington in the Revolution we can well afford to subsidize such <sup>a United Nations</sup> ~~an-Intern~~ Force: including recruitment from ~~of~~ former Axis nationals. While such a force should include Asiatic representation it should be primarily a Eurasian force, possibly including carefully screened present equivalent of former 'White Russians' and West Slavs.

This UNITED NATIONS FORCE - on potential Air-Sea-Land basis - should be 'nursed' into strength as basis of world unity.



5. NATIONALIST CHINA:

The largest, immediately effective, veteran force in the Far East is that of Nationalist China now centered at Formosa, but capable of rapid expansion and greatly increased efficiency. This force - including air and sea units - can be looked at from two aspects: first, as a Nationalist army contributed by China to the United Nations and second as the immediately effective force of the United Nations in the Far East. This requires careful distinction to avoid extension of the Chinese issue to Korea unless forced by a direct Communist intervention.

Interposition of American carrier-task-forces between Formosa and the mainland not only eliminates danger of attack, especially during the typhoon season, but also permits effective reorganization under American-United Nations direction: including that of the now almost 'rotten' Chinese administration. A nucleus of American personnel, with good pay, food, equipment and treatment, would develop the most effective military force in the Far East. In this it might be well to allow elimination of Chiang kai Shek to permit re-<sup>?</sup>organization on a new Nationalist-United Nations basis.

It should be emphasized that this is primarily a 'nuclear' force, although of immediate potential value, in that it forms a nucleus around which Chinese Nationalists can be organized: including specifically the broad extent of Chinese throughout the islands and also those in this country. It would be wise to move this Chinese Nationalist force from Formosa as rapidly as possible to be replaced by a strictly Formosan Force under American-United Nations organization. This would solve many problems.



6. JAPAN: It should be frankly recognized that the only economic-military-political organization in the Orient able to meet the challenge of a Mongolian Communist upheaval is Japan. With a potential of half a billion Russian-supported Mongolians from Manchuria to Burma inclusive, with the vast resources of this area, any thought of direct American intervention is out of the question in case of a real mass awakening -- now developing in Communism. This is still more evident in case activation of Asiatic Communism moves from Russian Nationalism to the core of Aryan militarism in the highly capable leadership of Historic Prussia, now East Germany.

Accordingly, we should frankly recognize the unavoidable necessity of re-integration of Japan as the natural leader in the Far East - as junior partner in the world dominant Anglo-American hegemony - as prior to the rise of extreme militarism - or rather, as an integral part of a common United Nations. Japan has a natural leadership in the Malay-Mongolian bloc from Saghalin to Indonesia and ~~also~~ <sup>in</sup> a traditional reaction (as well as fear) <sup>regarding</sup> mainland aggression going back to its early history. Consequently, Japanese participation in restoration of United Nations authority in the empire's former 'Co-prosperity-sphere' would permit re-activation of this essentially sound program within not ~~eat~~ against world unity.

This implies specific distinctions in utilization of Japanese resources: first, as base for American-United Nations action resulting in greatly increased 'war prosperity'; second, national defense, internal/external, under American leadership-control; third, active participation on a national basis in a United Nations force -- under necessarily strict control and limitations.



7. MALAY-MONGOLIAN BELT:

The previous presentation leads to the specific conclusion that this geographically-racially-culturally distinct coastal-island belt from Saghalin to Indonesia should be given definite regional recognition corresponding to that of Pan-American, Pan-European, Pan-Slavic organization within the United Nations. However, in the principle of President Wilson in the League of Nations, this should be on a national rather than regional representation: e.g. ~~something~~ comparable to regional groups within this nation such as New England, the South, Middle West and Pacific Coast. This permits regional coordination without regional unification leading to revolt.

This objective can be attained through recognition of the reality of this geographical-racial-cultural background on the basis of coordinated national states in direct relationship to United Nations. Specifically, this implies - as outlined above - development of a distinctly FAR EASTERN mobilization centering technically in an American-United Nations controlled TRIPHIBIAN CARRIER\*TASK\*GROUP: technically superior to anything possible for direct Asiatic effort. In this, the ultimately effective weapon is that of the atomic bomb in the lesson driven home so drastically to Japan and the utmost potential weapon against the massed island-coastal concentrations.

In other words, this regional area should be allowed to work out its regional development within the United Nations, under American direct tutelage, but it should be made equally clear that there is no possibility of effective revolt: in the principle which permitted the 'oriental' provinces of the Roman Empire to become 'Roman'.

This implies definite Americanization.



CONCLUSION: AMERICANIZATION OF THE FAR EAST:

The definite conclusion is that American re-intervention in force in the Korean situation leads necessarily to Americanization of the Far East working forward from original intervention by Admiral Perry down to the mastery of the Pacific in the last war.

This expresses a different aspect of intervention from anything previously known, although <sup>in</sup> a gradual <sup>upward</sup> evolution from original Aryan conquest of Dravidian India down to ~~the~~ transition of the British Empire into the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is unsound and ultimately dangerous to refuse to recognize the natural difference among races in historical background, social organization and even national ability but this distinction rests back upon the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence and Christianity. Man as a human soul is equal before God, but there is definite gradation in the development of this common humanity where 'he that is great let him be the servant of all'.

This expresses itself specifically in the answer of American Democracy to the false democracy of Communism in that American policy is to help others to help themselves - not exploit their weakness. This works out in specific political-strategic-tactical operations in that the primary function of American intervention is to protect the Trusteeship we have taken over from Japan against that Russian aggression we unfortunately permitted. Ultimately, in our own subordination to the United Nations, we must 'stoop to conquer' in that we must encourage these backward peoples in adjustment to a global American-Christian-Democracy -- even at the severe cost of their own blood and toil in winning victory themselves.



CONCLUSION



The principles underlying American re-intervention in the Far East in Korea establish the standard for practical action in a continuing national policy second only to that of the Monroe Doctrine - i.e. the Orient for the Orientals. This does not imply, as we were forced to establish decisively in the Pacific War, that the Orient can continue its previous Oriental methods into the now developing global unity of American-Christian-Democracy but that it has its own distinctive place in this upward evolution. Having initiated this intervention ~~in active intervention~~ a century ago under Admiral Perry we have no alternative but continue it to its ultimate conclusion in Americanization of the Orient.

This implies a clearly developing conflict between false principles of Communism now working out from Russia and the true principles of Christian Democracy working out from this country. However, we must make a clear and vital distinction between the false principles imposed upon the Russian people in the Revolution of 1917 -- essentially as a war move of the German General Staff -- and the innate national-racial and ultimately Christian 'natural Communism' developing out of the original Slavic 'Mir' or village economy. As in the 1st World War, so clearly enunciated by President Wilson, there is an essential distinction between the Chinese-Russian people and a totalitarian militarism <sup>forced upon them</sup> ~~they have accepted~~.

We have consistently blocked Russian racial expansion into the Mongolian-Malay belt from the Russo-Japanese war onward and now we are again being forced to express this restriction through war. However, it must be a war in which Malay-Mongolian civilization works with us, not one which we carry on as 'Uncle Sap' not Uncle Sam. If the people of the Orient want to live in an increasingly American-Christian-Democracy they themselves must pay the price.



Unfortunately - the nearly Billion people of the Orient, extending this term eastward to India-Islam, are caught between the upper and lower millstones of Pan-Slavic and Pan-American expansion: the one in natural unification of Eurasia<sup>through Landpower</sup>, the other in natural unity of the Americas and the world through Seapower. Communism and Democracy are primarily different expressions of this innate conflict (using ~~terms~~<sup>terms</sup> in their essential meaning) where Communism is immediately a resultant of scarcity and Democracy of abundance. In part, the Old World turns to Totalitarian Dictatorship primarily because there must be drastic regimentation if these teeming millions are to live at all: in such repeated 'struggles for survival' as now taking place.

The immediate reality we must recognize in the Orient, specifically in Japan and now Korea, is this Malthusian density of population on the basis of minimum subsistence where Nature maintains livable conditions for a part only through the repeated decimation of war, pestilence, famine and infanticide. The MAINLAND ORIENT from ~~now~~ Manchuria-Korea south to Southeast Asia-Burma-India is under such population pressure <sup>as</sup> it finds its ultimate release through the drastic regimentation of Communism in total war. This applies only in part to the INSULAR ORIENT where there is still room for domestic and overseas expansion so long as American Seapower continues the freedom initiated under that of England.

This terrific population pressure is ~~only~~ channelized by a thin indoctrination of Communism for a few intellectuals into blind revolt against impossible over-population: where the Kremlin uses this blind revolt to build up a counter pressure against eventual intervention of American-Christian-Democracy.



Brutal as it may seem, we must recognize this terrific 'Struggle for Survival' which already has ~~probably~~ cost a Hundred Million lives in the German-Slavic Eurasian Plain and must cost hundreds of millions more before a final stabilization is possible. Ultimately, in the vivid story of Jack London about a great Chinese outbreak, we must hold in reserve the Atomic instruments of mass destruction -- if that be the only alternative, in God's providence, to preserve the upward advance of civilization. However, this is a last resort where -- in the course of Nature - we must let the Orient fight its own battles until final exhaustion permits effective intervention --- as temporarily in Japan and potentially Korea.

This is the specific conclusion in the 'Korean incident' that immediately our ~~affair~~ responsibility is to ~~wright~~ the wrong we did in inviting Russian cooperation after we had defeated Japan: but even in this we must realize that the Mongolian-Malay masses must ultimately fight out their own battles. Specifically, this means that if Korea is to live -- Korean not Chinese-Japanese-Russian-American -- it must be because <sup>Koreans</sup> ~~they~~ are prepared to pay the price in their own toil and blood. This Korea has done for over two thousand years, in repeated overthrow of Chinese, Manchurian and Japanese, conquest and this it must do again under present conditions.

In other words - having freed Korea from Japanese imperialism we have a responsibility to help them establish a Korean Republic, as we have helped the Philippines and Japan, but they must prove their own right to this freedom. At the same time we have an obligation to ourselves and <sup>American</sup> civilization not to allow the teeming masses of the Orient to become the instrument of a 'Proleterian Dictatorship' which <sup>would</sup> ~~destroy~~ our own God-given freedom.



APPLICATION

The application of these conclusions is <sup>specific</sup> specific.

We were forced into war with Japanese imperialism in direct attack upon our own territory at Pearl Harbor and we had no alternative but to carry this war through to its decisive conclusion in the atomic bomb where Imperial Japan surrendered unconditionally as alternative to literal annihilation.

We have taken over, in trust for civilization through the United Nations, the former area of Japanese natural penetration in the vast Malay-Mongolian belt and we have a corresponding responsibility to protect this trust against the subversive attacks of Russian supported Communism destructive of Christian civilization.

In doing so we have a moral right and also duty to use to the utmost the resources and lives of these people entrusted to our care -- not in exploitation but in helping them win, even through blood and tears, the Human Freedom we have won at that price ourselves. In other words - in the thought of Lincoln - 'Government of the people, for the people and by the people' in the Orient must be of the Orientals themselves, not something imposed upon them by superior force. This applies to Korea immediately as previously to the Philippines and potentially to Japan, China and Indonesia.

The conclusion is clear. American political-strategic-tactical policy in Korea is to help the Koreans re-establish a united Republic not serve it to them on a silver platter. At the same time we must make it explicitly clear to 'Uncle Joe' that 'Uncle Sam' means business when he says 'hands off' --- when that is the job God has given us to do.



TOP-SECRET

HOWARD GRAY BROWNSON, Ph. D.

896 TWENTY-EIGHTH STREET  
DES MOINES 12, IOWA

24 July 1950

General MacArthur:

In deepening analysis of the Far Eastern situation it seems that - as in the Philippine Campaign - there should be frank recognition of the immediate supremacy of Communist landforces: as equivalent recognition of the supremacy of Japanese militarization in the equivalent area in the Pacific War.

This implies - frankly - realization that peninsular Korea cannot be held with available American forces, except for possible beachheads, against greatly superior Chinese-Russian backed North Korean forces: especially in view of southward flow of reserves to consummate growing consolidation of a difficult natural terrain.

Accordingly - in the light of Pacific War experience - it is suggested that American-United Nations policy reverts back to that of the last war in utilization of decisively superior Seapower to develop a series of TRIPHIBIAN operations developing pressure against the entire Communist position in potential beachheads.

This implies use of SEAPOWER to check this Communist mainland expansion at the line of the China-Yellow-Japanese seas in immediate mobilization of the resources of the island areas developed by Japan under the 'Co-prosperity Sphere' and surrendered to United Nations direction in the surrender of 1945.

SEAPOWER, based upon the resources of these increasingly 'Westernized' islands -- Japan-Formosa-Philippines-Indonesia -- can immobilize Communism within the mainland; blockade its sea communications and expansion; and develop progressive inward pressure working towards eventual immobilization-disintegration.

In the meantime, re-militarization of this essentially military population, permits United Nations mainland penetration following the lines of Japanese expansion: starting with the Korean-Liaotung-Shantung; S.E. Asian peninsulas and ports such as Canton-Foochow-Shanghai --- in gradual self-sufficient occupation.

The attached memorandum works out this program on the basis of re-activation of pre-war American ships in specialized United Nations CARRIER TASK-GROUP development the striking power of Sea-supported Airforce - **especially refueling in air** - to spearhead these objectives with minimum American losses.

This works to a decisive STRATEGIC SURPRISE.

HGB



TOP-SECRET

BASIC TRIPHIBIAN OPERATIONS IN YELLOW-JAPAN SEAS

\* This implies utilization of 'expendable' 'INSHORE' (modernized) CARRIER TASK FORCE to establish control of the Korean neck in potential relation to Russia.

OBJECTIVES: These may be stated as:-

- A. KOREAN 'NECK': TRIPHIBIAN operations to establish coastal Beach/heads cutting communications across the narrow neck between E.-W. Korean bays.
- a. EAST KOREAN BAY: General indentation from Chaho to Kosong with specific beach/head from Hungnam to Wonsan east of the Rorin Mts. rail
- \* This covers the main ~~ra~~/road routes north-west-south in the narrow plain between the mountains and the sea.
- b. WEST KOREAN BAY: General indentation from Sinui-ju to Changslungpori, including specifically the latter peninsula and beach/head ~~f~~ between the Nan and Changehon rivers.
- \* This covers the outward rail-road routes in the relatively narrow plain between the hills-rivers-sea.
- c. PYONGYANG-WONSAN RAIL/ROAD LINE: This exists as potentially controllable belt cutting communications between north and south, with ultimate land contact between E.-W. Korean bays.
- B. WEST KOREAN BAY-LIAOTUNG PENINSULA: Carrier-Task-Force operating in this area is able to cut main rail/road connections to Manchuria-China, with immobilization of Port Arthur Dairen bases.
- \* PORT ARTHUR-DAIREN: <sup>→ (in case of Russian intervention)</sup> Potential reduction by air-naval attack, including potentially atomic bomb, in possible beach/head operations.
- C. EAST KOREAN BAY-COASTA: Carrier-Task-Force operating in this area is able to cut main communications from the Russian positions in Manchuria-Vladivostok.
- \* COASTAL ROUTE: This is under direct carrier/gun control from the sea eliminating any direct movement of Russian forces via this route.
- > (POTENTIAL)
- D. VLADIVOSTOK: CARRIER-TASK-FORCE provides close-in fighter support ~~for~~ long-range bombers operating from Japanese bases, including submarine control.
- \* The function of this Carrier-Task-Force is <sup>control.</sup> to see



TRIPHIBIAN CARRIER-TASK-FORCES

- \* CARRIER-TASK-GROUP based on Tsushima Straits can coordinate Task-Forces operating in the YELLOW-JAPAN seas in direct support from the main Japanese bases.
- 1. TSUSHIMA STRAITS: Reserve Task Force operating in this area provides support for operational forces to the north and southwest while protecting this 'ferry' between Japan-Korea.
  - \* This CARRIER-TASK-FORCE provides continuous air coverage, secondary destroyer/PT screening, and MARINE support for forces on lower Korean peninsula.
- 2. SOUTHERN - CHINESE - AREA: The function of Task Forces in this area is to intervene between the Chinese mainland and island positions from Formosa to Japan inclusive:
  - (1) FORMOSA: This should be a main operational CARRIER-TASK-FORCE protecting the area north and south (Philippines-Japan) together with local protection of Formosan Strs.
    - \* Formosan Straits: Because of short distances seemingly this can best be protected by secondary forces (DD-DE-CVE-PT-SS) with Task Force in reserve.
  - (2) YELLOW SEA: This 'INSHORE' carrier-Task-Force controls this main sea area, intervening between China and Japan-Korea, including support of coastal operations.
    - \* East China Sea: Because of close contacts the Tsushima-Yellow Sea-Formosa Task Forces form virtually a common Group in regional emphasis.
  - (3) COASTAL-INLAND CARRIER-TASK-FORCE: This is distinctly a specialized 'inshore' force able to support Carrier Tactical Airforce, develop gunfire and support landings.
    - \* Triphibian Force: Because of its function this is distinctly 'Triphibian' in its organization in coordination of Air-Naval-Marine forces.
- 3. SEA OF JAPAN: Operational conditions imply one primary operational Carrier-Task-Force supporting local forces at main strategic positions - specifically coastal-inshore.
  - (a) TRIPHIBIAN CARRIER TASK FORCE: Operational Battleship-Cruiser-Destroyer--Carrier force, with shipboard Marine reserves, in general control of this sea.
  - (b) INSHORE COMBAT CARRIER-TASK-FORCE: Specialized Combat Task Force able to develop coastal-inshore operations in support of landing, air and gunnery operations.



ORGANIZATION - CARRIER-TASK-FORCES

\* Based upon immediate activation of pre-war ships with such modernization as may be feasible in American-Japanese bases, with Tactical Air-Marine forces.

1. UNIT CARRIER-TASK-FORCE: Unit basis develops around battleship nucleus, gunnery cruisers, gunnery-patrol destroyers, small carrier in support of DE-CVE and Landing Ships.

(1) BATTLESHIP: Developed primarily as heavy gunnery ship, battle support of tactical air force, carriage of Marine landing force -- and nuclear control/supply.

\* This implies maximum bulging-outer x explosive shell, duplicate engineering, battle-flight and potential full landing deck, full hemisphere gunnery.

(2) CRUISERS:(CA/CL): Developed primarily as gunnery ships along lines of battleship; secondary control/supply, Marine detachment, tactical air force.

\* On basis of two cruisers per battleship they are available for extended cruising and/or secondary operations, including close-in protection of CV.

(3) DESTROYERS: (DD/DE): Without specific torpedo objective (handled by PT/TB) strip of torpedoes, given maximum protection/armament, and limited air support.

\* On basis of one division (5DD) to Task Force -- possibly more, allows for extended cruising and in-shore operations: 'flag' for smaller craft.  
fast

(4) CARRIER: Assignment of one/sea-going carrier for Task Force (11,000-14,000 class (Optional Essex): together with supporting CVE, DE and PT boats.

\* Primary function to support Tactical Air Force and re-fuel fighter escort for STRATEGIC AIR FORCE operating from main Japanese bases.

(5) SECONDARY FORCE: With use of slow speed battleships cruisers-destroyers-carrier have speed surplus for an maneuver with support of slow secondary craft.

\* This group includes Destroyer Escorts, Escort Carriers, PT boats, various landing craft, armed transport, and miscellaneous cargo-oilers, etc.

(\*) ORGANIZATION: This covers central Carrier-Task-Force in broad sea-sweep under continuous tactical air coverage in support of inshore-coastal use of secondary craft.



CARRIER-TASK-FORCE SUPPORT OF OPERATIONAL FORCES

\* Primary function of Combat Carrier-Task-Force is to provide continuous carrier-supported Air coverage, refueling of Strategic Airforce fighters, and gunnery operations.

2. OPERATIONAL FORCES: The Carrier-Task-Force is not itself expendable except under emergency or decision conditions but its objective is support of expendable operational forces:

(1) STRATEGIC AIRFORCE: The primary objective of the Carrier-Task-Force is to support/refuel the STRATEGIC AIRFORCE operating from main land bases: including fighters.

a. STRATEGIC BOMBERS: These include B36-B29 and related types, long-range reconnaissance planes and specialized types: including potential use of A bomb

b. FIGHTER ESCORT: This includes specialized high-speed Jet type fighters organized to provide fighter escort: refueled in air from air refuel planes.

c. AIR REFUELING PLANES: These are specialized fast refueling planes able to operate with Task Force, refuel Jet planes in air, refuel from special planes.

\* STRIKING FORCE: This is essentially a medium to long range coordinated force able to strike against main defense positions and develop long range reconnaissance.

(2) TRIPHIBIAN AIRFORCE: This is a specialized organization of standard and/or specialized planes designed primarily for inshore support of Beach/Head land operations.

a. Sea/Base Support: This allows for close in support, flight, re-fueling from CVE, DE and emergency base landing areas in regional operation.

b. Planes: With refueling/base support operations are by fighters, bombers and specialized types with operational radius of around 500 miles.

c. Carrier Support: Operations are such that the main Carrier support can be moved in for temporary action, determined by extent of opposition.

\* Direct Control: This expendable Airforce is designed to establish control over operational area, including combat superiority, bombing, reconnaissance, etc.

(3) TRIPHIBIAN FORCES: Under this head is included all land-sea-air operations connected with direct landing and development of beach/head bases: including gunnery, etc.



DR. JOSEPH COLLINS STAMMERS  
330 WEST 72 STREET  
NEW YORK CITY

Sunday Aug 13

General Douglas MacArthur  
Tokyo Japan

General,

You represent the finest  
Gentleman the World's  
Greatest Soldier and the  
Out Standing American.  
You are beloved and  
respected by all Real  
Americans No meaning  
by those here who are  
unmindful of what they



DR. JOSEPH COLLINS STAMMERS  
330 WEST 72 STREET  
NEW YORK CITY

one to this country will  
ever meet you. My greatest  
reference is my birthplace  
a top of Bunker Hill  
and the majority of  
this city wonder what  
it means to me. I  
momentarily pray  
right asking the Good  
Lord to spare you a  
long life and shower  
on your household  
his many blessings  
Sincerely Joseph Stammers



LETTERS TO GENERAL MACARTHUR FROM:

Misha Appelbaum, 22 Aug 50, forwarding copy of booklet  
"WHY DEMOCRACY? WHY NOT COMMUNISM?"

William LaVerre, 21 Aug 50, forwarding copy of manu-  
script "Russia's Plan for Progress" by Josef Stalin.

Dr. Joseph C. Stammers, 13 Aug 50, praises for the Gen.

John Foster Dulles, 11 Aug 50, talks with A. Harriman.

Dr. Howard G. Brownson, on situation in Korea.



OFFICE OF  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

August 11, 1950

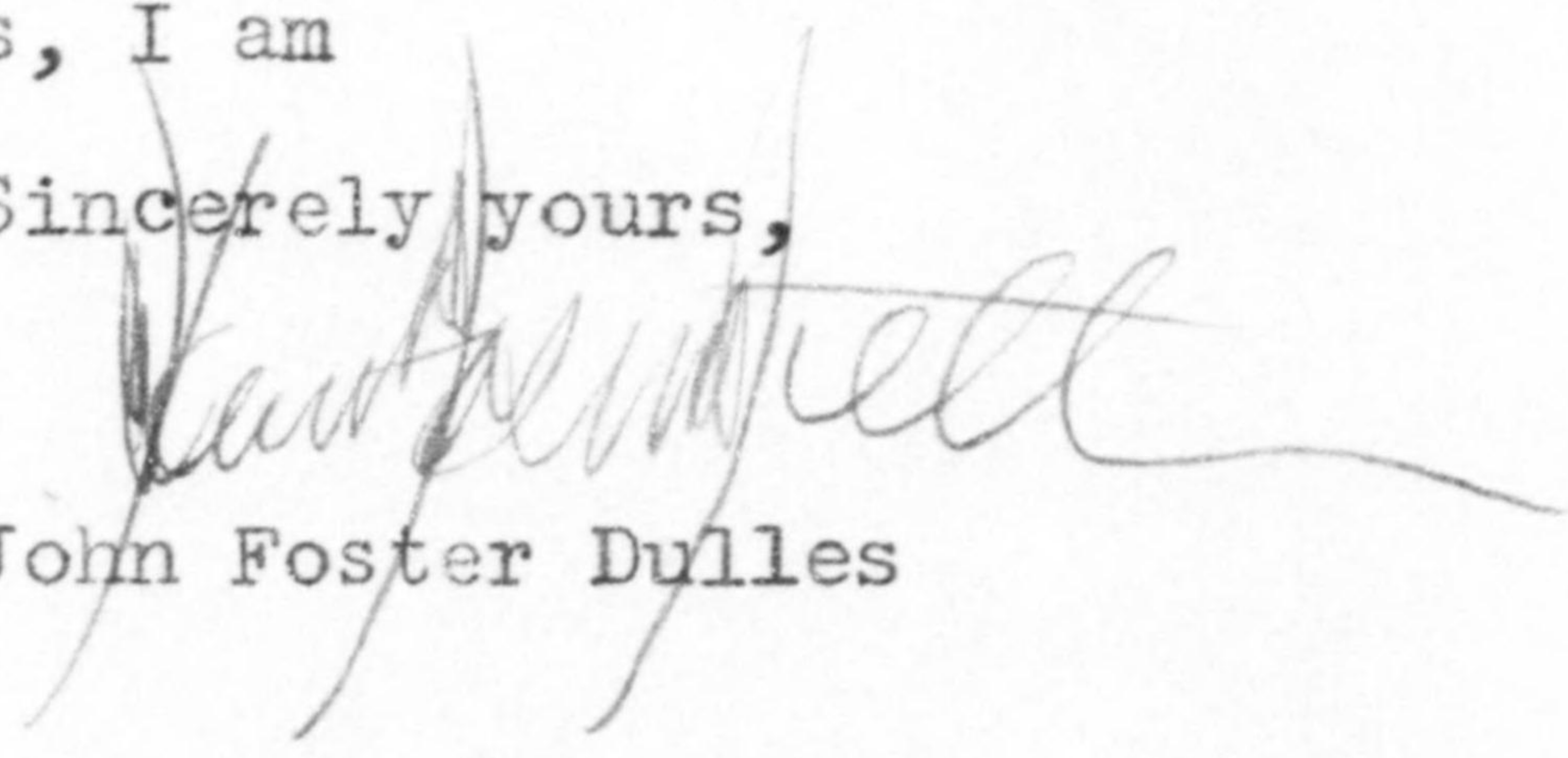
My dear General:

Averell Harriman has told me of his satisfactory talks with you. I am particularly gratified that you liked the draft of the proposed "International Peace and Security" paragraphs of a prospective peace treaty. I drew these up personally, and made a particular effort to try to reflect the spirit of our talks and of your two memoranda. If I have measurably succeeded, I am gratified.

Also, I am glad to hear from Averell and from your cable to Senator Magnuson that you feel it important to push ahead on the Japanese Peace Treaty. I strongly share that view and hope that military pre-occupations will not prevent our Government's achieving vitally important political results in Japan.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,



John Foster Dulles

General Douglas W. MacArthur,  
Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers,  
Tokyo, Japan.



AUTHOR: WHY DEMOCRACY? WHY NOT COMMUNISM?

MISHA APPELBAUM

HOTEL GOTHAM Morgan  
SUITE 532, 975 INGRAHAM 639 W 8 St  
LOS ANGELES 17, CALIFORNIA  
Telephone MUtual 7265 TR0368

Aug 22/1950

Dear General M. Arthur:-

It is an honor and privilege to send  
to you an autographed copy of my book, second printing,  
dedicated to American Federation of Labor and American  
Legion.

Your effective work against Communism, in fact  
the most effective in Japan, gave me the idea to my angle  
of approach which has received enthusiastic endorsement  
from both labor & capital.

If you find it of interest and you should wish to  
distribute copies, or have it translated - reworking for Japan -  
please command. I shall send as many as possible.  
I shall consider it an honor to be of some assistance. All  
you need is to cable me at above address.

Awaiting your please - command, with best wishes  
for many years of good health,

Respectfully  
Misha Appelbaum.

He who thinks for you  
is your enemy-

He who helps you think for yourself-  
is your friend.

Booklet in Circ Miscellaneous



WILLIAM LAVARRE

WASHINGTON

August 21st  
1950

General Douglas MacArthur,  
Tokio, Japan.

My dear General:

I enclose herewith copy of a manuscript which when widely published in the United States, in the near future, should have great importance at home, and, I hope, be of some aide to you and your Staff across the Pacific. There will be increasing numbers of Americans who will come to appreciate the very great contribution your wisdom and adamant integrity have given us, in a world of failures and deceptions.

There are some statements of tactics and philosophy in this manuscript which may document your keen insight and knowledge.

My young daughter has just telephoned from Beppu, Japan, that her husband, Lt James Cornelius Ruddell Jr, of the 19th Infantry Regiment, 24th Division, is now posted as officially missing in action, as of the 16th of July in Korea. They were happily married on the afternoon of Lt Ruddell's graduation from West Point, and her graduation from boarding school, June 8, 1948. Their son was born at the Army hospital, Kyushu Island, just two months before Lt Ruddell took off with his Regiment for Korea, under your Command. So your great struggle against the deceptions of the Kremlin are very specially a part of our hearts just now.

I have some ammunition which you may be able to use. If you will have someone in whom you have personal trust communicate with me, here in New York City, during the next three weeks, it may be of value that I talk with him. I can be reached through the Harvard Club, 27 West 44th Street, New York City. There is a short biography in Who's Who.

We salute you, and pray that the nation, here at home, will close ranks with you.

Sincerely,

*William Lavarre*  
William Lavarre.

Personal.



RUSSIA'S PLAN FOR PROGRESS

BY

Josif Stalin



We must find that one particular link in the chain of events, the possession of which at a given moment will render us masters of the whole chain and will place us in a position to prepare for strategical victory.

The forces of the revolutionary movement in China are immeasurable. They have not yet come into anything like full operation. The future will show how vast they are.

We must try to take the enemy by surprise, to seize a moment when his forces are dispersed...sufficiently weakened in combats for which their strength is inadequate.

We should be prepared to use any and every means in order to open the floodgates of revolution throughout the world, rallying the workers of capitalist countries and the peoples in colonial lands to the aid of the Soviet Union.



Now that a soviet country has come into existence world-wide capitalism has ceased to exist.

The world has become severed into two camps. The world over, sympathies are diverging towards one pole or the other; the sympathies of the bourgeoisie governments tending toward the British-American pole, and the sympathies of the workers of the West and the revolutionists of the East tending toward the Soviet Union pole.

British-America is attractive in virtue of its wealth, for in this quarter loans are obtainable. The Soviet Union is attractive in virtue of its revolutionary experience gained in the struggle for the liberation of the workers from the yoke of capitalism.

The capitalist world is being disintegrated by a number of internal antagonisms, which are paralysing it; on the other hand, our world, the socialist world, is steadily growing stronger.



In the capitalist camp dissention and disintegration prevail; here, in the socialist camp, consolidation is advancing. In the capitalist camp there is no unity of interest, no adequate centrifugal force promoting consolidation.

We must see to it that our country shall be the center of attraction for all those countries which, by degrees, will fall away from capitalism, and will enter the path of socialist economy.

Lenin told us that once the Party triumphed in our own land a new epoch would begin, the epoch of world revolution, an epoch full of conflicts and wars, of flow and ebb, of victories and defeats, an epoch which would, in the end, lead to victory over the chief capitalistic countries. This epoch covers a whole strategic period which may occupy years or even decades. In the course of this period there must occur ebbs and flows in the revolutionary tide.

These oscillations serve merely to show that the revolution does not develop along a straight, continuous, and upward spiraling line, but along a zigzag path, by means of a forward and backward march; these advances and retreats temper the revolutionary fighters and prepare them for the final victory. We have always a clear and precise aim towards which we have striven. One of the great merits of Leninism is that nothing is left to chance. Our possibilities depend upon the relative strength or weakness of friends and foes abroad.



### Communism's Opportunities

Two opportunities must exist, as Lenin has said: The 'lower classes' cannot put up with the old conditions any longer, and the 'upper classes' cannot carry on under the old conditions; revolution can triumph. The ruling classes must be in the throes of a government crisis.

The government must be enfeebled to such an extent that the revolutionists can speedily overthrow it. The main forces of the revolution must, at the decisive moment, be concentrated for an attack on the enemy's most vulnerable spot, at a moment when conditions are ripe.

What are the weaknesses of the capitalistic world which we can use?

The internal weakness of world capitalism on one hand, and the growth of our own forces, the forces of the U.S.S.R., finds its explanation in the insuperable antagonisms within the capitalist world, antagonisms which dominate the whole international situation, conflicts and antagonisms insuperable for capitalist countries.

The first group of antagonisms consists of those between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries.

The second group of antagonisms consists of those between imperialism and the liberation movement in colonies and dependent countries.

The third group of antagonisms consists of those between the victors and the conquered countries, antagonisms which inevitably tend to become intensified.



The fourth group of antagonisms consists of those which have arisen among the victorious states, and which will also become intensified.

The fifth group of antagonisms consists of those which have developed between the U.S.S.R. and capitalist countries as a whole.

The trend of the foreign policy of our country is determined by the conflicts and antagonisms belonging to these five groups. Comrades! Unless we make a careful study of the nature and growth of these antagonisms, we cannot understand the present position of our country.

#### Europe and America

The center of financial power in the capitalist world has been shifted from Europe to America. The predominant financial exploiter(sic) of the world, and therefore the most influential creditor, is the United States. The United States of America is developing rapidly in all directions, in respect alike of production and commerce and the accumulation of capital. The U.S. currency is the most stable of all the currencies in the world. The United States is almost the only power which is exporting capital to an increasing extent. The temporary stabilization of European capitalism has been mainly effected with the aid of U.S. capital and at the cost of the financial subordination of Europe to the U.S.

The European countries, while continuing to exploit their own colonies, have themselves become financially dependent upon the United States, so that they in their turn are exploited(sic) by America, and will be exploited yet more thoroughly.



The European great powers are threatened with the loss of their most important hinterland, the colonies - through the development of manufacturing industry and of the proletariat in the colonies; through the rise in the culture level and growth of a national intelligence; through the appearance of a nationalist revolutionary movement in the colonies; through the liberation struggle in India and Egypt against England; through the war of liberation in China; through the growth of the labor movement in India and China, and the growing importance of the part played by the native working class in the nationalist revolutionary movement.

The conflict of interest between Britain and the United States is steadily becoming intensified. One of the problems is the petroleum problem. The United States produces the major part of all petroleum produced in the world and consumes more than is consumed throughout the rest of the world. In respect to this raw material which is absolutely vital to economic and military activity of the great powers, the United States is always and everywhere coming into conflict with Britain, and encountering the resistance of Britain. All over the world they are fighting one another for oil, for this petroleum question is absolutely vital.

The power that can command most petroleum will have the upper hand in the next war. That is why there is a life and death struggle between the oil companies of Britain and America - a struggle which is not always fought in the open.

There are important conflicts between Britain and the United States also in China. America's behavior is far more



subtle than the British. On the quiet, none the less, the United States is trying to get the better of Britain in China, wants to drive(sic) the British out of China, and get all the rich pickings there for herself. Naturally the British capitalists cannot be expected to remain indifferent to these manoeuvres.

#### Asia and the East

A new factor has come to the fore; the huge area of the U.S.S.R., lying betwixt West and East, betwixt the very heart of international financial exploitation and the area of colonial oppression, a vast region whose mere existence would suffice to revolutionize the whole world.

It has been customary to speak of the East as a homogeneous whole. Such an estimate is no longer possible, for there are colonies where capitalism has taken root, others where capitalism is in the course of developement, others, again, where capitalism is in a backward stage. In none of these lands can precisely the same tactics be adopted. Today there are no fewer than three categories of colonial and vassal lands. First, countries (like Morocco) where there is no proletariat, or so small a proletariat as not to be worth mentioning; countries where industrial life is extremely backwards. Secondly, there are countries (like China and Egypt) where manufacturing industry is little developed, and where the proletariat is, comparatively speaking, not very numerous. Thirdly, there are countries (like India) which are fairly well developed from the capitalist point of view and possess a proletariat which has obtained noteworthy proportions. It is obvious that each of these



countries will need separate treatment.

The immediate task confronting the revolutionary movement in colonial and vassal lands where capitalism is well developed is (1) to win over the best elements among the workers to the cause of communism and to form independent communist parties, (2) to set up a nationalist and revolutionary coalition of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals, and (3) to guarantee that leadership of the revolutionary coalition shall be in the hands of the proletariat.

Side by side with the revolutionary elements in the nationalist movement, there are now consolidating themselves certain conciliatory and reactionary elements which would rather conclude a pact with foreign imperialism than fight for the revolutionary emancipation of their native lands. If the advent of revolution is to be hastened, if complete independence of capitalistically developed colonies and dependencies is to be achieved, the compromising section of the bourgeoisie must be annulled, the leadership of the proletariat must be assured, and the advanced elements in the working class must be organized in an independent communist party. Hence the need for communist elements in the colonies to combine forces with the revolutionary elements and, above all, with the peasantry, in a concerted attack against the compromisers in their midst. It is essential to gather the more advanced workers of such lands into a united communist party capable of taking the lead in the coming revolution.



9

Every Chinese, every Egyptian, every Indian who comes to Soviet Russia and stays for six months or so has an opportunity of convincing himself that our country is the only one which understands the soul of the oppressed nations.

The imperialists, as Lenin has said, have not the strength(sic) to vanquish a small and weak country like Ireland, they have not the strength to set their own financial house in order. What then can they do in Hindustan or China, where the people are in ferment? Here they have a population of seven hundred million to deal with. Were we to include the peoples living in other Asiatic countries and in outlying parts where the population is quasi-Asiatic, more than half the population of the world would be concerned.

We must study all the special characteristics of the revolutionary development in these lands, must educate the students coming from these countries, educate them in such a way as to be sure that they will be able to fulfill all the tasks assigned to them. We have opened our doors to groups of students from these multiform colonial lands. We all know how eager these comrades are for light and knowledge. We must see to it that they become genuine revolutionists.

Unfortunately we are not yet strong enough to give all the colonial countries direct aid in their struggle for liberation. We must find that one particular link in the chain of events, the possession of which at a given moment will render us masters of the whole chain and will place us in a position to prepare for strategical victory.



In what country can the capitalist front be broken?  
Where industrial development is most advanced?

It is more likely to be in one where the capitalist development is comparatively backward. In 1917 the weakest part of the capitalist world-front was in Russia. Where is the front breakable next? Again at the weakest point, obviously. In India there are young and combative revolutionaries allied with the movement for liberation - a movement which is certainly very powerful. The forces of the revolutionary movement in China are immeasurable. They have not yet come into anything like full operation. The future will show how vast they are.

#### Russia and Europe

Our country, a vast domain, with very extensive markets and enormous supplies of raw materials, has been detached from the capitalist system. This has had a considerable effect on the economic condition of Europe. The loss of one-sixth of the world, the loss of markets and sources of raw material of the sometime Russian empire, signifies for capitalist Europe a restriction of production and a profound disturbance. Experience has shown that the stabilization of the capitalist economy of Europe cannot be secured without access to our markets and our sources of raw material.

But as Lenin contended, the forces of united capital and all the acquisitions of military technique is a mighty power, and a very real power. In no circumstances, under no conditions, can it live at peace with Soviet Russia. A conflict is inevitable.



Without force there can be no dictatorship in the strict sense of the term. The Party must be, not only a guide and teacher, but also in some sort of a State authority which rules by force. The dictatorship, as Lenin has said, is a hard-fought fight that is both bloody and unbloody, both violent and passive, both military and economic, both educational and administrative. A parliamentary struggle can be nothing more than a school for, and an accessory means to, the extra-parliamentary struggle. We must try to take the enemy by surprise, as Lenin has said, to seize a moment when his forces are dispersed.

We may consider that the time is ripe for the decisive struggle; when all the class forces arrayed against us are in a state of confusion; are sufficiently embroiled one with another, have been sufficiently weakened in combats for which their strength is inadequate; when all the vacillating elements have exposed themselves enough before the people, have made a sufficient parade of their utter bankruptcy; when there has arisen and spread widely a strong feeling in favor of decisive action against the bourgeoisie.

#### Communism's Strength

What constitutes the strength of communism abroad?

The fact that it has its main support in the trade unions. If the workers of other lands champion the cause of the Russian revolution and, still more, if they obtain power, this would go far towards securing the final victory of socialism. That is why Lenin writes that a decisive victory can only be achieved on an international scale, and by the combined efforts of the workers of all lands. We are living



not merely in one State, but in a system of States; and it is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist intermeably side by side with capitalist states. Ultimately, one or the other must conquer.

Our proletarian State enjoys certain advantages which the bourgeois States do not or cannot enjoy, Nationalized industry, transportation and credit; State monopoly of foreign trade; home trade regulated by the State - all these are sources from which 'supplemental capital' can flow and this supplementary capital can be utilized for the development of State industries.

In Ford's factories all the work is done with great precision and there is less speculation perhaps than in some of our State factories; but Ford's factories are working for the capitalists, are working for Ford, whereas our enterprises, where the technique of the enterprise is often far from satisfactory, are none the less working for the proletariat. Socialist industry is able to take advantage of the fact that transport, banking and credit are in our hands.

Speaking generally, we may say that the post-war economic crisis in Europe is over, and that production and commerce are tending to regain the prewar level, or exceed the prewar level. We see the ebb of the revolutionary movement. The seizure of power by the proletariat has, in western and central Central Europe, been postponed from today's agenda until tomorrow's. A period of revolutionary impetus will come by-and-by.

Europe has been compelled to increase the burden of taxation, and to make the condition of the workers very much worse than it was before. The material condition of all the



toilers of Europe, and especially of the industrial operatives, will grow steadily worse, and the working class will inevitably become more and more revolutionary. The temporary stabilization of capitalism in Europe is but a specious stabilization resting upon an extremely insecure foundation. Production and commerce may attain the prewar level but capitalism will not thereby regain the prewar degree of stability. That degree of stability will never be regained by European capitalism.

If the European working class regards us as part of itself, as its own child; if it is ready to defend our interests against the capitalists, it means that our forces are growing day by day and hour by hour.

#### Labor's Value to Our Plans

No country can, in these times, carry on war without the workers. If workers refuse to make war against our republic, then a war against our country becomes impossible. We shall not grudge any sacrifice to make it possible for the workers of the West to convince themselves that it is worth their while to fight on behalf of this State, defending it against attacks upon it by the capitalists of their own lands.

When we consider the working class as a whole, we see that the number of workers enrolled in the Party increases more slowly than the number of all workers; but when we turn to the large scale industry, the picture is reversed. In large scale industry, the percentage of workers organized in the Party increases more rapidly than does the number of



all workers engaged in large enterprises. To a predominant extent, the workers who will be members of the Party will be workers engaged in large-scale industry.

If communist parties throughout the world wish to become mass parties, capable of setting revolution afoot, they must create intimate ties between themselves and trade unions, and must find support in these industrial organizations.

Go into the unions, work in them for five or more years if necessary - see to it that every communist, without exception, shall become a member of an appropriate trade union, there to work patiently and systematically for the solidarity of the working class in its fight against capitalism. By such means the communist parties will win over the trade union movement to their support.

Under capitalism the basic problems of the working class movement are decided by force - a general strike or an insurrection. The general strike, for political purposes, is an admirable means for mobilizing and organizing masses on the eve of the attempt to storm the capitalist fortress.

#### The 'Little People'

Comrades: You have submitted certain questions to me in writing. How will you bring the masses of a nation into the communist program?

We have fashioned a number of organizations without which we could not wage war on capitalism: trade unions, cooperatives, workshop committees, parliamentary labor parties, women's associations, a labor press, educational leagues, Youth societies.

As often as not these are non-Party organizations and



only a certain proportion of them are linked up with the Party or constitute a ramification of the Party. Under special conditions every one of these organizations is necessary; for lacking them it is impossible to consolidate the class positions of the proletariat in the various spheres of the struggle. They all must direct their activities toward the same goal.

Commissions and committees of every conceivable kind, conferences and delegate meetings - of the trade unions, of the factory workshop committees, of the cultural institutions, of the Youth organizations, of the various cooperative associations, and so forth and so on. There is a veritable ant-heap of independent organizations, commissions and committees, comprising millions of non-Party workers.

A clandestine newspaper unites innumerable circles and organizations for theoretical and tactical unity, laying a foundation upon which an effective Party can be built up.

In the university we must see to it that the students shall become genuine revolutionists, equipped with all the theories and all the practical experience of Leninism and capable of accomplishing the immediate tasks facing the movement.

Who decides upon the direction all these organizations take? Where is the central unit of organization that would have sufficient authority to induce these organizations to keep within the prescribed lines in order to achieve unity of command and to avoid any possibility of confusion?

This central unit is the Communist Party!



### The Elite

Among the masses of the people we communists, as Lenin has said, are but drops in the ocean. We have a style of work that is peculiar and characteristic in the practice of Leninism and which creates a special type of Leninist worker, a special type of Party or State official, a special kind of style in public office. What are the characteristics of this style, and its peculiarities?

There are two: (a) revolutionary zeal, inspired by the Russian spirit; and (b) businesslike practicality, inspired by the American spirit. The combination of these two in Party and State work constitutes what I call "style" in our activities. Revolutionary zeal is the antidote to laziness, routinism, conservatism, slavish adherence to traditions and the beliefs of forefathers. Such a union of qualities is the only one capable of giving us a perfect type of communist worker and capable of setting a standard for Leninist style in our work.

### Revolution, Not Reform

For the revolutionist the revolution is everything, and 'reforms' only a means to an end, a by-product of the revolution. What we are concerned with are not the reforms but with the use they can be put to and the advantages to be gained. A revolutionist may sponsor a 'reform' because he sees in it a means for linking up constitutional action with unconstitutional action, because he feels he can make use of it as a screen behind which he can strengthen his clandestine work.



A reformist, on the other hand, stands for reform, rejects every unconstitutional action and basks in the sunshine of the reforms he has succeeded in putting through.

In certain cases and under certain conditions we may be compelled for a time to forsake the revolutionary path of completely changing the social order, and to enter the path of gradual transformation which Lenin has called the 'path of reforms' and the path of 'circular movements'. The offensive gives way to a tactic of retreat, of flanking movements, and the like. This is what we mean by the revolutionary use of reforms and of agreements.

#### The Value of Young People

What is the Youth technique?

It is first the education of young workers and young farmers in the spirit of Leninism, strengthening their conviction that our workers' State is the offspring of the international proletariat; that it is a base whence the revolution in all countries will develop. Young people must be inspired with confidence in the leadership of the Communist Party of Russia.

There must be created an educational organization competent to carry on the education of young folk. Young communists are and must be active in all domains of socialist construction work; in industry; in agriculture; in the cooperatives; in the educational organizations etc. Internationalism is the fundamental idea which permeates the activity of the Young Communists. It is essential and the young folk should learn that our revolution not be regarded as an end in



itself, but as a means and an aid towards the victory of the proletarian revolution in all lands. If Leninism were nothing more than the application of Marxism to the peculiar conditions of Russia, it would have a purely Russian and exclusively national character. As we know, Leninism is an international phenomenon, rooted in internationalism, and is not solely Russian. Leninism is combative and revolutionary. It is essential to enrol as many as possible of the young town workers and also the best elements among the poor farmers and the middle class farmers.

#### The Value of Farmers

As regards the influence of our Party in the rural districts, the position is not so good. The growth of the Party in the villages is a terribly slow one. The Party is weak in the rural areas; it has not rallied to its side a large contingent of active non-Party poor farmers. It seems to me that nowhere do we so urgently need a goodly number of active non-Party workers as among the farmers, endeavoring to interest the poor farmers in cooperatives as a form of public social work.

It is imperative that the communist State should have at its disposal a sufficient reserve of food, so as to be able to bring pressure to bear on the market, to have the power of intervening when necessary, to keep prices at a level which is acceptable to the working classes, to force the wealthy farmer to capitulate.



What we communist have got to understand is that, as far as the rural areas are concerned, we are passing through a period of struggle to win over the middle peasants. The middle class farmers must, at all costs, be rallied to the side of the proletariat. Should we fail in this the anti-Soviet agitation in the villages will grow stronger and more threatening.

The dictatorship is the exercise of force unfettered by legal restrictions, in regard to the capitalists and landowners. If industry is not intimately linked up with agriculture, then we shall never be able to establish a socialist society. During the struggle for power, only the workers and poor farmers are allies; the best that can be done with the middle class farmers is to neutralize them until the Party has gained power. The middle class farmer is a man whose motto is "wait and see". He watches, til he discovers which party is the stronger; not until we have gained the upper hand and have driven out the great landowners, is he ready to enter into an alliance with us.

We have the following tasks to perform: The political isolation of the wealthy farmers and the urban capitalists, and their economic encirclement. After we gain strength, as Lenin has said, our agricultural policy must concentrate upon the middle class farmer, upon the diligent farmer, as the central figure in our economic revival.

Peasant, or farm, economy is not capitalist economy. As far as the overwhelming majority of the farmers is concerned, farm economy is a system of small-scale production for the market. Farmer economy stands at the parting of the ways



leading to capitalism and to socialism. The peasant economy can take either road. It may develop towards capitalism; and it may develop towards socialism.

The peasant economy is unstable and lacking in independence because of their lack of organization; in their dependence on the town, upon manufacturing industry, upon the credit system.

If peasant agriculture takes the capitalist road it leads to the formation of huge estates in the hands of rich farmers, on the one hand, and the impoverishment of the great mass of the peasants on the other. The socialist road leads by way of the mass cooperation of millions upon millions of poor farmers, joining up to form cooperatives of all kinds; by way of the implantation of collective principals among poor farmers. These cooperative developments will concern the marketing of agricultural produce and the supply of the poor farmer with products of urban industry.

How can the peasantry be drawn into the general current of communist economic development?

By means of the cooperatives. By means of cooperative credit, agricultural cooperatives, distributing cooperatives and production cooperatives.

#### The State: Democracy is a Trifle

What are the measures for strengthening socialism?

These measures are: State monopoly of foreign trade, agricultural taxes, State purchase and sale of agricultural production; an all embracing plan for national economy based on the nationalization of the chief branches of industry,



transport, and credit.

Our task is to assign Party members to the nodal points in the state apparatus, and to see to it that the apparatus of State is thus subjected to the Party leadership.

The tasks of the Party are: (1) the transformation from agriculture to industrial, (2) increasing the proportion of State revenue which is derived from other sources than taxation, and (3) the lowering of retail prices by an increase in the preponderance of State trade and cooperative trade over private trade. The State and the cooperatives are 'traders' as well as the capitalists and when they have learned how to trade they will get the upper hand over private trade (they are doing so already!). Those who cannot understand this are not Leninist but liberals.

Great banks, as Lenin has said, are the State apparatus which we need for the realization of socialism, and which we take over ready-made from capitalism. When we do so, a unified State bank of the most comprehensive kind, with branches in every district, in every factory, will control the production and distribution of products.

We are not liberals. We put the interests of the Party above the interests of formal democracy. For us bolsheviks formal democracy is a trifle.

#### Concessions, Slogans and Treaties

Concessions are made to the capitalist classes whereby these classes are weakened. The revolutionists gain a breathing space during which they can assemble their forces and



prepare for a new attack. It behooves us to introduce the utmost elasticity into our leadership.

In the end we shall overcome the conflicts between the capitalist world and the socialist world - though not by our unaided forces, for in this matter we shall need the assistance of the victorious proletarian revolution in a number of other countries. We are not the kind of people who are afraid of difficulties. We are bolsheviks. We have been steeled in the school of Lenin. We shall look difficulties in the face and overcome them.

The support of our revolution by the workers of all lands, and (even more than this) by the victory of workers in a few other countries at least, are indispensable preliminary conditions without which the final triumph of socialism cannot be assured. A full safeguard against restoration of bourgeois conditions is only possible on the international scale. For what else is our country, the country that is building up socialism, but the base of the world revolution?

Should an attack on Russia materialize, we should be prepared to use every and any means in order to open the floodgates of revolution throughout the world, rallying the workers of capitalist countries and the people of colonial lands to the aid of the Soviet Union.

#### When War Comes

The reserves must be handled in such a way as to safeguard an orderly retreat should an enemy be very powerful, should a withdrawal be inevitable, should it be obviously



undesirable to accept the enemy's offer of battle.

We must know how best to retreat, as Lenin has warned. Victory can only be won by those who have learned the proper method of both advance and retreat. The objective of such strategy is to gain time, to scatter the forces of the enemy while consolidating our own for a future advance.

We bolsheviks create slogans, slogans for the masses. To insure that the revolution will be victorious, that it shall surge up from the very heart of the people, that it shall sweep along in its wake the millionfold masses of the nation, it is not enough for the Party to launch accurate slogans. One of the characteristics of bolshevik tactics is to lead the masses to adopt our slogans.

Treaties embodying fresh groupings of forces with an eye to a new war are termed "peace treaties". The signing of them is always effected with the accompaniment of the pipings of peace, of "peaceful alliances". Preparations for a new war are conducted under the cover of paeans to peace. The basis of the policy of our government, of its foreign policy, is the idea of peace. The struggle for peace, the struggle against new wars. We are for peace. The opposition will not accept our proposals. That shows how genuine is their love of peace.

The Peace of Brest-Litovsk is a model instance of this strategy. It enable the Party to gain time, to gather strength. This "peace" enabled the Party to take advantage of the discussions, to disintegrate the enemy forces, and to gather strength for an attack on Kolehak and Deniken. Even



the dullest, as Lenin wrote, have now come to see that the peace of Brest-Litovsk was a concession which strengthened us while it disintegrated the forces of international capitalism.

As Lenin has said, a terrible clash between Soviet Russia and the bourgeois states must inevitably occur. I repeat: The main forces of the revolution must, at the decisive moment, be concentrated for an attack on the enemy's most vulnerable spot, at a moment when conditions are ripe.

We must try to take the enemy by surprise, to seize a moment when his forces are dispersed.

A great many people seem to believe that we can upbuild socialism while wearing kid gloves. That is a great mistake, Comrades!

END