

CHAPTER VIII

Operation CHROMITE: The Concept and the Plan

MacArthur had decided on an amphibious operation against the enemy even before the first clash between American and North Korean soldiers at Osan. On 2 July he asked Washington for a Marine RCT. On the next day he ordered 1,200 specially trained operators for amphibious landing craft. He asked on 5 July for an engineer special brigade trained in amphibious operations and on the same day called for an airborne RCT "to participate in planned operations from 20 July to 10 August." [1]

MacArthur had conceived these "planned operations" a few days after the North Koreans struck. MacArthur then believed that he could land an assault force from the 1st Cavalry Division and the Marine RCT against the enemy's rear at Inch'on as early as 22 July. This force would envelop Seoul and seize the high ground to the north. At the same time, all forces available to General Dean would attack to drive the North Koreans back against the Han. Maj. Gen. Edwin K. Wright's planning group, JSPOG, worked out the details of this early plan. They assigned to it the code name Operation BLUEHEARTS. [2]

General MacArthur on 6 July called Maj. Gen. Hobart R. Gay, commander of the 1st Cavalry Division, to Tokyo and told him of the plan. Some of MacArthur's staff held high hopes for the operation. General Willoughby, MacArthur's G-2, admonished Gay to step lively or be left behind. "You must expedite preparations to the utmost," Willoughby warned, "because if your

[1] (1) Information on these requests is contained in previous chapters. (2) Rad, CM-IN 9573, CINCFE to DA, 3 Jul. 50. (3) Rad, C 57248, CINCFE to DA, 5 Jul. 50. (4) The Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Forrest P. Sherman, had cabled COM NAVFE, Admiral C. Turner Joy, that a Marine RCT could be made available for service in Korea, if General MacArthur desired. Joy called upon MacArthur in Tokyo on 2 July. MacArthur, who had just returned from a depressing inspection of the situation in Korea, accepted with alacrity and, according to Joy, with unusual enthusiasm. For an account of this transaction, see Montross and Canzona, *U.S. Marine Operations in Korea, 1950-1953*, vol. I, *The Pusan Perimeter*, pp. 48-49.

[2] (1) Draft Plan, Opn. BLUEHEARTS, JSPOG, GHQ, FEC, Jul. 50, copy in JSPOG, GHQ files. (2) For other coverage of the plans and preparations for the Inch'on landing, see Appleman, *South to the Naktong, North to the Yalu*, pp. 488-500; Field, *Naval Operations, Korea*, pp. 171-83; Lynn Montross and Capt. Nicholas A. Canzona, *U.S. Marine Operations in Korea, 1950-1953*, vol. II, *The Inchon-Seoul Operation*, chs. I through IV; and Col. Robert Deles Heinl, Jr., *Victory at High Tide* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1968), ch. 2.

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landing is delayed, all that the 1st Cavalry Division will hit when it lands will be the tail-end of the 24th Division as it passes north through Seoul." [3]

Operation BLUEHEARTS died a-borning. The failure of the weak American and weaker ROK forces to halt the enemy and the forced commitment of the 1st Cavalry Division before 22 July made the operation, in July or even in August, quite infeasible. It was canceled on 10 July. [4]

The increasingly grave turn of events on the ground strengthened MacArthur's determination to strike amphibiously. He told Generals Collins and Vandenberg of his intentions on 13 July and outlined a tentative strategy. He had not yet chosen a target date nor a definite landing site, but informed Collins and Vandenberg that as soon as the North Koreans had been stopped, he would attack their rear on the west coast. He believed that Inch'on would be the best place to strike. But he was also considering landing beaches at Haeju and Chinnamp'o, both north of Inch'on.

A day later, General Collins talked with some of MacArthur's key staff officers about the proposed landing. The Army Chief of Staff, aware of the tremendous tidal changes at Inch'on, ques-

[3] Ltr., Gen. Gay to Col. Appleman, 24 Aug. 53, copy in OCMH. Gay recalls that his division did hit the tail of the 24th Division on 20 July, but under quite different circumstances.

[4] During his briefing of General Collins on 13 July, General MacArthur explained why Operation BLUEHEARTS could not be carried out. There is a marked similarity between BLUEHEARTS and the strategic concepts developed later.

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tioned the wisdom of a landing there. Rear Adm. James H. Doyle, assistant to Admiral Joy and a man of much experience in amphibious techniques, agreed that a landing at Inch'on could be extremely difficult and would require considerable preliminary naval bombardment. But he told Collins that it could be done. [5]

Turning to General Almond, Collins asked how the assault troops would cross the formidable barrier of the Han River after landing at Inch'on. Almond pointed out that amphibious trucks, available in the theater, could be used to ferry troops. The crossing would probably be unopposed since General MacArthur would use the airborne RCT to seize and secure the north shore of the Han. General Collins returned to Washington without committing himself, either for or against the planned operation. But he described to his fellow members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and to his Army staff assistants the broad outlines of the maneuver MacArthur had in mind. [6]

The commitment of the 25th Division and the 1st Cavalry Division against the North Koreans had slowed, but not stopped, the enemy's drive, and did not come in time to prevent the fall of Taejon to the enemy on 20 July. The loss of all Korea loomed as a very real possibility. Nevertheless, by that date General MacArthur had discussed his idea with General Almond and General Wright and had ordered detailed plans drawn Up for an

amphibious envelopment. Primary emphasis, he directed, was to be on Inch'on as the assault site, but he also specified that alternate plans be prepared.

Wright's planning officers at once began to ready the basic framework of a plan for an amphibious assault landing at Inch'on during September and to draw up several alternate plans as well. On 23 July all these plans went to GHQ staff officers most directly concerned with the proposed operations. [7]

[5] General Wright calls Doyle "a real expert on amphibious operations, a real commander in every sense of the word, a thorough planner and an able and enthusiastic executive of those plans...." See Ltr., Gen. Wright to Maj. Gen. E. W. Snedeker, USMC, 6 Feb. 56, Marine Corps files.

[6] (1) Memo, Col. Dickson for Gen. Bolte, sub: Rpt of Trip to FEC, 10-15 Jul. 50, in G-3, DA file 333 Pac, Case 3, Tabs A and C. (2) Collins, *War in Peacetime*, p. 116. (3) President Truman, in volume II, page 348, of his *Memoirs*, recalls that on his return from Tokyo, General Collins had serious misgivings about MacArthur's plans for the counterattack.

[7] (1) Draft Plan 100-B, JSPOG, 23 Jul. 50, copy in JSPOG, GHQ, FEC files. (2) Plans circulated at the same time were Plan 100-C, calling for a landing at Kunsan, and Plan 100-D, calling for a landing on the east coast near Chumunjin. General Wright recalls that alternate landings featuring Wonsan and Chinnamp'o were also under consideration. General Walker, Wright says, wanted a flexible plan with landings scheduled for either coast so that the main effort could be mounted with little advance notice. But from the standpoint of a communications complex which could be used to support the breakout from the beachhead and the pursuit phase, Seoul-Inch'on "stood out like a sore thumb," according to General Wright. See Interv, author with Wright, Dec. 51.

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General MacArthur confirmed the message which General Collins had carried back to Washington on 23 July, when he told the Joint Chiefs of Staff that he meant to use the 5th Marine RCT and the 2d Division for "major amphibious operations" in mid-September. An airborne RCT would drop into the objective area soon after D-day to seize key communications centers immediately ahead of the advancing assault forces. MacArthur did not pinpoint his objective area, but he described in broad terms how the assault would go. After the beachhead had been seized, Eighth Army, by that time augmented by the additional infantry, artillery, and tank battalions, would attack from the south and destroy the North Koreans.

"Although the exact date of D-day is partially dependent upon enemy reaction during the month of August," MacArthur reported to Washington:

I am firmly convinced that an early and strong effort behind his

front will sever his main line of communication and enable us to deliver a decisive and crushing blow. Any material delay in such an operation may lose this opportunity. The alternative is a frontal attack which can only result in a protracted and expensive campaign to slowly drive the enemy north of the 38th Parallel. [8]

General MacArthur's proposals for a September landing reached Washington at a bad time. They came on the heels of the grim news that Taejon had fallen and while the North Koreans were obviously preparing a double envelopment of Walker's defenses. MacArthur's term, "enemy reaction during . . . August," probably struck the Joint Chiefs of Staff as euphemistic. At any rate, they called General MacArthur to a teleconference on 24 July and asked pointedly whether, in the face of increasing enemy pressure and the stepped-up tempo of the fighting all along the front, he still believed it wise to schedule an amphibious landing for mid-September.

Confidently, General MacArthur assured them that, "barring unforeseen circumstances, and with complete provision of requested replacements, if the full Marine division is provided, the chances to launch the movement in September would be excellent." Complete tactical surprise was essential to the success of the amphibious operation, he declared, and warned Washington not to give away his intentions, saying "I cannot emphasize too strongly the necessity for complete secrecy with reference to this matter. The spokesman for the Department of the Army should not reveal our grand strategy in the slightest degree." The Joint Chiefs of Staff derived little assurance from their exchange

[8] Rad, C 58473, CINCFE to DA (for JCS), 23 Jul. 50.

[9] (1) Telecon, TT 3573, JCS and CINCFE, 24 Jul. 50. (2) Details of MacArthur's request for the "full Marine division" mentioned here are contained in Chapter IX, below.

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with MacArthur. They could only watch and wait for new developments. [9]

The predicament of Walker's divisions in Korea concerned General MacArthur far more than was apparent in his reassuring words to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Walker's slowing but continued withdrawal before the North Koreans threatened to render plans for an amphibious operation in September purely academic. Walker himself was worried and disappointed because his divisions were not stopping the North Koreans. Troops often came close to panic and commanders sometimes nearly lost control. Walker was particularly disappointed over the failure to check the enemy advance down the Taejon-Taegu axis in late July and early August.

Because of the Eighth Army's precarious position, MacArthur took a drastic step which, seemingly, negated his plans for a mid-September landing. He ordered the 2d Division and the 5th Marine RCT, both on the high seas and both scheduled for his amphibious assault, to sail directly to Korea where they entered combat almost at once.

This move by MacArthur caused his own planning staff to urge a reconsideration of the timing of the proposed operation. To launch an attack by mid-

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September, with his entire assault force now committed in the Pusan Perimeter, seemed to them almost impossible. If the attack was to be made in September, both the 2d Division and the Marines would have to be taken away from Walker, or only the Marines withdrawn and teamed with the 7th Division for the amphibious landing. Officers of JSPOG pointed out to General Almond that if General Walker needed the 2d Division in August, he would most certainly need it in September. Also, pulling a division out through the cluttered port at Pusan would tie up supplies and seriously hamper support of Walker's forces remaining on the line. These officers believed that any plan based on use of the 7th Division would be "visionary and impracticable." That division, still in Japan, was at less than half strength, and was not expected to reach full strength before 1 October or to be ready for amphibious operations before 15 October. They recommended that General MacArthur postpone the target date for the amphibious operation until 15 October. [10]

One of General MacArthur's outstanding attributes, demonstrated quite often in World War II, was a keen sense of timing. He had not hesitated in the past to override the recommendations of his staff whenever he felt his judgment was more correct than its counsel. Nor did he hesitate in this case. Apparently, he not only believed that forces for the operation would materialize in time for the landing in September, but also, that he could not afford to wait beyond that date.

General MacArthur's refusal to abandon his mid-September date was influenced by his knowledge of the Inch'on area as well as by his desire to relieve the pressure on the Pusan Perimeter as quickly as he could. October might well be too late. Low seas were common in the Inch'on area from May through August, with September a month of transition to the high seas which prevailed from October through March. This left September as the only autumn month when conditions were suitable for landing troops and equipment under fire. During only three days, even in September, would the tidal conditions favor a landing. From 15 to 18 September the tidal surges would be high enough to cover the extensive mud flats that fronted Inch'on Harbor and landing craft could be brought in. The next opportunity would not come until mid-October. By that time seas might be too heavy, and there would be little good weather left for the pursuit and breakout phase of the operation. [11]

He confided to the Joint Chiefs of Staff on 29 July that, while the enemy's successes were upsetting his plans nearly as fast as they were made, he was still holding to the September date. "In Korea," he said, "the hopes that I had entertained to hold out the 1st Marine

Division [sic: Brigade] and the 2d Infantry Division for the enveloping counterblow have not been fulfilled and it will be necessary to commit these units to Korea on the south line rather than . . . along a separate axis in mid-September." He had not given up hope of mounting the waterborne attack even

[10] Memo, JSPOG, for CofS GHQ FEC, UNC, 29 Jul. 50, in JSPOG, GHQ, UNC files.

[11] Lynn Montross, "The Inchon Landing-Victory Over Time and Tide," *Marine Corps Gazette* (July 1951), p. 28.

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though he now admitted it might have to be staged out of the Pusan Perimeter rather than Japan. And he informed the Joint Chiefs that as soon as the 7th Division could be brought to approximate strength he was going to throw it into the fight. [12]

General MacArthur realized that without full support from Washington the landing could not be made. And sensing, perhaps, a certain coolness among the Joint Chiefs of Staff, or at least an absence of enthusiasm approaching his own, he included an evaluation of amphibious landings with particular emphasis on Korea. "It is essential, in my opinion," General MacArthur told his superiors, "to utilize our own strength in naval and air forces in the form of amphibious envelopment. When and if this can be accomplished, the ground initiative which the enemy now possesses will be wrenched from him and a decisive result made possible."

On 1 August General Walker had ordered his entire force to break contact with the enemy and to pull back behind the Naktong River, there to make a final stand. On 6 August, General Hickey, Deputy Chief of Staff, GHQ, flew into this perimeter, carrying with him a brief of the plans for the amphibious landing. The hard-pressed Walker agreed with the concept and with the detailed provisions of the plan. But members of General Walker's staff, particularly those of his G-3 section, were skeptical of Eighth Army's ability to carry out the coordinated frontal assault provided by the plan. They frankly and openly doubted that the divisions then in the Pusan Perimeter could drive through the mountains to the Kum River. Bridges were out all across the Eighth Army front. Walker was seriously short of trucks. But the biggest obstacle, according to the Eighth Army staff, would be the North Korean Army, which would be intact and capable of fierce and sustained resistance even though the amphibious assault in its rear was successfully carried out. Some of Walker's officers felt that the North Koreans would, if driven from the roads, take to the surrounding hills and prevent the American divisions from breaking out to the north. One key officer suggested that Eighth Army take the much longer coastal route up the west coast where roads were good and flank protection would be afforded by the Yellow Sea. Eighth Army officers generally agreed that after the landing in the north Walker would need at least two more divisions before he could break out. [13]

President Truman sent his special assistant, Averell Harriman, to Tokyo on 6 August, primarily to discuss Far Eastern political matters with General MacArthur. General

Ridgway and Lt. Gen. Lauris Norstad of the Air Force accompanied Mr. Harriman. While these officials were in Tokyo, General MacArthur took the opportunity to express his views on the situation facing him in Korea, MacArthur believed that speed was the keystone of victory over the North Koreans. He told Harriman and the military officers that the United States could not afford to wait for a slow

[12] Rad, C 58993, CINCFE to JCS, 29 Jul. 50.

[13] Memo, Lt. J. B. Warren for Gen. Wright, 7 Aug. 50, sub: Trip to EUSAK, in JSPOG, GHQ, UNC files.

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build-up of forces in Korea. The United States must destroy the North Korean Army as early as possible. If not, the Russians and Chinese Communists, MacArthur feared, would be able to strengthen their protege by shipping in more arms and supplies. MacArthur also saw in a failure to settle the matter speedily, political dangers. United Nations members would grow discouraged and Oriental peoples would be disappointed with, and lose confidence in, the United States. [14]

On 12 August, shortly after these visitors departed, another and more fully developed draft of the landing plan was issued, setting a target date of 15 September. The strategic concept of this plan would be put into effect one month later without substantive change. Without naming major Army units, the plan proposed committing the GHQ Reserve and the 1st Marine Division in an amphibious operation to seize the Inch'on-Seoul area and to cut the main lines of enemy communications and supply to North Korean units in the south. In conjunction with the seaborne assault, the Eighth Army was to break out of its perimeter and drive northwest along the Taegu-Taejon-Suwon axis to link up with the amphibious force. The Navy and the Air Force would carry out vital missions of transportation, security, naval gunfire support, carrier aircraft support, and strategic bombing. The 1st Marine Air Wing would furnish tactical air cover for the landing. [15]

These plans for landing at Inch'on on 15 September met opposition both within MacArthur's own staff and in other quarters. Navy and Marine officers raised objection to the plans. These officers did not oppose an amphibious assault even though they felt that Army planners were minimizing the problems which the Navy and Marine Corps must overcome in carrying and landing the assault forces on D-day. They did not want to land at Inch'on. [16]

Their concern over Inch'on arose from its natural obstacles to military and naval operations. From the standpoint of navigation, sea approaches, and landing beaches, Inch'on ranked among the worst harbor areas in Korea. The Yellow Sea in its periodic surges into the harbor (changes in the sluggish, heavy tide exceeded thirty feet) had created broad mud-banks and tidal flats which fronted the entire harbor. These flats were so soft and the muck so deep they would not support men on foot. Twice a day the tides rolled in to cover these flats. The naval officers believed it would require a 23-foot

minimum tide before small landing craft could safely operate over these flats and a 29-foot tide before Navy LST's could come into Inch'on's beaches. This meant that they could land men and supplies only from the time an incoming tide reached

[14] Truman, *Memoirs*, II, 349-51. (2) See also MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, pp. 340-41.

[15] (1) Opn. Plan 100-B, 12 Aug. 50, in JSPOG, GHQ, UNC files. (2) Special Rpt, U.S. X Corps, Opn. CHROMITE, COPY in OCMH.

[16] This portion is based on the following: Chronicles by General Oliver P. Smith, USMC, 22-23 August 1950 (hereafter cited as General Smith's Chronicles), copy available in Hist Sec, G-3 USMC, HQ, Washington, D.C.; Special Action Rpt (SAR), 1st Marine Div., 15 Aug.-30 Sep. 50, copy in same files; Malcolm C. Cagle, "Inchon, Analysis of a Gamble," *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol. 80, No. 1 (January, 1954), 47-51. See also, Field, *History of United States Naval Operations, Korea*, pp. 171-83.

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twenty-three feet until the outgoing tide dropped again to that level, a period of only about three hours. Troops ashore would then be stranded until the next high tide about twelve hours later. Morning high tide for 15 September was forecast at 0650 and evening tide at 1920. As already noted, the tide on that date would be deep enough for landing craft.

Numerous islands bracketed Inch'on to seaward, forming a natural pocket and restricting naval maneuver to narrow channels. Navigation through these channels, particularly the main Flying Fish Channel, was treacherous even in daylight. The channel was narrow, twisting, and dead-end. If the enemy mined this channel, approach would be virtually impossible.

In order to land, the Marines would have to scale seawalls ranging from twelve to fourteen feet high which fronted the harbor across almost its entire width. The Inch'on area was heavily built-up. The enemy could mount a very effective resistance, taking advantage of buildings for protection. The Marines did not want to land in the middle of a built-up area if they could help it. To complicate matters, Wolmi-do, a 350-foot-high pyramidal island, heavily fortified, dominated Inch'on Harbor. All in all, Navy and Marine planners found Inch'on a poor place to land.

These officers had objected and argued with General MacArthur's staff from time to time in general terms, but when the commanding general of the 1st Marine Division, Maj. Gen. Oliver P. Smith, reported to Admiral Doyle, Commander, Amphibious Group One, on 22 August in Tokyo, these objections suddenly became concrete and specific. General Smith had flown to Tokyo ahead of his division to take command of the landing force under Admiral Doyle who would command the attack force. These two officers and their staffs worked very closely in arranging the details of the amphibious assault on Inch'on. [17]

On 22 August, General Smith heard

[17] The Special Action Report of the Marine division says of the command relationships and the planning phase, "Although relationships between the division as Landing Force and COMPHIB Group One were clear from the outset and in accordance with . . . doctrine, the command status and command responsibilities for the assault landing phase of CG X Corps, CJTF 7 and COMNAVFE were vague and confusing. None of the latter commands ever appeared under well defined titles and none of the accepted titles which would have been appropriate to these echelons was used."

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for the first time that the assault was scheduled for 15 September. He had been told before leaving the United States that the target date was 23 September. He found Admiral Doyle very, very skeptical about landing at Inch'on, across mud flats, over docks and seawalls, and in the face of a city of sizable population. Doyle told Smith that he had sent his reconnaissance parties in at various sites along the Korean west coast to find a better landing site than Inch'on. He had found what he regarded as a better location for an amphibious assault. This area, Posung-Myon, was about twenty miles south of Inch'on and almost due west of Osan. Navy underwater demolition teams had made several trial landings there and had found that beach conditions were much better than at Inch'on and would not restrict the landing to a particular day or hour. The area was not built up and, according to Doyle, was in striking distance of the enemy's lines of communications south of Seoul.

That evening, General Smith reported to the Dai Ichi Building for an interview with General MacArthur. He first met General Almond to whom he briefly raised his objections to Inch'on, without, however, mentioning Posung-Myon. Almond dismissed Smith's protests by telling him that the enemy had no organized forces at Inch'on, that the difficulties to be met there were only mechanical, and that the date and place of the landing had already been fixed. He then ushered Smith into General MacArthur's office where the Marine general received not only a warm greeting, but assurance that the Inch'on landing would be decisive and that the war could be over in one month after the assault. General MacArthur insisted that the North Koreans had committed all of their troops against the Pusan Perimeter, and he shared Almond's view that the Marines would meet no heavy opposition at Inch'on. When Smith objected that 15 September would be too early to assemble his forces, General MacArthur admitted that the landings would have to be somewhat helter-skelter. But he would not consider any date other than 15 September.

These doubts within MacArthur's own headquarters were matched at a higher level by mounting suspicions within the Joint Chiefs of Staff, suspicions arising from ignorance of exactly what General MacArthur was up to. Under the directives given him by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as well as through precedent in the considerable latitude granted comparable American commanders in the past, General MacArthur had authority to dispose and employ his forces as he saw fit. This authority reflected the fact that planning for major operations of the Korean War and decisions of tactical and local strategic significance originated with General MacArthur. The Joint Chiefs of Staff set for him broad objectives and sometimes voiced their concern over his handling of matters of political

significance. They entered into the planning picture most influentially in matters involving allotment of forces and supply. But in the case of the proposed Inch'on landing, the Joint Chiefs of Staff grew increasingly worried during August because MacArthur did not keep them informed of the development of his plans. He submitted no campaign plan to them and, aside from his requisitions for

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forces, passed along only the bare outline of his plans.

Knowing full well the weakened condition of American military resources at the time, observing the continued successes of the North Korean Army, but ignorant of the exact nature of MacArthur's preparations and plans for an amphibious counterblow, the Joint Chiefs of Staff began to wonder if MacArthur was not getting ready to bite off more than the United States could chew.

In order to determine more precisely what was taking place in Tokyo, the Joint Chiefs of Staff sent two of their members to the Far East. General Collins and Admiral Sherman, accompanied by a staff of Air Force and Army officers, flew to Tokyo on 19 August to talk with MacArthur. [18]

Meeting privately with General Collins and Admiral Sherman upon their arrival in Tokyo, MacArthur covered general aspects of the whole Korean operation, and then staged a full-scale briefing on the proposed amphibious movement for top military and naval officials. This briefing, which took place in General MacArthur's conference room on the 6th floor of the Dai Ichi Building in Tokyo in the late afternoon of 23 August 1950, was attended by Generals MacArthur, Collins, Almond, and Wright of the Army and Admirals Sherman, Joy, Struble, and Doyle of the Navy. Various other officers of lesser rank participated in the briefing. [19]

Just before this briefing, General Smith had approached General Almond on the possibility of landing in the Posung-Myon area instead of at Inch'on. General Almond stated very definitely that he was not interested in a landing there except perhaps as a subsidiary landing in connection with Inch'on. Almond told Smith that the real objective of this operation was to capture Seoul at the earliest possible date. Too, GHQ planning officers had looked into Posung-Myon and did not believe that the area had the necessary road net to support heavy vehicles in any breakout of the area. [20]

Admiral Doyle's planning officers presented the first portion of the briefing. For nearly an hour they covered the problems faced by the Navy in the landing operation, emphasizing the great difficulties and the risks involved. Their remarks were decidedly pessimistic. Ad-

[18](1) Rad, WAR 89118, DA to CINCFE, 18 Aug. 40. (2) General Collins described the purpose of the visit as ". . . to find out just exactly what these plans were. Frankly, we were somewhat in the dark, and as it was a matter of great concern, we went out to discuss it with General MacArthur. We suggested certain alternative possibilities and places and

everything of that sort...." Louis Johnson, who as Secretary of Defense at this time claimed to have supported MacArthur wholeheartedly in his proposals for landing at Inch'on, describes the purpose of this visit differently. He stated, "General Collins . . . did not favor Inchon and went over to try to argue General MacArthur out of it." See *MacArthur Hearings*, pp. 1295, 2618.

[19] (1) Ltr., Adm. Joy to Col. Appleman, 12 Dec. 52. (2) Ltr., Gen. Almond to Col. Appleman, 2 Dec. 52. (X) and (2) in OCMH. (3) Walter M. Karig, *Battle Report, The War in Korea* (New York: Rinehart, 1952), pp. 16S67. Karig's work, which both Joy and Almond describe as substantially correct and factual, is used as the basis for this account of the 23 August briefing. Modifications from Joy's and Almond's letters have been applied to Karig's version where appropriate.

[20] (1) General Smith's Chronicles, 22-23 Aug. 50. (2) Col. John Chiles, SGS GHQ, and later G-3, X Corps, told the author during a conversation at the Army War College in February 1955 that he had examined charts of the Posung-Myon area, and found the routes of egress entirely insufficient for an operation of the scale planned.

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miral Doyle concluded this presentation by conceding that the operation was not impossible, but he stated that he did not recommend it.

General MacArthur, already familiar with the views of his naval staff, seems not to have been taken aback by this adverse comment. Taking the floor, he came to the defense of his plans calmly and with great assurance. He omitted any mention of the hazards, dwelling instead upon the reasons why the landing should be made at Inch'on and upon the tactical conditions which favored its success. He pointed out the disposition of the North Korean Army and its vulnerability to an amphibious encirclement.

If there were one vital spot in the enemy's line of communications, the Seoul-Inch'on area was that spot. Almost all of the major rail and highway lines leading from North Korea channeled through that area. Only by seizing Seoul and Inch'on, MacArthur insisted, could he achieve a quick and decisive victory over the enemy. He also pointed out the tremendous political and psychological advantages to be gained by retaking the Korean capital from the invaders.

General Collins and Admiral Sherman had suggested to him that a landing at Kunsan, nearly one hundred miles south of Inch'on, might be just as effective and involve less risk. But MacArthur deprecated Kunsan as a main objective area, maintaining that such a shallow envelopment would not cut the enemy's line of communications nor surround his divisions. It would not lead to quick victory and a bitter Korean winter campaign would have to be fought. Only Inch'on, in General MacArthur's opinion, would do.

General MacArthur did not ask Collins or Sherman to approve his plans, nor did they offer to do so. The briefing was a briefing and nothing more, but the purposes of the Joint Chiefs

of Staff had been served. They now knew what MacArthur intended to do and how he intended to do it. They were no longer in the dark.

General MacArthur's able presentation did not completely convince the naval and Marine officers. On the morning of 24 August, these officers, in a meeting which included Admiral Sherman, Admiral Joy, Lt. Gen. Lemuel C. Shepherd and the lesser naval and Marine commanders, assembled in a private airing of their grievances. All present felt strongly that MacArthur should give greater consideration to the Posung-Myon area. They selected General Shepherd, Commanding General, Fleet Marine Force, Pacific who was reputed to enjoy particular influence with General MacArthur, to make a personal appeal for the Posung-Myon area. General Shepherd called upon General MacArthur and presented the Navy-Marine case but to no avail. From that hour, the naval and Marine officers abandoned Posung-Myon and concentrated on Inch'on. [21]

Upon their return to Washington, General Collins and Admiral Sherman explained to their fellow members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff the concept and the state of preparation for the attack on Inch'on. Now that the veil had been lifted, the Joint Chiefs examined the

[21] General Smith's Chronicles, 24 Aug. 50.

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plans carefully. They found no real disagreement with what MacArthur intended to do and, on 28 August, notified him that they approved his plans for an amphibious operation on the west coast of Korea. They suggested, though, that he also prepare plans for an amphibious envelopment in the vicinity of Kunsan. [22]

The Joint Chiefs of Staff very pointedly told MacArthur that, from here on in, they wanted to know what went on in his theater. "We desire such information as becomes available with respect to conditions in the possible objective areas and timely information as to your intentions and plans for offensive operations." [23]

Why had the Joint Chiefs of Staff found it necessary to send MacArthur approval of his plans? General Collins may have felt that the controversy evident at the Tokyo briefing had now been resolved and took this way of clearing any doubt from MacArthur's mind. The Inch'on landing would tie up a major share of the nation's ready combat forces and, while by strict interpretation, the landing would be a purely tactical maneuver at the discretion of the theater commander, failure would have repercussions far beyond Korea. This may have led the Joint Chiefs to identify themselves with the operation by granting approval, at the same time placing them in a better position to call off the maneuver if the risks suddenly appeared too great. Their admonition requiring "timely information" is in line with this latter possibility. Certainly the Joint Chiefs of Staff did not tell MacArthur that they were taking the reins from his hands. [24]

Orders for the attack followed almost immediately. General MacArthur, on 30 August, issued his operations order for the Inch'on landing, setting forth the objectives and assigning specific missions to his commanders.

He directed the U.S. X Corps, the headquarters of which he established within the theater (see ch. IX), to land on D-day at H-hour on the west coast of Korea to seize Inch'on, Kimp'o Airfield, and Seoul, and to sever all North Korean lines of communication in the area. He ordered coordinated attacks

[22] Rad, JCS 89960, JCS to CINCFE, 28 Aug. 50.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] General Collins and Admiral Sherman talked with President Truman on their return, telling him of MacArthur's plans and informing him that they had approved these plans. "It was a daring strategic conception," Truman commented "I had the greatest confidence that it would succeed." See Truman, *Memoirs*, II, 358.

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from the southern perimeter by Eighth Army and all available ground, naval, and air forces, to destroy the North Korean Army south of the line Inch'on-Seoul-Utchin. Admiral Joy, COMNAVFE, would command while afloat. He would furnish Navy and Marine assault forces and would transport follow-up landing forces. Once the lodgment ashore had been seized, Joy would land the follow-up troops on the beachhead. After the beachhead was secured, commanding general, U.S. X Corps, would land, inform the naval commander of his readiness to assume responsibility for further operations, and take command of all forces ashore. The U.S. X Corps would operate directly under General MacArthur until otherwise ordered. MacArthur charged General Stratemeyer, Commanding General, FEAF, with general air support to isolate the objective area and with giving required close support. The principal air effort would support the Eighth Army breakout. If so ordered, General Stratemeyer was to ferry, protect, and drop an airborne RCT. General Walker on D plus X would launch a general offensive from his perimeter, making his main effort along the Taegu-Taejon-Suwon axis. Annexes to the operations order gave detailed instructions to all commanders on all phases of the operation, including intelligence, logistical support, and command relationships. [26]

A representative of the Department of the Army G-3, who had been making an inspection tour of the Far East Command and who returned to Washington in early September, reported to General Bolte that "Plans for the contemplated envelopment operation in Korea are well advanced. Nearly everyone in FECOM concerned with these plans is confident that they can be carried out successfully despite serious shortages in combat and service troops and logistic support." The officer pointed up Washington's lack of participation in the planning for Operation CHROMITE: "In order that DA may further integrate its planning with that of FECOM," he said, "working level officers in FECOM charged with preparation of

the campaign plan will attempt to obtain General MacArthur's permission to forward a copy of this plan to DA...." [26]

When, by 5 September, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, despite their request of 28 August, had heard nothing more from General MacArthur on his plans, they again called upon him, saying, "Pursuant to the request ... desire to be informed of any modification which may have been made in your plans for the mid-September amphibious operation." [27]

This terse reminder triggered only a casual reaction from MacArthur. He replied that "the general outline of the plan remains as described to you." He promised that by 11 September, using

[25] (1) Opns Order No. 1, GHQ, UNC, 30 Aug. 50, copy with Annual Narrative Hist Rpt, GHQ, FEC, 1 Jan-31 Oct. 50, Annex IV. (2) For a more detailed study of this order and of the organization of landing and attack forces, see the following: USAF Hist Study, United States Air Force Operations in the Korean Conflict, 25 June-1 November 1950, ch. 5,

copy in OCMH; and Malcolm C. Cagle, "Inchon, Analysis of a Gamble," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* (January 1954), pp. 47-51. [26] Memo, Col. Everett for Gen. Bolte, 8 Sep 50, sub: Visit to USARPAC and FEC, 19-30 Aug. 50, in G-3, DA file 333 Pac, Case 5.

[27] Rad, JCS 90639, JCS to MacArthur, 5 Sep 50.

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officer courier, he would send them a detailed description of his planned operations. [28]

Meanwhile, the Joint Chiefs of Staff had been weighing the possible fruits of success at Inch'on against the certain price of failure. They lacked General MacArthur's complete faith in ultimate victory at Inch'on. They feared a debacle at Inch'on from which the U.N. forces might not recover. North Korean gains along the Pusan Perimeter had continued into September and, from Washington, chances of a mid-September victory on the west coast appeared to be diminishing rapidly.

On 7 September the Joint Chiefs of Staff called General MacArthur's attention to the fact that he had committed almost all of Eighth Army's reserves. He could expect no more reinforcements immediately. All available General Reserve units except the 82d Airborne Division had been sent to him already. If the Inch'on landing failed, the U.N. forces would be in grave danger. It would take at least four months before any of the newly called National Guard divisions could reach Korea. The Joint Chiefs called on MacArthur for a new estimate and a reconsideration of Inch'on. [29]

This shadow of doubt cast over his plans only a week before the target date evoked from General MacArthur a forceful protest, couched in the strongest, most expressive terms. He discounted the seriousness of the situation confronting General Walker, who was, at this time, having some of his darkest days.

General MacArthur showed extreme optimism in describing the probable effects upon the enemy of a landing against his west coast rear areas. "There is no question in my mind," he told the Joint Chiefs of Staff, "as to the feasibility of the operation...." He saw the planned operation as the only hope of seizing the initiative from the enemy. If the landing were not made, General MacArthur warned, the United States would be committed to a war of attrition which might drag on interminably and which the enemy, with his greater potential for reinforcement, might win. While conceding that General Walker might have to contract his perimeter, General MacArthur held that the situation around Pusan was not critical. "There is no slightest possibility," he maintained, "of our forces being ejected from the Pusan beachhead." If, as he

[28] Rad, C 62213, CINCFE to JCS, 6 Sep 50.

[29] Rad, JCS 90908, JCS to CINCFE, 7 Sep 50.

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believed the Joint Chiefs of Staff were implying, small increments of reserves were fed into the Pusan area merely to strengthen the perimeter instead of being used for the encircling attack, the cost in time, casualties, and materiel would be immeasurably increased. He suspected, too, the Washington military officials were looking at the map too closely and finding bugaboos. They seemed to fear the result if Eighth Army failed to break out and join the landing force at Inch'on on schedule. In General MacArthur's opinion, the success of the operation did not depend on a rapid joining of the two forces. The seizure of the heart of the North Korean distributing system in the Seoul area would "dislocate the logistical supply of his forces operating in South Korea" and ultimately result in the disintegration of North Korean resistance. Both American forces, Eighth Army and the U.S. X Corps, would be self-sustaining because of the complete American control of sea and air. While the prompt junction of forces would be "dramatically symbolic of the complete collapse of the enemy," General MacArthur certainly did not consider it a vital part of the operation. Troops were already embarking for the amphibious sweep, and preliminary naval and air preparations were going ahead on schedule. "I and all of my commanders and staff officers, without exception, are enthusiastic and confident of the success of the enveloping operation," General MacArthur concluded. [30]

Faced with these most vigorous views from a man who was in a position to judge the theater situation more accurately than anyone else, the Joint Chiefs of Staff acquiesced. They went further and obtained President Truman's approval for the landing. On 8 September, they gave General MacArthur the final green light for the landing at Inch'on one week later. [31]

[30] Rad, C 62423, CINCFE to JCS, 8 Sep 50.

[31] Rad, JCS 90958, JCS to CINCFE, 8 Sep 50.

CHAPTER IX Operation CHROMITE: The Forces

MacArthur planned his bold amphibious venture at Inch'on sustained only by hope, credit, and promises. At no time during his planning did he have the men and guns he would need. The Joint Chiefs of Staff, moreover, frequently told MacArthur that, with the military resources of the United States at rock bottom and because of the short-fused target date on which MacArthur adamantly insisted, the needed men and guns might not arrive on time. The disagreements over time, place, and method of landing stemmed in part from this fact and were certainly of less significance. MacArthur well knew that even with the fullest support by Washington he might not have by his chosen D-day enough trained men and equipment to breach enemy defenses and to exploit a penetration. Trained men, especially those with amphibious training, were at a premium in the United States as well as in the Far East. To assemble, equip, and move these men secretly and swiftly to the battle area by 15 September would require an enormous, finely coordinated effort by all involved. The difficulties were appalling, and to surmount them called for extraordinary energy and ingenuity.

The nature and location of the planned landing dictated that it be directed by a tactical headquarters separate from the Eighth Army. General Walker had his hands full in the Pusan Perimeter and could not easily divide his attention, effort, or staff. The size of the landing force, initially set at about two divisions, indicated a need for a corps command. It was for this reason that MacArthur, concurrently with his efforts to bring the two corps headquarters to his theater in late July, had asked that the commander and planning staff of the I Corps be flown to Tokyo. [1] But by the time General Coulter and his skeleton staff reached Japan, a need for the I Corps in the Pusan Perimeter forced MacArthur to send Coulter on to Korea.

Since the amphibious operation could not be made without a corps headquarters, members of JSPOG recommended that their chief, General Wright, ask MacArthur either to organize a provisional corps headquarters locally or to bring from Pearl Harbor to Tokyo the Fleet Marine Force, Pacific (FMFPAC) headquarters, commanded by General Shepherd. General Wright chose the latter course and suggested to General

[1] Rad, CX 58296, CINCFE to DA, 28 Jul. so.

Almond that Admiral Arthur W. Radford, Commander in Chief, Pacific, be asked if the Marine headquarters could be moved. "There is urgent need" General Wright argued, "to get a headquarters in being for the GHQ Reserve operation. This headquarters must be one that can operate in the field as a going concern with such things as situation reports, operations reports, communications, etc., happening automatically." Forming a provisional headquarters from theater officers did not appeal to Wright. "A provisional command group selected from GHQ officers will not be a going concern unless it has time to get together and train in the field," he pointed out. "This is true no matter how efficient the

individual officers are." Too little time remained to form and train such a group since, Wright warned, "With the target date of 15 September, only thirty days remain in which to complete the landing plan, embarkation plan and the embarkation of the assault element." Wright cited amphibious doctrine which

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set from go to 150 days for planning. For this reason alone he felt that the trained headquarters from Hawaii should be used if available. General Hickey agreed with Wright. Hickey told General Almond:

Utilization of this headquarters and staff which is already organized and functioning offers many advantages over the hasty throwing together of a provisional Corps headquarters and staff from available personnel. The latter would be at best only a half-baked affair and would contribute to reducing the efficient functioning of GHQ because of the key personnel withdrawn. [2]

General MacArthur did not accept Wright's suggestion. First of all, after the amphibious landing at Inch'on itself, CHROMITE would be an overland campaign. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, MacArthur wanted the detailed CHROMITE planning accomplished under his own close and constant supervision, and not by a group less subject to his direct view than his own GHQ staff. Wright therefore made no further attempt to bring in the outside headquarters. [3]

General Wright's second attempt to arrange a headquarters proved more successful. "As your advisor on tactical organization and operations for forces," he told Almond on 10 August, "I strongly recommend that we immediately activate a command for the GHQ Reserve." This command, in Wright's concept, was to be very similar to a corps headquarters. Because of its specialized mission the command would not need an artillery headquarters, observation battalion, engineer brigade, or engineer topographical company. He recommended that this headquarters be moved to the field immediately since the target date of 15 September was fast approaching and the group would have to be ready to load aboard ship by 10 September. Only twenty-five days remained in which to complete corps-level plans, to condition units for the field, to develop standing operating procedures, and to give combat training to headquarters personnel. [4]

General MacArthur accepted Wright's recommendation and ordered the formation of a provisional planning staff, forerunner of the actual corps staff, from officers of his own GHQ staff. To conceal its true purpose, he designated this new group as the Special Planning Staff, GHQ. General Almond chose the officers for this staff and on 15 August directed them

to begin part-time planning, and to continue to work on their regular jobs only as necessary.

Almond named Maj. Gen. Clark L. Ruffner, who had arrived from the United States on 6 August, as chief of staff of the Special Planning Staff. Ruffner assembled his staff in a bunker-type concrete structure near the Dai Ichi Building on 15 August. As a first step, these officers drew up a troop list and a standing operating procedure for the landing. When General Ruffner asked what forces would be used for the landing and breakout, MacArthur replied, "The 7th Division which is half-under-strength, the Marine Brigade in Korea, other marines from the United States,

[2] Memo, JSPOG for Gen. Wright, 7 Aug. 50, with Ind, in JSPOG, GHQ, UNC files.

[3] (1) *Ibid.* (2) Ltr., Lt. Gen. Edward M. Almond to Brig Gen. Hal C. Pattison, Chief of Military History, HQ, DA, 10 Feb. 67, OCMH files.

[4] Memo, Gen. Wright for CofS GHQ, UNC, 10 Aug. 50, in JSPOG, GHQ, UNC files.

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and a battalion of Marines from the Mediterranean." [5]

MacArthur had not yet named a commander for the invasion forces. Near the end of the third week in August, General Almond suggested to him that the time had come to appoint such a commander. MacArthur turned to his chief of staff and said, "It is you." MacArthur told Almond that he would continue as chief of staff, Far East Command, "in absentia." He was so confident of ending the war by a quick victory at Inch'on, that he believed Almond could return to Tokyo within only a few weeks after the initial landing. In effect, MacArthur put General Almond, as well as other officers on the new corps staff, on loan to the corps from GHQ for the landing operation. [6]

On 21 August, General MacArthur asked to be allowed to activate, from sources already available in his theater, Headquarters, X Corps. Department of the Army readily granted this authority. [7]

The Special Planning Staff had already prepared its version of the best organization for the new corps headquarters. General Almond approved it. The major deviation from standard corps Tables of Organization and Equipment was the addition of a small transportation section and an area command, headquarters and headquarters detachment, of about ninety officers and men. General Ruffner told General Almond that, since X Corps would be operating separately "until such time as link-up is effected," it would have to carry out some functions normally carried out by an Army headquarters. [8]

The corps was activated without a TO & E, Table of Allowances, or Table of Distribution being prescribed. The staff used published equipment and personnel tables as guides, but modified the structure to enable the corps headquarters to operate as a separate corps

along the lines of a field army headquarters. As a result, all equipment drawn had to be requisitioned and such requests had to be approved as items over and beyond authorized allowances. Each requisition, in fact, had to be reviewed personally by the corps G-4, Col. Aubrey D. Smith, and approved by the chief, Supply Division, G-4, GHQ. Limited time, inexperienced people, and the urgent press of planning the impending operation greatly complicated this problem. [9]

General MacArthur formally established the X Corps on 26 August. The Special Planning Staff, GHQ, became Headquarters, X Corps, and General Almond was officially designated commanding general in addition to his duties as chief of staff and deputy commander, Far East Command, United Nations Command. All units or detachments in or en route to Japan and previously designated GHQ Reserve were assigned to X Corps. Next, on X September, Mac-

[5] (1) Diary, CG X Corps, Opn CHROMITE, 15 Aug.-30 Sep. 50, copy in OCMH. (2) Interv, Col. Appleman with Gen. Ruffner, 27 Aug. 51.

[6] Interv, Col. Appleman with Gen. Almond, 13 Dec. 51.

[7] (1) Rad, C 60770, CINCFE to DA, 21 Aug. 50. (2) Rad, W 89390, DA to CINCFE, 22 Aug. 50.

[8] Memo, CofS Special Planning Staff, GHQ (Gen. Ruffner), for CofS GHQ (Gen. Beiderlinden), 23 Aug. 50, sub: Org., G-1, GHQ Daily Log, Item 26, 23 Aug. 50.

[9] Comments, Col. Smith, former ACofS G-4, X Corps, contained in HQ, EUSAK, Mono, Martin Blumenson, Special Problems in the Korean Conflict, pp. 51-53, copy in OCMH.

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Arthur assigned the code name, Operation CHROMITE, to the planned landing at Inch'on; and, on 6 September, he confirmed in writing what he had already told his major commanders orally, that D-day for Operation CHROMITE was September 1950. [10]

With time running short and an ominous amount of detailed planning and coordination remaining, officers of the new corps headquarters worked around the clock. General Almond crammed as much field training and testing into the few busy days before embarkation as he could. On 1 September, his entire corps staff together with coordinators and umpires moved to a wooded area near Camp Drake in suburban Tokyo and set up a field command post. A tactical exercise prepared by General Willoughby was used to test the readiness of the green headquarters. On the second day of the exercise, General Almond, to measure the mobility and flexibility of his staff, ordered the entire group to displace to Atsugi, twenty miles away, with no break in the continuity of the maneuver. Realism in the maneuver was achieved by confronting the staff with situations closely paralleling those expected at the actual landing. Four main situations were presented, covering the breakout from the beachhead, a counterattack by enemy reserves, an opposed

river crossing, and the exploitation of the breakout. Results of this maneuver, which ended on 3 September, made it apparent that General Almond's choice of staff officers had been excellent the staff demonstrated a state of readiness far beyond expectations. [11]

Marine Forces

The vital factor of the landing operation remained the availability of a strong? well-balanced, and specially trained and equipped amphibious striking force, and enough follow-up units to consolidate and exploit the initial landing. The former could come only from Marine and Navy sources, while a full Army division could provide the latter. MacArthur obtained these forces only after two months of making insistent demands on Washington and by taking unusual steps within his own command.

Like its sister services, the U.S. Marine Corps had shrunk in size during the postwar years. On 30 June, the Marine Corps had only 74,279 officers and men scattered widely among security, training, and administrative posts throughout the world. The operating segment of the Marine Corps, 40,000 officers and men, included the Fleet Marine Force, security forces, and Marines afloat. The Fleet Marine Force was, in turn, divided into Pacific and Atlantic sections. Each of these had a reinforced but reduced strength division and an understrength air wing. The Fleet Marine Force, Pacific, held the 1st Marine Division and 1st Marine Air Wing while the Fleet Marine Force, Atlantic, had the 2d Marine Division and 2d Marine Air Wing. The combined strength of the 1st and 2d

[10] (1) GHQ, UNC GO 324, 26 Aug. 50. (2) Rad, C 61660, CINCFE to Major Comds and DA, 6 Sep. 50. (3) Ltr., CINCFE to All Major Comdrs., 6 Sep. 50, sub: Designation of D-day.

[11] Rpt, JSPOG for CofS GHQ, sub: Map Maneuver X, copy in JSPOG, GHQ, UNC files. This exercise revealed that the corps had no proper equipment for bridging the Han River.

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Marine Divisions did not equal that of a single war-strength Marine division.

Early in July, the Joint Chiefs of Staff had approved sending a Marine RCT with supporting tactical air to the Far East Command. [12] The 1st Provisional Marine Brigade was activated at Camp Pendleton, California, on 5 July around the 5th Marines, 1st Marine Division, and Marine Air Group 33 of the 1st Marine Air Wing. The provisional brigade began loading from the west coast almost immediately and sailed on 14 July with about 4,500 ground troops. This number included engineers, a tank company, a light artillery battalion, a 4.2-inch mortar company, amphibious elements, and three infantry battalions, and about 1,350 men in the air group. As of 9 July, Admiral Radford judged this Marine force capable of specialized missions, including amphibious landings, "under conditions where appropriate higher echelon agencies are present." [13] The information on the amphibious capabilities of the new force was well received by General MacArthur since it blended admirably with plans then being developed by his staff. He radioed Washington at

once, asking that the Marine brigade, "in view of the extensive opportunity for amphibious employment," be expanded to a full Marine division with appropriate air support. [14]

A few days after this request, General Collins arrived in Tokyo where, in a discussion of the need for forces on 13 July, General Almond upped MacArthur's previous request, asking Collins for a 2-division corps of Marines. The Army Chief of Staff replied that the Marines were in the same position as the Army, very short of men, and that even if another Marine division could be built, the Joint Chiefs of Staff had other plans for it. But, before leaving Japan, General Collins told General MacArthur privately that he believed one full Marine division could be sent him.

In Washington, meanwhile, the Joint Chiefs of Staff had in Collins' absence agreed to bring the 1st Marine Division to war strength. This decision received strong backing from Admiral Radford who personally urged the Chief of Naval Operations to give General MacArthur a full Marine division as soon as possible. Admiral Sherman supported Radford, but with reservations. Radford's support nonetheless proved instrumental in bringing the 1st Marine Division to war strength. [15]

On 19 July, General MacArthur called again for the 1st Marine Division, this time stipulating that all units of the division and the air wing should arrive by 10 September. He also asked that equipment and personnel be sent at once to bring the 5th Marine RCT, already on the way, to full war strength. [16]

To fill the 1st Marine Division, the Marine Corps drew men and equipment

[12] Rad, JCS 84876, JCS to CINCFE, 3 Jul. 50.

[13] Rad, 0922322, CINCPACFLT to CINCFE, 9 Jul. 50.

[14] (1) Rad, CX 57553, CINCFE to JCS, 10 Jul. 50. (2) Rpt, Mobilization of the Marine Corps Reserve in the Korean Conflict, Hist. Sec G-3, HQ, U.S. Marine Corps, ch. II, p. II, copy in OCMH.

[15] (1) Memo, Col. Dickson for Gen. Bolte, 15 Jul. 50, sub: Visit to FEC, Tab B. (2) Rad, C 57814, CINCFE (Gen. Collins) to DA (Gen. Haislip), 14 Jul. 50. (3) Note by Secy. for JCS, in G-3, DA file 320.2 Pac. Case 28. (4) Rad, 080941Z, CINCPACFLT (Radford) to CNO (Sherman), 8 Jul. 50. (5) JCS 1776/25, Memo, CNO for JCS, 9 Jul. 50, sub: Recommendations of CINCPACFLT Concerning Support of CINCFE.

[16] Rad, CX 58239, CINCFE to DA, 19 Jul. 50.

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from all over the United States. So empowered by Presidential authority, the corps called 138 units with a strength of 1,800 officers and 31,648 enlisted Marines, its entire Organized Ground Reserve, to active service. It also brought 6,800 Regulars of the 2d

Marine Division from Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, to Camp Pendleton. An effort was made, however, to avoid stripping the Atlantic area completely of Marines. Admiral Sherman felt that denuding the Atlantic area would be too dangerous; and at Sherman's insistence, the Joint Chiefs of Staff informed General MacArthur that they could not send him the full Marine division before November or December. Nor could they determine the extent to which the 1st Provisional Marine Brigade could be strengthened until Admiral Sherman conferred with Admiral Radford in Hawaii. [17]

This threat to his plans drew fire from MacArthur, and he urgently requested the Joint Chiefs to reconsider. Provision of the full division by so September he saw as an absolutely vital element of his entire plan. "There can be," he charged, "no demand for its use elsewhere which can equal the urgency of the immediate battle mission contemplated for it." [18]

Unknown to MacArthur, an influential ally had already come to his support. Admiral Radford, before meeting with the Chief of Naval Operations, had sought the advice of General Shepherd. The Marine general spoke out strongly for General MacArthur and recommended that his request for Marine forces be met in the manner desired. General Shepherd believed that the Fleet Marine Force "as a whole" could provide the amphibious striking force and that it could do so without a serious or lasting impact on the Marine force's readiness to meet other commitments. "I feel," he told Admiral Radford, "that there is a serious war in progress in Korea and employment of amphibious forces will prove the key of achievement of a timely and economical decision for our arms." He held that the Fleet Marine Force was ready "at this moment" to send to Korea a force strong enough to lead the counteroffensive amphibious movement, "the task for which Marines are trained and constituted." [19]

Back in Washington, General Bolte added his support to General MacArthur's plea for early arrival of the Marines. He recommended to General Collins that the latter use his influence with the Joint Chiefs to support MacArthur in his call for a full Marine division in the theater by 10 September. [20]

The intervention of Generals Shep-

[17] (1) Rad, JCS 86511, JCS to CINCFE, 20 Jul. 50. (2) Wilbur W. Hoare, Jr., *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy*, draft MS, vol. IV, ch. V, p. 13.

[18] (1) Rad, CX 58327, CINCFE to JCS, 21 Jul. 50. (2) This statement reflects General MacArthur's conviction that "Washington" followed a policy of slighting his command in favor of the western European area. General Whitney's account of this transaction is interesting, if abbreviated. ". . . on July 10," Whitney says, "MacArthur asked the Joint Chiefs of Staff for the 1st Marine Division. Profiting by his experience with Washington's penchant for skeletonizing his forces, he carefully stipulated a division at full strength. He was turned down flat. He patiently tried again five days later, saying: 'I cannot emphasize too strongly my belief in the complete urgency of my request.' He was turned down again." See Whitney, *MacArthur; His Rendezvous With History*, p. 343.

[19] Memo, Gen. Shepherd, CC FMPAC, for Adm. Radford, CINCPAC, in JSPOG, GHQ, UNC files.

[20] Memo, Gen. Bolte for Gen. Collins, 21 Jul. 50, sub: Augmentation of Provisional Marine Brigade, in G-3, DA file 320.2 Pac, Case 24.

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herd and Bolte prompted the Joint Chiefs of Staff to reconsider. On 22 July, they notified General MacArthur that they would review their previous decision. They asked him to help by telling them what he meant to do with the Marine brigade between its arrival date in late July and 10 September. At the same time, they ordered the brigade brought to full war strength and the Marine Air Group enlarged to full squadrons. [21]

Replying immediately, General MacArthur said that the 1st Provisional Marine Brigade, when it arrived on about 1 August, would be kept in Japan as GHQ Reserve, "To be used in Korea only in event of a critical situation." Meanwhile, he would train, outfit, and prepare the brigade for major amphibious operations in September. [22]

The Joint Chiefs of Staff had, meanwhile, been weighing General MacArthur's need for a full Marine division by 10 September against the dangers in cutting Marine strength in other parts of the world. Admiral Sherman proposed and the other Joint Chiefs approved a compromise by which the Marine strength in the Far East Command would be built up to two war-strength RCT's by mid-September. Even this solution, which would put only two-thirds of a Marine division in Korea by 15 September, would greatly reduce Marine security forces in the United States and cause an extensive call-up of Reserves. The Joint Chiefs, in a teleconference on 24 July, told MacArthur that, "We have now determined it is practicable to further augment the Marine Brigade after its arrival in Japan and bring it to division war strength less one RCT by mid-September. We have directed that this be done. The third RCT cannot be furnished until winter." General MacArthur did not care for this compromise and remonstrated at once. "Subtraction of an RCT from the Marine division," he contended, "tends to jeopardize the entire conception and would involve risks that cannot be determined finally at this time. I regard the third RCT as essential." But Washington officials stood firm. They explained, with forbearance, that the only trained Marine battalions left after sending two regiments to the Far East Command would be one battalion in the 2d Marine Division, one afloat in the Mediterranean, and a battalion of school troops at Quantico, Virginia. These they considered the minimum for absolutely essential needs in the Atlantic. [23]

Still unhappy with the new arrangements, MacArthur shelved the matter for the time being. Other developments were pressing. Whereas the 1st Provisional Marine Brigade had been headed for Kobe, Japan, mounting pressure by the enemy against Walker's perimeter and signs of a strong enemy force sweeping down the west coast to outflank Eighth Army forced MacArthur to abandon plans to keep the Marines as GHQ Reserve in Japan. On 25 July, he ordered the ground elements of the brigade diverted to Pusan, and to be prepared to execute a rapid non-tactical debarkation. Units and equipment peculiar to am-

[21] Rad, JCS 86778, JCS to CINCFE, 22 Jul. 50.

[22] Rad, C 58473, CINCFE to DA, 23 Jul. 50.

[23] (1) Memo, CNO for JCS, 24 Jul. 50, sub: Deployment of Fleet Marine Forces to the FEC, cited in Hoare, *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy*, vol. V, ch. IV, p. 14. (2) Telecon, TT 3573, JCS and CINCFE, 24 Jul. 50.

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prohibious operations were kept on board ships and taken to Kobe. Upon landing at Pusan on 3 August, the ground troops of the 1st Provisional Marine Brigade were attached to General Walker's Eighth Army and went into a Reserve assembly near Masan. [24]

While hastily assembling another RCT in the United States for shipment to the Far East Command for use by 10 September, the Joint Chiefs on 10 August decided they need not wait until winter to send General MacArthur the third regiment of the Marine division. On that date, they authorized the formation of the final regiment, the unit to arrive in the Far East Command during September. In order that the Joint Chiefs of Staff appreciate the impact of their decision, Admiral Sherman sketched for them the drastic measures that the Marine Corps had to take to give MacArthur a full division. ". . . it will involve," he told them, "moving to the FEC the Marine battalion now in the Mediterranean, one battalion now at Camp Lejeune, and an RCT, less two battalions, to be formed at Camp Pendleton. So doing will eliminate the capabilities of the Fleet Marine Force in the Atlantic for several months." The battalion from the Mediterranean would have to come directly from Suda Bay through the Suez Canal and be hastily augmented with men sent directly to the Far East Command. [25]

The 1st Marines' additional rifle companies and platoons to bring the 1st Provisional Marine Brigade (5th Marines) up to war strength, and support and service units for the division had been building up at Camp Pendleton. These loaded at San Diego between 14 and 24 August and reached Japan between 28 August and 2 September. The third regiment was activated as the 7th Marines on 17 August at Camp Pendleton. Two understrength battalions of the 6th Marines from Camp Lejeune and individual Regulars and Reserves were assigned to the new regiment. Its other battalion, the peace-strength battalion from the Mediterranean, sailed directly to Japan from its post with the fleet. A third rifle company and third platoons for the battalion's other two companies formed with the main body of the 7th Marines. [26]

Admiral Sherman, during his visit to the Far East Command in late August, queried his Washington headquarters on the arrival date of this final component of the division. He was touring the battlefield in Korea when the discouraging reply reached him. "The limiting factor," Sherman learned, "is the readiness of Marine Corps troops, which cannot be advanced ahead of an already tight schedule." Owing to the need for training, the two Marine battalions from the United States could not reach the Far East Command until 19

September, while the battalion coming from the Mediterranean would arrive in Korea on 12 September. "It is impossible," Admiral Sherman was told, "for the entire

[24] (1) Rad, CX 586628, CINCFE to COMNAVFE, 28 Jul. 50. (2) Rad, CX 58763, CINCFE to COMNAVFE and CG Eighth Army, 26 Jul. 50. (3) Rpt, Mobilization of the Marine Corps Reserve, HQ U.S. Marine Corps, ch. II, p. 1, copy in OCMH.

[25] (1) Hoare, *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy*, vol. IV, ch. V, p. 14. (2) Memo, CNO for JCS, 11 Aug. 50, in G-3, DA file 320.2 Pac, Case 30/2.

[26] Lynn Montross, "The Inchon Landing-Victory Over Time and Tide," p. 28.

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Marine Division to arrive in Japan by 10 September." [27]

While aware of the problems facing the Marine Corps in readying units for shipment, Admiral Sherman was equally aware of MacArthur's problem. He ordered the expediting of the departure from the United States of the 7th Marines' RCT elements. Granting that a division commander could best judge his division's training requirements, Sherman nevertheless told naval officers in Washington that they must take account of the requirements of the Korean campaign and the great need for bringing the division up to strength as early as possible after the Inch'on landing. "It must be assumed," Admiral Sherman radioed his staff, "that the operation will not be delayed and if two battalions are late, the division will fight without them." [28] But for all of Sherman's urging, the 7th Marines with accompanying troops did not embark until 3 September, and reached Korea on the 21st, too late for the landing.

A minor controversy centered around General Walker's very natural unwillingness to release the 1st Provisional Marine Brigade. The brigade had been in almost constant action since its arrival, attacking and counterattacking in the southern sector of the Pusan Perimeter, and had proved to be a mainstay of General Walker's defense. When General Smith, commander of the 1st Marine Division, reached Tokyo on 22 August, he had assumed the brigade would be released to him. He had already ordered liaison officers exchanged between his division headquarters and the brigade staff, and key officers of the brigade had come to Tokyo for briefing on the landing operation. On 30 August, Smith asked Almond for the brigade at once. According to Smith, General Almond appeared very reluctant to commit himself. He apparently did not want to decide, in his capacity as chief of staff, GHQ, on a definite date at which the brigade would be released to the 1st Marine Division to operate under himself as commanding general, X Corps. General Smith, after his talk, made his request more official, sending a radio to commanding general, X Corps, asking for the brigade by 1 September. General MacArthur's headquarters on 1 September ordered the brigade made available to the 1st Marine Division on 4 September, but apparently because of objections raised by General Walker, rescinded the order the same day.

At a showdown meeting on 3 September, General Smith, backed by Admiral Joy, Vice Adm. Arthur D. Struble, and Admiral Doyle, again made his demand for the brigade to General Almond. General Ruffner and General Wright were also present. Almond proposed that the Marine brigade be left with General Walker. He offered to give the 1st Marine Division the 32d Infantry Regiment, 7th Division, as a replacement unit. General Smith refused to accept at the last minute an untrained and untried Army unit for a specially trained and tested regiment of Marines. He felt that it would be unfair to the 32d Infantry and to his own division. He doubted also if it would be physically possible to make the substitution. Shipping had

[27] (1) Rad, C 60782, CINCFE (Sherman) to JCS (CNO), 21 Aug. 50. (2) Rad, C 60823, CINCFE to CO EUSAK for Adm. Sherman, 21 Aug. 50.

[28] Rad, 221009, COM 7th Fleet to CNO, 22 Aug. 50.

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already left for Korea to pick up the Marine brigade and would have to return if it were to pick up the 32d Infantry. Naval officers unanimously opposed Almond's solution. Admiral Struble then hit upon a compromise. He suggested that one of the 7th Division's regiments be sent to Pusan, remaining aboard ship as a floating reserve. This Army regiment would be available to General Walker in extreme emergency and the Marine brigade would be released to the 1st Marine Division. Almond agreed to this plan.

General Wright flew to Eighth Army headquarters in Taegu on the next day, telling Walker of the new arrangements. He relayed instructions from General MacArthur to pull the Marine brigade out of the line not later than the night of 5-6 September and to send it straight to Pusan. To compensate in some measure for the loss of this valuable force, the 17th Infantry Regiment would arrive in Pusan Harbor before 7 September. Wright tendered further compensation when he told Walker that as soon as the first RCT of the 3d Division, the 65th Infantry, arrived in the theater it would be sent directly to Pusan for assignment to Eighth Army. This RCT would arrive in Korea between 18 and 20 September. Then, unless the 17th Infantry had already been committed to meet an emergency, it would be sent to rejoin its parent 7th Division in the Seoul-Inch'on objective area. General Walker complied with his orders and withdrew the 1st Provisional Marine Brigade from the perimeter on the night of 5-6 September. On 12 September it sailed from Pusan as the 5th Marines' RCT, to rendezvous with the 1st Marine Division at Inch'on. [29]

The 7th Division

Even before he realized that the 7th Division would have to make up his major Army component for Inch'on, General MacArthur had begun to rebuild this depleted unit as much as he could. In mid-July, when the 2d Division was still slated for Inch'on, General MacArthur had ordered 20 percent of all combat replacements from the United States diverted to the 7th Division in Japan. He had also halted all further levies against the division for men and equipment. By stabilizing the division, by feeding in such resources as

could be spared from Eighth Army, and by intensive training, he hoped to make the 7th Division strong enough to fight effectively in Korea by October. On 26 July, MacArthur ordered General Walker to prepare the 7th Division "by intensified

[29] (1) Ltr., Gen. Smith to Col. Appleman, copy in OCMH. (2) Rad, CX 61738, CINCFE to CG EUSAK, 1 Sep. so, with penciled notations on copy in 8th Army file AG 322, 24 Aug.-13 Dec. 50. (3) MFR, 4 Sep. 50, sub: Visit to EUSAK, by Maj. Gen. Edwin K. Wright, in AG, DA files (CofS), FEC, UNC. (4) Col. John C. Chiles, formerly SGS GHQ, FEC, told the author on 17 February 1955, that he had been present in the Dai Ichi Building during the conference. According to Colonel Chiles, when General Almond telephoned General Walker that he would have to release the 1st Provisional Marine Brigade, General Walker became extremely excited and stated that he could not take the responsibility for the safety of the Pusan Perimeter if the brigade was taken from him. Admiral Doyle, on the other hand, said that he could not accept the responsibility for the Inch'on landing unless he was given the brigade. According to Colonel Chiles, General MacArthur personally made the decision.

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training and re-equipping for movement to Korea at the earliest practicable date." This instruction illustrates the dual function then charged to General Walker. While directing his divisions in combat against the North Korean Army, Walker, at the same time, remained responsible for the training and rebuilding of the 7th Division nearly a thousand miles away. The division then stood at less than half strength, with only 574 officers and 8,200 enlisted men. Moreover, many of the division's enlisted men had had little training, and few of the specialists and experienced noncoms taken from the division to patch up units going into combat in early July had been replaced. [30]

Desperately short of men himself, General Walker urgently appealed to General MacArthur on 29 July for the 7th Division's 32d Infantry to be flown into his perimeter. This appeal came shortly before the 5th RCT, the 1st Provisional Marine Brigade, and the 9th RCT of the 2d Division landed at Pusan. Knowing that these three regiments were to arrive and aware of the low combat potential of the 32d Infantry, General MacArthur denied this request, explaining that granting it "would completely emasculate present plans for the entire 7th Division, which is being reconstituted and will move to Korea, probably in late September." [31]

By 4 August, MacArthur saw clearly that if the amphibious force for the Inch'on landing included an Army division, his own command would have to provide it. He therefore called upon Walker to rebuild the 7th Division by 15 September. Walker was to let MacArthur know at once of any difficulties in getting the necessary material and people. MacArthur himself assisted the rebuilding process by moving to the division from Okinawa 1,600 men originally intended for a third battalion of the 29th Infantry Regiment. He also diverted to the division an anti-aircraft artillery automatic weapons battalion newly arrived from the United States, as well as two companies of combat Engineers, and sent a rush call to the ZI port of embarkation asking that the three infantry battalion cadres destined for the division be sent without delay. [32]

MacArthur held little hope that the key men transferred from the division to Korea could be replaced in kind, either from the United States or from Japan. Efforts to recover these specialists reached a new high on 7 August, when General Hickey visited Korea and sought the return of 7th Division specialists. Walker made a careful survey to determine if he could give up any of these men, but

[30] (1) Rad, CINCFE to CG Eighth Army, 19 Jul. 50, G-1, GHQ Daily Log, 19 Jul. 50, Item 62. (2) Rad, CINCFE to CC Eighth Army, 22 Jul. 50, G-1, GHQ Daily Log, 22 Jul. 50, Item 38. (3) Memo, G-1, GHQ for CofS GHQ, 24 Jul. 50, sub: Replacements for 7th Div., G-1, GHQ Daily Log, 24 Jul. 50, Item 36. (4) Rad, CINCFE to CG Eighth Army, 26 Jul. 50, G-1, GHQ Daily Log, 26 Jul. 50, Item 52. (5) Rpt, CG 7th Div. to CINCFE, 27 Jul. 50, G-1, GHQ Daily Log, 27 Jul. 50, Item 52.

[31] (1) Rad, CX 20657 KC0, CG, EUSAK to CINCFE, 29 Jul. 50. (2) Rad, CINCFE to CG EUSAK, 30 Jul. 50, G-1, GHQ Daily Log, 30 Jul. 50, Item 26. [32] (1) Memo, G-1 GHQ for CofS GHQ, 9 Aug. 50, sub: Assignment of 29th Inf. (less two battalions), G-1 GHQ Daily Log, 9 Aug. 50, Item 53. (2) Rad, CINCFE to SFPE (Stoneman), 12 Aug. 50, G-1 GHQ Daily Log, 12 Aug. 50, Item 60. (3) Memo, G-1 GHQ for CofS GHQ, 10 Aug. 50, sub: Replacements for 7th Inf. Div., G-1 GHQ Daily Log, 10 Aug. 50, Item 19.

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because of the low ebb in Eighth Army's fortunes and strength at the time, found their release impossible. [33]

The lack of specialists and trained men for the 7th Division was on General MacArthur's mind when he talked on 7 August with Harriman, General Ridgway, and General Norstad. MacArthur furnished a complete list of the specialists he needed but who could not be found in his command and asked why the Department of the Army did not quickly recruit experienced noncommissioned officers from among the many who had served in World War II. These men could be sent to him by fast ship and by air. [34]

Three days later, MacArthur informed the Department of the Army of the unusual steps he had taken to refurbish the 7th Division. He estimated that 30 percent of all replacements arriving in the theater before 10 September would be diverted to the 7th Division so that it would be only 1,800 men understrength by the CHROMITE target date. He had already exhausted all other sources of replacements. [35]

The high priority given the 7th Division worked hardships on the American divisions in Korea. All artillery replacements and all infantry replacements having certain qualifications were channeled to the division. These actions, while weakening other units, proved effective in bringing the 7th Division to a reasonable level. By 7 September, shortly before loading for the invasion at Inch'on, the division lacked only 1,349 officers and men of its full war strength. [36]

Compensating, numerically at least, for this slight understrength of the 7th Division, MacArthur, after conceiving the idea that South Korea might be called on to provide soldiers for American units, attached more than 8,000 Koreans to the division. On 11 August he directed General Walker to procure, screen, and ship to Japan for use in augmenting the 7th Division approximately 7,000 able-bodied male Koreans. Fortunately the ROK Government cooperated since no American commander had authority beyond merely requesting these men. As a commentary on the desperation out of which this measure was born, General Wright on 17 August talked to the chief of staff, GHQ, by telephone from Korea. He told him that about 7,000 Koreans were being shipped out of Pusan that day. "They are right out of the rice paddies," he said, "and have nothing but shorts and straw hats. I understand they have been inoculated, given a physical examination and have some kind of paper. I believe we should get busy on equipment." [37] These Korean men were brought to Japan, equipped and trained briefly, and then attached to the 7th Division. By 31 Au-

[33] Memo, Gen. Hickey, DCofS GHQ, for Gen. Almond, 7 Aug. 50, sub: Rpt of Visit to Korea, copy in OCMH.

[34] Truman, *Memoirs*, II, 351.

[35] Rad, CX 59802, CINCFE to DA, 10 Aug. 50.

[36] (1) Memo, CofS GHQ Reserve (Gen. Ruffner) for CofS GHQ (Gen. Almond), 28 Aug. 50, sub: Strength of 7th Div., G-1 GHQ Daily Log, 28 Aug. 50, Item 55. (2) Memo, G-1 GHQ for CofS GHQ, 8 Sep. 50, sub: Status of 7th Inf. Div. Personnel, in CofS GHQ, UNC files.

[37] (1) Memo, G-3 GHQ for CofS ROK, GHQ, 17 Aug. 50, in CofS GHQ, UNC files. (2) Memo for Gen. Beiderlinden, 8 Sep. 50, sub: ROK Personnel With U. S. Units, in CofS GHQ, UNC files. (3) Rad, CX 59818, CINCFE to CG EUSAK, 11 Aug. 50. (4) Rad, CX 60020, CINCFE to CG EUSAK, 13 Aug. 50.

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gust, 8,652 Koreans had joined the 7th Division. [38]

In a related action, General MacArthur ordered General Walker to strengthen each company and battery of American troops under his command by adding a hundred Koreans as rapidly as individual arms and equipment could be procured. The increase was to be made without regard to the present or future strength of the ROK Army. He authorized Walker to raise the ROK Army to any number he deemed practicable or advisable and to requisition equipment when the figure had been determined. [39] But, by the end of August, little progress had been made toward attaching Koreans to American units other than the 7th Division. The 1st Cavalry Division had 739 Koreans, the 2d Division had 234, the 24th Division had 949, and the 25th Division 240. [40]

Admiral Joy recommended to General MacArthur on 7 August that amphibious training of the 7th Division begin immediately even though the unit was then at less than half strength. He pointed out that the embarkation date for the prospective assault amphibious landing was 5 September and that training a RCT to conduct an opposed amphibious assault would delay it. He had already conferred with the commanding general of the 7th Division and had instructed him on the training objectives to be achieved before embarkation. These included proficiency in amphibious operations. General MacArthur ordered amphibious training for the 7th Division to begin as soon as possible, under the control and supervision of COMNAVFE. [41]

Airborne Units

MacArthur had no airborne troops when the fighting began in Korea. The 11th Airborne Division, which had served on occupation duties, had returned to the United States more than a year before. MacArthur now wanted airborne forces badly. The ability of such airborne troops to drop behind enemy lines, to sever lines of communications, and to disrupt rear-area activities had been proven during World War II. The increasing vulnerability of the North Korean Army to such tactics provided the perfect setting for airborne employment, particularly in conjunction with amphibious attack.

His early attempts to procure airborne troops included an effort on 8 July to have a complete regiment, with its equipment, flown to Japan. He apparently intended to use this airborne unit in Operation BLUEHEARTS. General Vandenberg, Air Force chief of staff, offered to fly the regiment and its equipment to Japan in C-119 aircraft if other members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff thought it necessary. But this emergency aerial movement would have required the diversion of Military Air Transport Service carriers and commercial planes which

[38] (1) The complete story of this unique experiment is contained in Mono, Maj. Elva Stillwaugh, Personnel Policies in the Korean Conflict, copy in OCMH. (2) Telecon, TT 3708, DA and CINCFE, 30 Aug. 50.

[39] Rad, CX 59709, CINCFE to CG Eighth Army, 9 Aug. 50,

[40] Rpt, unsigned, 31 Aug. 50, sub: Strength of South Koreans Attached to U.S. Divs. as of 31 Aug., G-3 Opns Jnl, FEC and Pac Br, G-3, DA.

[41] (X) Rad, {0707027}, COMNAVFE to CINCFE, 7 Aug. 50. (2) Rad, CX 59636, CINCFE to CG Eighth Army and COMNAVFE, 8 Aug. 50.

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already were flying huge cargoes of men and materiel to MacArthur. If MacArthur's estimates were correct, these shipments were much more sorely needed than an airborne RCT, and should take precedence.

For this reason, and because no airborne RCT's, except for those of the 82d Airborne Division, were ready to fight immediately, the Joint Chiefs of Staff denied MacArthur's July request. [42] But they did take steps to ready an airborne unit for deployment as soon as possible. Whereas MacArthur actually had asked for an RCT from the 82d Airborne Division, the Joint Chiefs of Staff decided against weakening the only effective infantry division left in the United States and chose instead an RCT from the 11th Airborne Division. The commanding general of the 11th Airborne Division had been informed of the possible deployment on 7 July, but with the decision against air transport to Japan, no immediate action was taken. Planning continued, however, for possible movement by ship.

When General Collins learned during his conference in Tokyo that General MacArthur's plan for Inch'on included a role for the airborne RCT, he was somewhat concerned. He told General Almond, after hearing the latter describe the planned seizure of the north bank of the Han River by an airborne unit, that the Joint Chiefs of Staff would take a very personal interest in how General MacArthur employed the airborne troops. He assured General Almond that the Joint Chiefs of Staff would do their best to furnish planes to drop the vehicles and howitzers of the RCT, but cautioned against wasteful and improper employment of these specially trained troops. "Don't overestimate what one RCT can do," the Army Chief of Staff warned Almond. "Don't get too grandiose in your planned utilization of the limited troops available." [43]

When using the phrase "limited troops available," Collins was not exaggerating. The 11th Airborne Division had so few men that only one RCT, at less than half its authorized infantry strength, could be formed on 15 July. Since the beginning of July Army authorities had been assigning all officers and men completing the Army Parachute School at Fort Benning, Georgia, to the 11th, feeding in about 400 trained jumpers each week. General Bolte, investigating the readiness date for the airborne RCT, was told that by transferring trained jumpers from the 82d Airborne, the 11th Airborne RCT could be readied for shipment to MacArthur by 1 August. On the other hand, the current process of filling the RCT with graduates of the parachute school only would slow its departure until 20 September. The latter method did not disrupt the 82d Airborne, however, and was therefore the method most acceptable to General Bolte and General Collins. On 18 July, the Department of the Army told General MacArthur that the 11th Airborne RCT would be ready at home station by about 20 September. Asked to comment, he

[42] (1) Rad, C 57379, CINCFE to DA, 8 Jul. 50. (2) Memo, G-3 DA for CofS, 8 Jul. 50, sub: Troop Requirements Forwarded by General MacArthur to the DA for the JCS, in G-3, DA file 320.2 Pac, Case 21. (3) Rad, WAR 85328, DA to CINCFE, Collins (Personal) for MacArthur, 9 Jul. 50.

[43] Memo, Col. Dickson for Gen. Bolte, sub: Record of Visit to FEC, 10-15 July 1950, in G-3, DA file 333 Pac, Case 3, Tab 6.

objected that his plans for the landing at Inch'on required these troops in his theater by 10 September and urged every effort to have them there on time. [44]

The brief description presented orally to General Collins during his visit apparently had not justified sufficiently the need for immediate deployment of the RCT. Whereupon, Washington asked General MacArthur for a more detailed explanation of the mission he would give the airborne RCT in the landing operation. On 23 July, General MacArthur replied that he planned to mount an airdrop from Japan, landing the airborne troops in the Inch'on objective area as soon after D-day as the situation warranted. They were to seize a key communication center immediately ahead of troops advancing out of the beachhead area.

At this time, when it was not at all certain that sufficient amphibious forces could be sent to MacArthur or that the landing at Inch'on would even be made, MacArthur's requirement for airborne troops appeared, to Army officials, secondary. The condition of the 11th Airborne Division, moreover, remained such that the Department of the Army deemed it impractical to send any of the division's regiments into combat in September. Army authorities informed General MacArthur in teleconference that the RCT would be operational in Japan by 23 October, but that he could not count upon using it in his landing operations. In turn, MacArthur remonstrated once again, asking that the Joint Chiefs of Staff expedite the arrival of the unit. [45]

Despite General MacArthur's protests, General Ridgway and General Haislip drew up a plan on 25 July to move the 187th RCT of the 11th Airborne Division to Japan with an operational readiness date in the Far East Command of 21 October. Infantry fillers would be transferred to the unit from the 82d Airborne if necessary. One hundred C-119 aircraft would arrive in the Far East Command in time to allow the RCT fifteen days of operational training prior to 21 October. On this basis, build-up of the 187th Airborne RCT went forward during July and most of August. By 19 August, the regiment had been built up to nearly 4,000 officers and men and was undergoing intensive training. [46] Arrangements progressed ahead of the original schedule and General MacArthur was told that the 187th RCT would be at the port of embarkation by 12 September. He again objected that in order to accomplish his planned operation he would have to have the unit and its required airlift in Japan by 10 September.

But General Ridgway, himself an airborne officer, opposed any stepped-up shipment of the airborne RCT. He advised General Collins, after studying General MacArthur's objections, ". . . I think the only justification for compli-

[44] (1) MFR, Col. Dickson, G-3, DA, 17 Jul. 50, sub: Readiness Date for the RCT of the 11th Abn. Div. (2) Memo, Gen. Ogden, Chief, Org and Training Div., G-3, DA, for Gen. Bolte, G-3, DA, 15 Jul. 50, same sub. Both in G-3, DA file 320.2, Case 6/5. (3) Rad, W 86323, DA to CINCFE, 18 Jul. 50.

[45] (1) Rad, C 58473, CINCFE to DA, 23 Jul. 50. (2) Telecon, TT 3573, DA with CINCFE, 24 Jul. 50.

[46] (1) Memo, Gen. Timberman, Opns Div., G-3. for Gen. Bolte, G-3, DA, 25 Jul. 50, sub: Movement of RCT of 11th Abn. Div. to FECOM, in G-3, DA file 320.2, Case 6/5. (2) Memo, Gen. Bolte for Gen. Ridgway, 19 Aug. 50, sub: Movement of RCT of 11th Abn. to FEC, with 1st Ind by Gen. Ridgway (sgd F. F. Moorman) with Incls., same file.

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ance would be a situation so desperate that the addition of an RCT as a straight infantry outfit was necessary to save the situation. It does not appear to me that such is the case." General MacArthur's objections were overruled and, in mid-August, he was told not to expect the airborne troops in time for his landing operation. [47]

General Collins, on a second visit to Tokyo late in August, found General MacArthur still insistent that the airborne RCT be sent in time to take part in Operation CHROMITE, Collins promised to do what he could and, upon returning to Washington, made a special effort to expedite arrangements. His investigation convinced him that his staff had been doing its best, and on 25 August he explained to General MacArthur that he had satisfied himself that an airborne RCT could not be sent by 10 September. He had even considered taking a regiment from the 82d Airborne instead of the 11th, but had found that this drastic action would have made no appreciable difference in the arrival date. For the delay was no longer caused by personnel shortages but by difficulties in procuring, assembling, and loading the specialized equipment required for airborne operations. General Collins felt that every reasonable and practicable measure had been taken to expedite the arrival of the RCT but that the unit would not be there for CHROMITE.

In his final word to General MacArthur on 28 August, he pointed out that by expediting to the maximum extent, the 187th Airborne RCT could reach Sasebo, Japan, on 21 September. The unit could then complete preparations for an airborne drop of the entire regiment by 29 September, but no earlier. "I strongly urge," General Collins said, "it not be committed prior to that date. The unit is presently capable of daylight operations only. However, I am confident that this unit will, in all respects, meet the high combat standards set by our airborne units in the last war." There appeared to be no appeal from these opinions of the Chief of Staff, and General MacArthur acquiesced, replying that his plans would be adjusted. [48]

The 187th Airborne RCT left Camp Stoneman, California, on 6 September and arrived in Japan on 20 September with a strength of about 4,400 men and officers. [49]

The Assault in Readiness

The U.S. X Corps, at its embarkation, numbered slightly less than 70,000 men. Included as its major units were the 1st Marine Division, the 7th Division, the 92d and 96th Field Artillery Battalions, the 56th Amphibious Tank and Tractor Battalion, the 19th Engineer Combat Group, and the 2d Engineer Special Brigade. The 1st Marine Division had a

[47] (1) Rad, CX 59999, CINCFE to DA, 13 Aug. 50. (2) Rad, W 88966, DA to CINCFE, 16 Aug. 50. (3) Memo, Gen. Ridgway for CofS, 14 Aug. 50, in CofS DA file 370, Case 11.

[48] (1) MFR, sgd Lt. Col. Herrick, 29 Aug. 50, sub: Advancement of Date of Movement to FEC of 187th RCT of 11th Abn. Div., in G-3, DA file 320.2, Case 6/4. (2) Rad, W 90063, DA (Collins) to CINCFE (MacArthur), 25 Aug. 50. (3) Rad, WAR 89967, JCS (Collins) to CINCFE, 28 Aug. 50. (4) Rad, C 71576, CINCFE (MacArthur) to DA (Collins), 30 Aug. 50.

[49] (1) Interv, Capt. Charles Thebaud with Maj. C. M. Holland, 187th Abn. RCT, Beppu, Japan, 19 Jan 52. (2) Ltr., HQ, 187th Abn. RCT, to DA, 15 Dec. 51, sub: Insignia. (3) War Diary, 187th Abn. RCT, 1 Aug. to 31 Oct. 50.

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strength of 25,040 men, including 2,760 attached Army troops and 2,786 Korean marines. The 7th Marines, which arrived on 21 September, added 4,000 men to the division strength. [50]

The echelon of command for CHROMITE progressed downward from General MacArthur through Admiral Joy, COMNAVFE, in the usual pattern established during World War II for amphibious operations. Admiral Struble, as Commander, Joint Task Force Seven, and Commander, Seventh Fleet, was actually in command of the amphibious phase of the operation. Under him, Admiral Doyle commanded the attack force (Amphibious Group One) which, in turn, controlled the landing force, composed of the 1st Marine Division. Command of the landing force was scheduled to pass to General Smith, Commanding General, 1st Marine Division, after the beachhead was secured and Smith had notified Doyle he was ready to assume command ashore. Command of the expeditionary troops, the U.S. X Corps, was to pass to General Almond from Admiral Struble after the corps had landed and Almond had indicated that he was ready to assume command. [51]

As D-day for Operation CHROMITE approached, the ports of Kobe, Sasebo, and Yokohama in Japan and Pusan in Korea became centers of intense activity. The 1st Marine Division, less the 5th Marines, loaded at Kobe, the 5th Marines at Pusan. The 7th Division loaded at Yokohama, and most of the escorting naval vessels, the Gunfire Support Group, and the command ships, at Sasebo. In order to reach Inch'on by 15 September, the landing ships, tank (LST's) had to leave Kobe by 10 September and the attack transports and cargo ships by 12 September. Only the assault elements were combat-loaded. The rest of the invasion force and the vast quantity of equipment and supplies were organization-loaded. [52]

General MacArthur, General Almond, and General Shepherd flew from Tokyo to Sasebo, joining naval commanders aboard the *Mt. McKinley* on the evening of 12 September. Some of the final arrangements for the landing were completed aboard the flagship.

[50] (1) 1st Marine Div. SAR, vol. 1, Annex A, 5. (2) Hist. Rpt, X Corps, G-3, Opn CHROMITE, p. 2.

[51] (1) Joint Task Force Seven, Inchon Rpt, Opn Plan. (2) X Corps Opn Order 1, Annex 1, 28 Aug.

[52] (1) 1st Marine Div. SAR, 15 Sep.-7 Oct. 50, Annex D, p. 4. (2) War Diary, 7th Inf. Div., Sep. 50.

CHAPTER XXV

The Landing at Inch'on

The history of war proves that nine out of ten times an army has been destroyed because its supply lines have been cut off.... We shall land at Inch'on, and I shall crush them [the North Koreans].

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR

It was natural and predictable that General MacArthur should think in terms of an amphibious landing in the rear of the enemy to win the Korean War. His campaigns in the Southwest Pacific in World War II-after Bataan-all began as amphibious operations. From Australia to Luzon his forces often advanced around enemy-held islands, one after another. Control of the seas gives mobility to military power. Mobility and war of maneuver have always brought the greatest prizes and the quickest decisions to their practitioners. A water-borne sweep around the enemy's flank and an attack in his rear against lines of supply and communications appealed to MacArthur's sense of grand tactics. He never wavered from this concept, although repeatedly the fortunes of war compelled him to postpone its execution.

MacArthur's Early Plans

During the first week of July, with the Korean War little more than a week old, General MacArthur told his chief of staff, General Almond, to begin considering plans for an amphibious operation designed to strike the enemy center of communications at Seoul, and to study the location for a landing to accomplish this. At a Far East Command headquarters meeting on 4 July, attended by Army, Navy, and Air Force representatives, Generals MacArthur and Almond discussed the idea of an amphibious landing in the enemy's rear and proposed that the 1st Cavalry Division be used for that purpose. Col. Edward H. Forney of the Marine Corps, an expert on amphibious operations, was selected to work with the 1st Cavalry Division on plans for the operation. [1]

The early plan for the amphibious operation received the code name BLUEHEARTS and called for driving the North Koreans back across the 38th Parallel. The approximate date proposed for it

[1] Interv, author with Almond, 13 Dec 51; MS review comments, Almond for author, 23 Oct 53; Hq X Corps, Opn CHROMITE, G-3 Sec, 15 Aug-30 Sep 50, p. 1; Lynn Montross and Capt. Nicholas A. Canzona, USMC, U.S. *Marine Operations in Korea, 1950-1953*, vol. II, *The Inchon-Seoul Operation* (Washington: Historical Branch, G-3, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1954), pp. 4-7.

was 22 July, but the operation was abandoned by 10 July because of the inability of the U.S. and ROK forces in Korea to halt the southward drive of the enemy. [2]

Meanwhile the planning for an amphibious operation went ahead in the Far East Command despite the cancellation of BLUEHEARTS. These plans were undertaken by the Joint Strategic Plans and Operations Group (JSPOG), Far East Command, which General Wright headed in addition to his duties as Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3. One of Wright's deputies, Col. Donald H. Galloway, was directly in charge of JSPOG. This unusually able group of planners developed various plans in considerable detail for amphibious operations in Korea.

On 23 July, General Wright upon MacArthur's instructions circulated to the GHQ staff sections the outline of Operation CHROMITE. CHROMITE called for an amphibious operation in September and postulated three plans: (1) Plan 100-B, landing at Inch'on on the west coast; (2) Plan 100-C, landing at Kunsan on the west coast; (3) Plan 100-D, landing near Chumunjin-up on the east coast. Plan 100-B, calling for a landing at Inch'on with a simultaneous attack by Eighth Army, was favored. [3]

This same day, 23 July, General MacArthur informed the Department of the Army that he had scheduled for mid-September an amphibious landing of the 5th Marines and the 2d Infantry Division behind the enemy's lines in co-ordination with an attack by Eighth Army. [4]

The North Korean successes upset MacArthur's plans as fast as he made them. He admitted this to the Joint Chiefs in a message on 29 July, saying, "In Korea the hopes that I had entertained to hold out the 1st Marine Division [Brigade] and the 2d Infantry Division for the enveloping counter blow have not been fulfilled and it will be necessary to commit these units to Korea on the south line rather than . . . their subsequent commitment along a separate axis in mid-September.... I now plan to commit my sole reserve in Japan, the 7th Infantry Division, as soon as it can be brought to an approximate combat strength." [5]

X Corps Troops Assembled

By 20 July General MacArthur had settled rather definitely on the concept of the Inch'on operation and he spoke of the matter at some length with General Almond and with General Wright, his operations officer. On 12 August, MacArthur issued CINCFE Operation Plan 100-B and specifically named the Inch'on-Seoul area as the target that a special invasion force would seize by amphibious assault. [6]

On 15 August General MacArthur es-

[2] Schnabel, *FEC, GHQ Support and Participation in the Korean war*, ch V, pp. 1-18.

[3] *Ibid.*, ch 5, pp. 12-13; Interv with Wright, 7 Jan 54. The landing at Kunsan called for a drive inland to Taejon; that at Chumunjin-up included a ROK division and called for an advance down the coastal road

to Kangnung and then west to Wonju.

[4] GHQ FEC, Ann Narr Hist Rpt, Jan-Oct 50, p. 11.

[5] Schnabel, FEC, GHQ Support and Participation in the Korean war, ch. V, p. 25, quoting Rad c58993, CINCFE to JCS, 29 Jul 50.

[6] Diary of CG X corps, Opn CHROMITE; Interv, author with Wright, 7 Jan 54; Interv, author with Maj Gen Clark L. Ruffner, 27 Aug 51.

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established the headquarters group of the Special Planning Staff to take charge of the projected amphibious operation. For purposes of secrecy the new group, selected from the GHQ FEC staff, was designated, Special Planning Staff, GHQ, and the forces to be placed under its control, GHQ Reserve. On 21 August, MacArthur requested the Department of the Army by radio for authority to activate Headquarters, X Corps, and, upon receiving approval, he issued GHQ FEC General Order 24 on 26 August activating the corps. All units in Japan or en route there that had been designated GHQ Reserve were assigned to it. [7]

It appears that General MacArthur about the middle of August had made up his mind on the person he would select to command the invasion force. One day as he was talking with General Almond about the forthcoming landing, the latter suggested that it was time to appoint a commander for it. MacArthur turned to him and replied, "It is you." MacArthur told Almond that he was also to retain his position as Chief of Staff, Far East Command. His view was that Almond would command X Corps for the Inch'on invasion and the capture of Seoul, that the war would end soon thereafter, and Almond would then return to his old position in Tokyo. In effect, the Far East Command would lend Almond and most of the key staff members of the corps for the landing operation. General Almond has stated that MacArthur's decision to place him in command of X Corps surprised him, as he had expected to remain in Tokyo in his capacity as Chief of Staff, FEC. General MacArthur officially assigned General Almond to command X Corps on 26 August. [8]

General Almond, fifty-eight years old when he assumed command of X Corps, was a graduate of Virginia Military Institute. In World War I he had commanded a machine gun battalion and had been wounded and decorated for bravery. In World War II he had commanded the 92d Infantry Division in Italy. Almond went to the Far East Command in June 1946, and served as deputy chief of staff to MacArthur from November 1946 to February 1949. On 18 February 1949 he became Chief of Staff, Far East Command, and, on 24 July 1950, Chief of Staff, United Nations Command, as well.

General Almond was a man both feared and obeyed throughout the Far East Command. Possessed of a driving energy and a consuming impatience with incompetence, he expected from others the same degree of devotion to duty and hard work that he exacted from himself. No one who ever saw him would be likely to forget the lightning that flashed from his blue eyes. To his commander, General MacArthur, he was wholly loyal. He never hesitated before difficulties. Topped by iron-gray hair, Almond's alert, mobile face with its

ruddy complexion made him an arresting figure despite his medium stature and the slight stoop of his shoulders.

The corps' chief of staff was Maj. Gen. Clark L. Ruffner, who had arrived from the United States on 6 August and had

[7] Schnabel, Theater Command, ch. VIII. This volume will treat in detail the planning of the Inch'on landing and the policy debate on it. Hq X Corps, Opn CHROMITE.

[8] Interv, author with Almond, 13 Dec 51; Hq X Corps, Opn CHROMITE; Almond biographical sketch.

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started working with the planning group two days later. He was an energetic and diplomatic officer with long experience and a distinguished record in staff work. During World War II he had been Chief of Staff, U.S. Army Forces, Pacific Ocean Areas, in Hawaii. The X Corps staff was an able one, many of its members hand-picked from among the Far East Command staff.

The major ground units of X Corps were the 1st Marine Division and the 7th Infantry Division. In the summer of 1950 it was no easy matter for the United States to assemble in the Far East a Marine division at full strength. On 25 July, Maj. Gen. Oliver P. Smith assumed command and on that day the Commandant of the Marine Corps issued an order to him to bring the division to war strength, less one regiment, and to sail for the Far East between 10 and 15 August. This meant the activation of another regiment, the 1st Marines, and the assembly, organization, and equipment of approximately 15,000 officers and enlisted men within the next two weeks. On 10 August, the Joint Chiefs of Staff decided to add the third regiment to the division, and the 7th Marines was activated. It was scheduled to sail for the Far East by 1 September. The difficulty of obtaining troops to fill the division was so great that a battalion of marines on duty with the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean was ordered to join the division in the Far East. [9]

General Smith and most of the staff officers of the 1st Marine Division arrived in Japan from the United States on 22 August. The division troops, the 1st Marines, and the staff of the 7th Marines arrived in Japan between 28 August and 6 September. A battalion of marines in two vessels, the *Bexar* and the *Montague*, departed Suda Bay, Crete, in the Mediterranean on 16 August, and sailing by way of Suez arrived at Pusan on 9 September to join the 7th Marines as its 3d Battalion. The remainder of the 7th Marines arrived at Kobe on 17 September. The 5th Marines, in Korea, received a warning order on 30 August to prepare for movement to Pusan to join the division. [10]

Bringing the 7th Infantry Division up to war strength posed an even more difficult problem. During July, FEC had taken 140 officers and 1,500 noncommissioned officers and enlisted men from the division to augment the strength of the 24th and 25th Infantry and the 1st Cavalry Divisions as they in turn had mounted out for Korea. At the end of July the division

was at less than half-strength, but in noncommissioned officer weapons leaders and critical specialists the shortage was far greater than that proportion. On 27 July, the 7th Infantry Division was 9,117 men understrength-290 officers, 126 warrant officers, and 8,701 enlisted men. The day before, FEC had relieved it of all occupation duties and ordered it to prepare for movement to Korea. [11]

[9] 1st Mar Div SAR, Sep 50; Lt Gen Oliver P. Smith, MS review comments with ltr to Maj Gen Albert C. Smith, Chief Mil Hist, 25 Feb 54: Karig, *et al.*, *Battle Report, The War in Korea*, pp. 123, 172.

[10] 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. III, pp. 1-2; Smith, MS review comments.

[11] EUSAK WD, 31 Jul 50, Memo for CofS, Strategic Status of 7th Inf Div; Schnabel, FEC, GHQ Support and Participation in the Korean War, ch. V, p. 5, citing Ltr, CINCFE to CG Eighth Army, 4 Aug 50; Maj Gen David G. Barr (CG 7th Inf Div), Notes, 1, 6, 31 Jul 50 (copies furnished author by Barr).

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From 23 August to 3 September the Far East Command allotted to the 7th Division the entire infantry replacement stream reaching FEC, and from 23 August through 8 September the entire artillery replacement stream. By 4 September the division had received 390 officers and 5,400 enlisted replacements. General MacArthur obtained service units for the X Corps in the same way-by diverting them from scheduled assignments for Eighth Army. The Far East Command justified this on the ground that, while Eighth Army needed them badly, X Corps' need was imperative. [12]

In response to General MacArthur's instructions to General Walker on 11 and 13 August to send South Koreans to augment the 7th Infantry Division, 8,637 of them arrived in Japan before the division embarked for Inch'on. Their clothing on arrival ranged from business suits to shirts and shorts, or shorts only. The majority wore sandals or cloth shoes. They were civilians-stunned, confused, and exhausted. Only a few could speak English. Approximately 100 of the South Korean recruits were assigned to each rifle company and artillery battery; the buddy system was used for training and control. [13]

The quality of the artillery and infantry crew-served weapons troops received from the United States and assigned to the 7th Division during August and early September was high. The superior training provided by the old infantry and artillery noncommissioned officers who arrived from the Fort Benning Infantry and the Fort Sill Artillery Schools brought the 7th Division to a better condition as the invasion date approached than could have been reasonably expected a month earlier. The 7th Division strength on embarkation, including the attached South Koreans, was 24,845. [14]

The Landing Controversy

All through July and August 1950 the Joint Chiefs of Staff gave implied or expressed approval of MacArthur's proposal for an amphibious landing behind the enemy's battle

lines. But while it was known that MacArthur favored Inch'on as the landing site, the Joint Chiefs had never committed themselves to it. From the beginning, there had been some opposition to and many reservations about the Inch'on proposal on the part of General Collins, U.S. Army Chief of Staff; the Navy; and the Marine Corps. The FEC senior planning and staff officers-such as Generals Almond and Hickey, Chief of Staff and Deputy Chief of Staff; General Wright, the G-3 and head of JSPOG; and Brig. Gen. George L. Eberle, the G-4-supported the plan. [15]

The Navy's opposition to the Inch'on site centered largely on the difficult tidal

[12] Schnabel, *FEC, GHQ Support and Participation in the Korean War*, ch. V, pp. 31-32; *GHQ FEC, Ann Narr Hist Rpt*, 1 Jan-31 Oct 50, p. 45; 7th Div WD, Aug-Sep 50; Barr, Notes, 4 Sep 50.

[13] 7th Inf Div WD, 1 Sep 50; *Diary of CG X Corps, Opn CHROMITE*, 1 Sep 50; Barr, MS review comments, 1957.

[14] Interv, author with Barr, 1 Feb 54; Barr, Notes, 4 Sep 50.

[15] Interv, author with Wright, 7 Jan 54; Interv, author with Eberle, 12 Jan 54; Ltr, Wright to author, 22 Mar 45; Almond, MS review comments for author, 23 Oct 53; Schnabel, *FEC, GHQ Support and Participation in the Korean War*, ch. V, p. 23; Interv, author with Lutes (FEC Planning Sec), 7 Oct 51.

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conditions there, and since this opposition continued, the Joint Chiefs of Staff decided to send two of its members to Tokyo to discuss the matter with MacArthur and his staff. A decision had to be reached. On 20 July General Collins and Admiral Forrest P. Sherman, Chief of Naval Operations, left Washington for their conference with MacArthur. Upon arrival in Japan, Collins and Sherman engaged in private conversations with MacArthur and key members of his staff, including senior naval officers in the Far East. Then, on the afternoon of 23 July, a full briefing on the subject was scheduled in General MacArthur's conference room in the Dai Ichi Building. [16]

The conference began at 1730 in the afternoon. Among those present in addition to General MacArthur were General Collins, Admiral Sherman, Vice Admirals Joy and Struble, Generals Almond, Hickey, and Wright, some members of the latter's JSPOG group, and Rear Adm. James H. Doyle and some members of his staff who were to present the naval problems involved in a landing at Inch'on.

After a short introduction by General MacArthur, General Wright briefed the group on the basic plan. Admiral Doyle then presented the naval considerations. His general tone was pessimistic, and he concluded with the remark, "The operation is not impossible, but I do not recommend it." The naval part of the briefings lasted more than an hour.

During the naval presentation MacArthur, who had heard the main arguments many times before, sat quietly smoking his pipe, asking only an occasional question. When the presentation ended, MacArthur began to speak. He talked as though delivering a soliloquy for forty-five minutes, dwelling in a conversational tone on the reasons why the landing should be made at Inch'on. He said that the enemy had neglected his rear and was dangling on a thin logistical rope that could be quickly cut in the Seoul area, that the enemy had committed practically all his forces against Eighth Army in the south and had no trained reserves and little power of recuperation. MacArthur stressed the strategical, political, and psychological reasons for the landing at Inch'on and the quick capture of Seoul, the capital of South Korea. He said it would hold the imagination of Asia and win support for the United Nations. Inch'on, he said, pointing to the big map behind him, would be the anvil on which the hammer of Walker's Eighth Army from the south would crush the North Koreans.

General MacArthur then turned to a consideration of a landing at Kunsan, 100 air miles below Inch'on, which General Collins and Admiral Sherman had favored. MacArthur said the idea was good but the location wrong. He did not think a landing there would result in severing the North Korean supply lines and destroying the North Korean Army. He returned to his emphasis on Inch'on, saying that the amphibious landing was tactically the most powerful military device available to the United Nations Command and that to employ it properly meant to strike deep and hard into enemy-held territory. He dwelt on the bitter Korean winter campaign that would become necessary if Inch'on was not undertaken. He said the North

[16] Schnabel, *Theater Command* ch. VIII; *New York Times*, August 19 1950.

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Koreans considered a landing at Inch'on impossible because of the very great difficulties involved and, because of this, the landing force would achieve surprise. He touched on his operations in the Pacific in World War II and eulogized the Navy for its part in them. He concluded his long talk by declaring unequivocally for Inch'on and saying, "The Navy has never turned me down yet, and I know it will not now."

MacArthur seems to have convinced most of the doubters present. Admiral Sherman was won over to MacArthur's position. General Collins, however, seemed still to have reservations on Inch'on. He subsequently asked General Wright if the Far East Command had firm plans for a Kunsan landing which could be used as an alternate plan if the Inch'on operation either was not carried out or failed. Wright assured him that there were such plans and, moreover, that it was planned to stage a feint at Kunsan. [17]

Among the alternate proposals to Inch'on, in addition to the Kunsan plan favored by the Navy, was one for a landing in the Posung-myon area thirty miles south of Inch'on and opposite Osan. On the 23d, Admiral Doyle had proposed a landing there with the purpose of striking inland to Osan and there severing the communications south of Seoul. On the 24th, Lt. Gen. Lemuel C. Shepherd, Jr. (USMC), called on General MacArthur and asked him

to change the landing site to this area-all to no avail. MacArthur remained resolute on Inch'on.

Upon their return to Washington, Collins and Sherman went over the whole matter of the Inch'on landing with the other members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. On 28 August the Joint Chiefs sent a message to MacArthur which seemingly concurred in the Inch'on plans yet attached conditions. Their message said in part: "We concur in making preparations for and executing a turning movement by amphibious forces on the west coast of Korea, either at Inch'on in the event the enemy defenses in the vicinity of Inch'on prove ineffective, or at a favorable beach south of Inch'on if one can be located. We further concur in preparations, if desired by CINCFE, for an envelopment by amphibious forces in the vicinity of Kunsan. We understand that alternative plans are being prepared in order to best exploit the situation as it develops. [18]

MacArthur pressed ahead unswervingly toward the Inch'on landing. On 30 August he issued his United Nations Command operation order for it. Meanwhile, the Joint Chiefs in Washington expected to receive from MacArthur further details of the pending operation and failing to receive them, sent a message to him on 5 September requesting this information. MacArthur replied the next day that his plans remained unchanged. On 7 September, the Joint Chiefs sent another message to MacArthur requesting a reconsideration of

[17] The account of the 23 July conference is based on the following sources: Ltr, Wright to author, 22 Mar 54; Ltr, Joy to author, 12 Dec 52; Ltr, Almond to author, 2 Dec 52; Smith, MS review comments; Montross and Canzona, *The Inchon-Seoul Operation*, pp. 40-47; Karig, et al., *Battle Report, the War in Korea*, p. 169. General MacArthur's MS review comments show no comment on this section

[18] Schnabel, FEC, GHQ Support and Participation in the Korean War, ch. V, p. 6, citing Msg JCS 89960, JCS to CINCFE, 28 Aug 50.

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the whole question and an estimate of the chances for favorable outcome. The energy and strength displayed by the North Koreans in their early September massive offensive had evidently raised doubts in the minds of the Joint Chiefs that General Walker's Eighth Army could go over successfully to the attack or that X Corps could quickly overcome the Seoul defenses. In the meantime, General MacArthur on 6 September in a letter to all his major commanders confirmed previous verbal orders and announced 15 September as D-day for the Inch'on landing. [19]

In response to the Joint Chiefs' request for a reconsideration and an estimate of the chances for a favorable landing at Inch'on, General MacArthur on 8 September sent to Washington a final eloquent message on the subject. His message said in part:

There is no question in my mind as to the feasibility of the operation and I regard its chance of success as excellent. I go further and believe that it represents the only hope of wresting the initiative from the enemy and thereby presenting an opportunity for a decisive blow. To do otherwise is to commit us to a war of indefinite duration, of gradual attrition, and of doubtful results.... There is no slightest possibility . . . of our force being ejected from the Pusan beachhead. The envelopment from the north will instantly relieve the pressure on the south perimeter and, indeed, is the only way that this can be accomplished.... The success of the enveloping movement from the north does not depend upon the rapid juncture of the X Corps and the Eighth Army. The seizure of the heart of the enemy distributing system in the Seoul area will completely dislocate the logistical supply of his forces now operating in South Korea and therefore will ultimately result in their disintegration. This, indeed, is the primary purpose of the movement. Caught between our northern and southern forces, both of which are completely self-sustaining because of our absolute air and naval supremacy, the enemy cannot fail to be ultimately shattered through disruption of his logistical support and our combined combat activities.... For the reasons stated, there are no material changes under contemplation in the operation as planned and reported to you. The embarkation of the troops and the preliminary air and naval preparations are proceeding according to schedule.

The next day the Joint Chiefs, referring to this message, replied tersely to MacArthur, "We approve your plan and President has been so informed." [20] It appears that in Secretary of Defense Johnson, MacArthur had in Washington a powerful ally during the Inch'on landing controversy, for Johnson supported the Far East commander. [21] Thus on 8 September Washington time and 9 September Tokyo time the debate on the projected Inch'on landing ended.

A co-ordinate part of MacArthur's Inch'on plan was an attack by the Eighth Army north from its Pusan Per-

[19] Schnabel, *FEC, GHQ Support and Participation in the Korean War*, ch. VIII, Smith MS review comments, 25 Feb 54.

[20] Rad C62423, CINCFE to JCS, 8 Sep 50, and Rad 90958, JCS to CINCFE, 8 Sep 50.

[21] In the course of the MacArthur hearings the next year, Secretary Johnson, in response to an inquiry from Senator Alexander Wiley, said, "I had been carrying along with General MacArthur the responsibility for Inch'on. General Collins-may be the censor will want to strike this out-did not favor Inch'on and went over to try to argue General MacArthur out of it.

[22] General MacArthur stood pat. I backed MacArthur, and the President has always, had before backed me on it." See Senate Committees on Armed Services and Foreign Relations, 82d Cong., 1st sess., June, 1951, *Hearings on Military Situation in the Far East and the Relief of General MacArthur*, pt. 4. p. 2618.

imeter beachhead simultaneously with the X Corps landing. This action was intended to tie down all enemy forces committed against Eighth Army and prevent withdrawal from the south of major reinforcements for the North Korean units opposing X Corps in its landing area. The plan called for the Eighth Army to break out of the Perimeter, drive northward, and join forces with X Corps.

On 30 August, General Smith had sent a dispatch to X Corps requesting that the 1st Provisional Marine Brigade in Korea be released from Eighth Army on 1 September to prepare for mounting out for Inch'on. MacArthur ordered that the Marine brigade be available on 4 September for that purpose. But no sooner was this order issued than it was rescinded on 1 September because of the crisis that faced Eighth Army after the great North Korean attack had rolled up the southern front during the night. [22]

Eighth Army's use of the 1st Provisional Marine Brigade in the battle near Yongsan threatened to disrupt the Inch'on landing according to Marine and Navy opinion. A tug of war now ensued between General Smith, supported by the U.S. Naval Forces, Far East, on the one hand and General Walker on the other for control of the 5th Marines. The Marine commander insisted he must have the 5th Marines if he were to make the Inch'on landing. General Walker in a telephone conversation with General Almond said in effect, "If I lose the 5th Marine Regiment I will not be responsible for the safety of the front." Almond sided with Walker despite the fact that he was to be commander of the Inch'on landing force, taking the view that the X Corps could succeed in its plan without the regiment. He suggested that the 32d Infantry Regiment of the 7th Division be attached to the 1st Marine Division as its second assault regiment. General Smith and NAVFE remained adamant. The issue came to a head on 3 September when Admirals Joy, Struble, and Doyle accompanied General Smith to the Dai Ichi Building for a showdown conference with Generals Almond, Ruffner, and Wright.

When it became clear that the group could not reach an agreement, General Almond went into General MacArthur's private office and told MacArthur that things had reached an impasse-that Smith and the Navy would not go in at Inch'on without the 5th Marines. Hearing this, MacArthur told Almond, "Tell Walker he will have to give up the 5th Marine Regiment." Almond returned to the waiting group and told them of MacArthur's decision. [23]

The next day, 4 September, General MacArthur sent General Wright to Taegu to tell General Walker that the 1st Provisional Marine Brigade would have to be released not later than the night of 5-6 September and moved at once to Pusan. At Taegu Wright informed Walker of MacArthur's instructions and told him that the Far East Command was loading the 17th Regiment of the 7th Infantry Division for movement to Pusan, where it would be held in floating reserve and be available

[22] Smith, MS review comments, 25 Feb 54.

[23] Interv, author with Almond, 13 Dec 51; Smith, MS review comments, 25 Feb 54; Diary of CG X Corps, Opn CHROMITE, 2 Sep 50; Schnabel, FEC, GHQ Support and Participation in the Korean War, ch. V, pp. 26 27.

for use by Eighth Army if necessary. (It sailed from Yokohama for Korea on 6 September.) He also said that MacArthur intended to divert to Pusan for assignment to Eighth Army the first regiment (65th Infantry) of the 3d Infantry Division arriving in the Far East, the expected date of arrival being 18-20 September. General Walker, in discussing his part in the projected combined operation set for 15 September, requested that the Eighth Army attack be deferred to D plus 1, 16 September. Wright agreed with this timing and said he would recommend it to MacArthur, who subsequently approved it. [24]

Naval Plans

In making ready its part of the operation, the Commander, NAVFE outlined the tasks the Navy would have to perform. These included the following: maintain a naval blockade of the west coast of Korea south of latitude 39° 35' north; conduct pre-D-day naval operations as the situation might require; on D-day seize by amphibious assault, occupy, and defend a beachhead in the Inch'on area; transport, land, and support follow-up and strategic reserve troops, if directed, to the Inch'on area; and provide cover and support as required. Joint Task Force Seven was formed to accomplish these objectives with Admiral Struble, Commander, Seventh Fleet, as the task force commander. On 25 August, Admiral Struble left his flagship, USS *Rochester*, at Sasebo and proceeded by air to Tokyo to direct final planning. [25]

On 3 September, Admiral Struble issued JTF 7 Operational Plan 9-50. Marine aircraft from two escort carriers, naval aircraft from the U.S. carrier *Boxer*, and British aircraft from a light British carrier would provide as much support aircraft as could be concentrated in and over the landing area, and would be controlled from the amphibious force flagship (AGC) *Mt. McKinley*. An arc extending inland thirty miles from the landing site described the task force objective area. [26] In order to carry out its various missions, Joint Task Force Seven organized its subordinate parts as follows:

TF 90: Attack Force, Rear Adm. James H. Doyle, USN

TF 92: X Corps, Maj. Gen. Edward M. Almond, USA

TF 99: Patrol & Reconnaissance Force, Rear Adm. G. R. Henderson, USN

TF 91: Blockade & Covering Force, Rear Adm. W. G. Andrews, R.N.

TF 77: Fast Carrier Force, Rear Adm. E. C. Ewen, USN

TF 79: Logistic Support Force, Capt. B. L. Austin, USN

TF 70.1: Flagship Group, Capt. E. L. Woodyard, USN

For the naval phases, the command post of Admiral Struble was on the *Rochester*; that of Rear Admiral Doyle, second in command, was on the *Mt. McKinley*.

[24] GHQ FEC, G-3 Sec, Wright, Memo for Record, 041930K Sep 50, reporting on his discussions with Walker and subsequent report to General Almond; Barr, Notes, 6 Sep 50.

[25] Commander, Joint Task Force Seven and Seventh Fleet, Inch'on Report, September 1950, I-B-1 (hereafter cited as JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt).

[26] JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, p. 1; Ltr, Wright to author, 22 Mar 54.

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More than 230 ships were assigned to the operation. Surface vessels of JTF 7 were not to operate within twelve miles of Soviet or Chinese territory nor aircraft within twenty miles of such territory. [27]

MacArthur had selected Inch'on as the landing site for one paramount reason: it was the port for the capital city of Seoul, eighteen miles inland, and was the closest possible landing area to that city and the hub of communications centering there.

Inch'on is situated on the estuary of the Yom-ha River and possesses a protected, ice-free port with a tidal basin. The shore line there is a low-lying, partially submerged coastal plain subject to very high tides. There are no beaches in the landing area-only wide mud flats at low tide and stone walls at high tide. Because of the mud flats, the landing force would have to use the harbor and wharfage facilities in the port area. The main approach by sea is from the south through two channels 50 miles long and only 6 to 10 fathoms deep (36-60 feet). Flying Fish Channel is the channel ordinarily used by large ships. It is narrow and twisting.

The Inch'on harbor divides into an outer and an inner one, the latter separated from the former by a long breakwater and the islands of Wolmi and Sowolmi which join by a causeway. The greater part of the inner harbor becomes a mud flat at low tide leaving only a narrow dredged channel of about ~13 feet in depth. The only dock facilities for deep draft vessels were in the tidal basin, which was 1,700 feet long, 750 feet wide, and had an average depth of 40 feet, but at mean low tide held only feet of water. [28]

Inch'on promised to be a unique amphibious operation-certainly one very difficult to conduct because of natural conditions. Tides in the restricted waters of the channel and the harbor have a maximum range of more than 31 feet. A few instances of an extreme 33-foot tide have been reported. Some of the World War II landing craft that were to be used in making the landing required 23 feet of tide to clear the mud flats, and the LST's (Landing Ship, Tank) required 29 feet of tide-a favorable condition that prevailed only once a month over a period of three or four days. The narrow, shallow channel necessitated a daylight approach for the larger ships. Accordingly, it was necessary to schedule the main landings for the late afternoon high tide. A night approach, however, by a battalion-sized attack group was to be made for the purpose of seizing Wolmi-do during the early morning high

tide, a necessary preliminary, the planners thought, to the main landing at Inch'on itself. [29]

Low seas at Inch'on are most frequent from May through August, high seas from October through March. Although September is a period of transition, it was considered suitable for landing operations. MacArthur and his planners had selected 15 September for D-day because there would then be a high tide giving maximum water depth over the Inch'on mud flats. Tidal range for 15 September

[27] JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, p. 4, I-D-3, and ans. I and K.

[28] JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, an. E, p. 6; Mossman and Middleton, Logistical Problems and Their Solutions. The Navy's operation plan underestimated the size of the basin.

[29] JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt. I-C-1 E-6.

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reached 31.2 feet at high and minus .5 feet at low water. Only on this day did the tide reach this extreme range. No other date after this would permit landing until 27 September when a high tide would reach 27 feet. On 11-13 October there would be a tide of 30 feet. Morning high tide on 15 September came at 0659, forty-five minutes after sunrise; evening high tide came at 1919, twenty-seven minutes after sunset. The Navy set 23 feet of tide as the critical point needed for landing craft to clear the mud flat and reach the landing sites. [30]

Another consideration was the sea walls that fronted the Inch'on landing sites. Built to turn back unusually high tides, they were 16 feet in height above the mud flats. They presented a scaling problem except at extreme high tide. Since the landing would be made somewhat short of extreme high tide in order to use the last hour or two of daylight, ladders would be needed. Some aluminum scaling ladders were made in Kobe and there were others of wood. Grappling hooks, lines, and cargo nets were readied for use in holding the boats against the sea wall.

The initial objective of the landing force was to gain a beachhead at Inch'on, a city of 250,000 population. The 3d Battalion, 5th Marines, was to land on Wolmi-do on the early morning high tide at 0630, 15 September (D-day, L-hour). With Wolmi-do in friendly hands, the main landing would be made that afternoon at the next high tide, about 1730 (D-day, H-hour), by the 1st and 5th Marines.

Three landing beaches were selected-Green Beach on Wolmi-do for the preliminary early morning battalion landing, and Red Beach in the sea wall dock area of Inch'on and Blue Beach in the mud flat semi-open area at the south edge of the city for the two-regimental-size force that would make the main landing in the evening. Later, 7th Infantry Division troops would land at Inch'on over what was called Yellow Beach.

The 5th Marines, less the 3d Battalion, was to land over Red Beach in the heart of Inch'on, north of the causeway which joined Wolmi-do with Inch'on, and drive rapidly inland 1,000 yards to seize Observatory Hill. On the left of the landing area was Cemetery Hill, 130 feet high, on which three dual-purpose guns reportedly were located. On the right, a group of buildings dominated the landing area. The 5th Marines considered Cemetery and Observatory Hills as the important ground to be secured in its zone.

Simultaneously with the 5th Marines' landing, the 1st Marines was to land over Blue Beach at the base of the Inch'on Peninsula just south of the city. This landing area had such extensive mud flats that heavy equipment could not be brought ashore over it. It lay just below the tidal basin of the inner harbor and an adjacent wide expanse of salt evaporators. Its principal advantage derived from the fact that the railroad and main highway to Seoul from Inch'on lay only a little more than a mile inland from it. A successful landing there could quickly cut these avenues of escape or access at the rear of Inch'on. [31]

[30] 1st Mar Div SAR, Inch'on-Seoul, 18 Sep-7 Oct 50, p. 12, and G-3 Sec, an. C.

[31] JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, B-2 Opn Plan and an. B; 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. III, p. 4, and vol. I, p. 13.

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An early objective of the 1st Marine Division after securing the beachhead was Kimpo Airfield, sixteen road miles northeast of Inch'on. Then would follow the crossing of the Han River and the drive on Seoul.

As diversions, the battleship *Missouri* was to shell east coast areas on the opposite side of the Korean peninsula, including the rail center and port of Samch'ok, and a small force was to make a feint at Kunsan on the west coast, 100 air miles south of Inch'on.

Intelligence Estimate

General MacArthur's view at the end of August that the North Koreans had concentrated nearly all their combat resources against Eighth Army in the Pusan Perimeter coincided with the official G-2 estimate. On 28 August the X Corps G-2 Section estimated the enemy strength in Seoul as approximately 5,000 troops, in Inch'on as 1,000, and at Kimpo Airfield as 500, for a total of 6,500 soldiers in the Inch'on-Seoul area. On 4 September the estimate remained about the same except that the enemy force in the Inch'on landing area was placed at 1,800-2,500 troops because of an anticipated build-up there. This estimate remained relatively unchanged four days later, and thereafter held constant until the landing. [32]

American intelligence considered the enemy's ability to reinforce quickly the Inch'on-Seoul area as inconsequential. It held the view that only small rear area garrisons, line of communications units, and newly formed, poorly trained groups were scattered throughout Korea back of the combat zone around the Pusan Perimeter. Aerial

reconnaissance reported heavy movement of enemy southbound traffic from the Manchurian border, but it was not clear whether this was of supplies or troops, or both. Although reports showed that the Chinese Communist Forces had increased in strength along the Manchurian border, there was no confirmation of rumors that some of them had moved into North Korea. [33]

The Far East Command considered the possibility that the enemy might reinforce the Inch'on-Seoul area from forces committed against Eighth Army in the south. If this were attempted, it appeared that the North Korean *3d*, *13th*, and *10th Divisions*, deployed on either side of the main Seoul-Taejon-Taegu highway, could most rapidly reach the Inch'on area.

North Korean air and naval elements were considered incapable of interfering with the landing. On 28 August the Far East Command estimated there were only nineteen obsolescent Soviet-manufactured aircraft available to the North Korean Air Force. The U.N. air elements, nevertheless, had orders to render unusable any known or suspected enemy air facilities, and particularly to give attention to new construction at Kimpo, Suwon, and Taejon. North Korean naval elements were almost nonexistent at this time. Five divisions of small patrol-type vessels comprised the North Korean Navy; one was on the west coast at Chinnamp'o, the others at Wonsan on the east coast. At both places

[32] Hq X Corps, Opn CHROMITE, p. 5; X Corps WD, G-2 Sec, Hist Rpt, 15 Aug-30 Sep 50, p. 1; 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. III, p. 5.

[33] X Corps WD, G-2 Sec, Hist Rpt, 15 Aug-30 Sep 50; JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, II, E-2.

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they were bottled up and rendered impotent. On the morning of 7 September a ROK patrol vessel (PC boat) north of Inch'on discovered and sank a small craft engaged in mine laying; thus it appeared that some mines were to be expected. [34]

As a final means of checking on conditions in Inch'on harbor, the Navy on 31 August sent Lt. Eugene F. Clark to Yonghung-do, an island at the mouth of the ship channel ten sea miles from Inch'on. There, Clark used friendly natives to gather the information needed. He sent them on several trips to Inch'on to measure water depths, check on the mud flats, and to observe enemy strength and fortifications. He transmitted their reports by radio to friendly vessels in Korean waters. Clark was still in the outer harbor when the invasion fleet entered it. [35]

The Ships Load Out

At the end of August the ports of Kobe, Sasebo, and Yokohama in Japan and Pusan in Korea had become centers of intense activity as preparations for mounting the invasion force entered the final stage. The 1st Marine Division, less the 5th Marines, was to outload at

Kobe, the 5th Marines at Pusan, and the 7th Infantry Division at Yokohama. Most of the escorting vessels, the Gunfire Support Group, and the command ships assembled at Sasebo.

The ships to carry the troops, equipment, and supplies began arriving at the predesignated loading points during the last days of August. In order to reach Inch'on by morning of 15 September, the LST's had to leave Kobe on 10 September and the transports (AP's) and cargo ships (AK's) on 12 September. Only the assault elements were combat-loaded. Japanese crews manned thirty-seven of the forty-seven LST's in the Marine convoy. [36]

The loading of the 1st Marine Division at Kobe was in full swing on 2 September when word came that the next morning a typhoon would strike the port, where more than fifty vessels were assembled. All unloading and loading stopped for thirty-six hours. At 0600 on 3 September, Typhoon *Jane* screeched in from the east. Wind velocity reached 110 miles an hour at noon. Waves forty feet high crashed against the waterfront and breakers rolled two feet high across the piers where loose cargo lay. Seven American ships broke their lines and one of the giant 200-ton cranes broke loose. Steel lines two and a half inches thick snapped. Only by exhausting and dangerous work did port troops and the marines fight off disaster. By 1530 in the afternoon the typhoon began to blow out to sea. An hour later relative calm descended on the port and the cleanup work began. A few vessels had to go into drydock for repairs, some vehicles were flooded out, and a large quantity of clothing had to be cleaned, dried, and repackaged. [37]

[34] JTF 7, *Inch'on Rpt*, an. E; Schnabel, *FEC, GHQ Support and Participation in the Korean War*, ch. V, pp. 36-37; Karig, *et al.*, *Battle Report, The War in Korea*, p. 195.

[35] Karig, *et al.*, *Battle Report, The War in Korea*, pp. 176-91, relates the Clark mission in detail.

[36] 1st Mar Div SAR, 15 Sep-7 Oct 50, an. D, p. 4; 17th Inf Div WD, Sep 50.

[37] JTF 7, *Inch'on Rpt*, I-D-3; 1st Mar Div SAR, 15 Sep-7 Oct 50, an. D, p. 6; SFC William J. K. Griffen, "Typhoon at Kobe," *Marine Corps Gazette* (September, 1951); "Operation Load-up," *The Quartermaster Review* (November-December, 1950), p. 40.

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Despite the delay and damage caused by *Jane*, the port of Kobe and the 1st Marine Division met the deadline of outloading by 11 September. On the 10th and the 11th, sixty-six cargo vessels cleared Kobe for Inch'on. They sailed just ahead of another approaching typhoon. This second typhoon had been under observation by long-range reconnaissance planes since 7 September. Named *Kezia*, it was plotted moving from the southwest at a speed that would put it over the Korean Straits on 12-13 September.

On the 11th, the 1st Marine Division sailed from Kobe and the 7th Infantry Division from Yokohama. The next day the 5th Marines departed Pusan to rendezvous at sea. The

flagship *Rochester* with Admiral Struble aboard got under way from Sasebo for Inch'on at 1530, 12 September. That afternoon a party of dignitaries, including Generals MacArthur, Almond, Wright, Maj. Gen. Alonzo P. Fox, Maj. Gen. Courtney Whitney, and General Shepherd of the Marine Corps, flew from Tokyo to Itazuke Air Base and proceeded from there by automobile to Sasebo, arriving at 2120. Originally, the MacArthur party had planned to fly from Tokyo on the 13th and embark on the *Mt. McKinley* at Kokura that evening. But Typhoon *Kezia's* sudden change of direction caused the revision of plans to assure that the party would be embarked in time. The *Mt. McKinley*, sailing from Kobe with Admiral Doyle and General Smith aboard, had not yet arrived at Sasebo when MacArthur's party drove up. It finally pulled in at midnight, and departed for the invasion area half an hour later after taking MacArthur's party aboard. [38]

Part of the invasion fleet encountered very rough seas off the southern tip of Kyushu early on 13 September. Winds reached sixty miles an hour and green water broke over ships' bows. In some cases, equipment shifted in the holds, and in other instances deck-loaded equipment was damaged. During the day the course of *Kezia* shifted to the northeast and by afternoon the seas traversed by the invasion fleet began to calm. The aircraft carrier *Boxer*, steaming at forced speed from the California coast with 110 planes aboard, fought the typhoon all night in approaching Japan. At dusk on the 14th, it quickly departed Sasebo and at full speed cut through the seas for Inch'on. [39]

Preliminary Bombardment

Air attacks intended to isolate the invasion area began on 4 September and continued until the landing. On the 10th, Marine air elements struck Wolmi-do in a series of napalm attacks. Altogether, sixty-five sorties hit Inch'on during the day. [40]

The main task of neutralizing enemy batteries on Wolmi-do guarding the Inch'on inner harbor was the mission of Rear Adm. J. M. Higgins' Gunfire Support Group. This group, composed of 2

[38] JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, II, 1; 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. I, pp. 15-18; Diary of CG X Corps, Opn CHROMITE. 12 Sep 50; Ltr, Wright to author, 22 Mar 54; Barr, Notes, 11 Sep 50.

[39] Diary of CG X Corps, Opn CHROMITE, Sep 50: Karig, et al., *Battle Report, The War in Korea*, p. '97.

[40] GHQ FEC, G-3 Opn Rpt 79, 11 Sep 50; Ernest H. Giusti, "Marine Air Over Inchon-Seoul," *Marine Corps Gazette* (June, 1952), p. 19.

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United States heavy cruisers, 2 British light cruisers, and 6 U.S. destroyers, entered the approaches to Inch'on harbor at 1010, 13 September. Just before noon the group in Flying Fish Channel sighted an enemy mine field, exposed at low water. It destroyed some of the mines with automatic fire. At 1220, the 4 cruisers anchored from seven to ten miles

offshore, while 5 destroyers-the *Mansfield*, *DeHaven*, *Swenson*, *Collett*, and *Gurke*-proceeded on to anchorages close to Wolmi-do under cover of air strikes by planes from Fast Carrier Task Force 77. The destroyers began the bombardment of Wolmi-do at 1230. [41]

Five enemy heavily revetted 75-mm. guns returned the fire. In the intense ship-shore duel, the *Collett* received nine hits and sustained considerable damage. Enemy shells hit the *Gurke* three times, but caused no serious damage. The *Swenson* took a near miss which caused two casualties: one was Lt. (jg.) David H. Swenson, the only American killed during the bombardment. The destroyers withdrew at 1347.

At 1352 the cruisers, anchored out of range of the Wolmi-do batteries, began an hour and a half bombardment. Planes of Task Force 77 then came in for a heavy strike against the island. After the air strike terminated, the cruisers resumed their bombardment at 1610 for another half hour. Then at 1645 the Gunfire Support Group got under way and withdrew back down the channel. [42]

The next day, D minus 1, the Gunfire Support Group returned. Just before 1100, planes of Task Force 77 again delivered heavy strikes against the island. The heavy cruisers began their second bombardment at 1116, this time also taking under fire targets within Inch'on proper. The destroyers waited about an hour and then moved to their anchorages off Wolmi-do. The cruisers ceased firing while another air strike came in on the island. After it ended, the five destroyers began their bombardment at 1255 and in an hour and fifteen minutes fired 1,732 5-inch shells into Wolmi-do and Inch'on. When they left there was no return fire-the Wolmi-do batteries were silent. [43]

Securing the Inch'on Beachhead

The X Corps expeditionary troops arriving off Inch'on on 15 September numbered nearly 70,000 men. [44] At 0200

[41] JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, I-E-1, Recon in Force EUSAK WD, 24 Oct 50, G-2 Sec, ADVATIS 1225, Interrog of Sr Lt Cho Chun Hyon.

[42] JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, I-E-1, and II-1; GHQ FEC Sitrep, 14 Sep 50.

[43] JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, I-E-2; Karig, et al., *Battle Report The War in Korea*, p. 210.

[44] Hq X Corps, Opn CHROMITE, G-3 Sec Hist Rpt, (gives strength of X Corps as 69,450); 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. I, an. A, 5.

The major units were the 1st Marine Division, the 7th Infantry Division, the 92d and 86th Field Artillery Battalions (both 155-mm. howitzers), the 50th Antiaircraft Artillery (Automatic Weapons) Battalion (SP), the 56th Amphibious Tank and Tractor Battalion, the 19th Engineer Combat Group, and the 2d Engineer Special Brigade. The 1st Marine Division on invasion day had a strength of 25,040 men-19,494 organic to the Marine Corps and the Navy, 2,760 Army troops attached, and 2,786 Korean marines attached. Later, after the 7th Marines arrived, the organic Marine

strength increased about 4,000 men. On invasion day the GHQ UNC reserve consisted of the 3d Infantry Division and the 187th Airborne Regimental Combat Team (composed of troops from the 11th Airborne Division). The ROK 17th Regiment was in the act of moving from Eighth Army to join X Corps.

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(Map 16: THE INCH'ON LANDING, 15-16 September 1950)

the Advance Attack Group, including the Gunfire Support Group, the rocket ships (LSMR's) and the Battalion Landing Team, began the approach to Inch'on. A special radar-equipped task force, consisting of three high speed transports (APD's) and one Landing Ship Dock (LSD), carried the Battalion Landing Team-Lt. Col. Robert D. Taplett's 3d Battalion, 5th Marines, and a platoon of nine M26 Pershing tanks from A Company, 1st Tank Battalion-toward the transport area off Wolmi-Do. Dawn of invasion day came with a high overcast sky and portent of rain. [45]

Wolmi-do, or Moon Tip Island, as it might be translated, is a circular hill (Hill 105) about 1,000 yards across and rising 335 feet above the water. A rocky hill, it was known to be honeycombed with caves, trenches, gun positions, and dugouts. (*Map 16*)

The first action came at 0500. Eight

[45] JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, I-L-1 and I-F-1; 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. I, p. 13.

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[Caption] WOLMI-DO

Marine Corsairs left their escort carrier for a strike on Wolmi-do. The first two planes caught an armored car crossing the causeway from Inch'on and destroyed it. There was no other sign of life visible on the island as the flight bombed the ridge line. At 0530 the Special Task Force was in its designated position ready to land the assault troops. Twenty minutes later, Taplett's 3d Battalion began loading into 17 landing craft (LCVP's); the 9 tanks loaded into 3 landing ships (LSV's). L-hour was fifty minutes away.

Air strikes and naval gunfire raked Wolmi-do and, after this, three rocket ships moved in close and put down an intense rocket barrage. The landing craft straightened out into lines from their circles and moved toward the line of departure. Just as a voice announced over the ship's loud speaker, "Landing force crossing line of departure," MacArthur came on the bridge of the *Mt. McKinley*. It was 0625. The first major amphibious assault by American troops against an enemy since Easter Sunday, 1 April 1945, at Okinawa was under way. About one mile of water lay between the line of departure and the Wolmi-do beach. [46]

The 3d Battalion moved toward Wolmi-do with G and H Companies in assault and I Company in reserve. Even after the American rocket barrage lifted there was still no enemy

fire. The first wave of troops reached the bathing beach on the northern arm of the island unopposed at 0633.

The first troops ashore moved rapidly inland against almost no resistance. Within a few minutes the second wave landed. Then came the LSV's carrying

[46] X Corps WD, Opn CHROMITE, 15 Sep 50: 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. III, an. P, p. 4: Lynn Montross, "The Inchon Landing," *Marine Corps Gazette* July, 1951), pp. 26ff; Geer, *The New Breed*, pp. 213-25.

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the tanks, three of which carried dozer blades for breaking up barbed wire, filling trenches, and sealing caves; three other tanks mounted flame throwers. One group of marines raised the American flag on the high ground of Wolmi-do half an hour after landing. Another force crossed the island and sealed off the causeway leading to Inch'on. The reduction of the island continued systematically and it was secured at 0750. [47]

A little later in the morning, Colonel Taplett sent a squad of marines and three tanks over the causeway to Sowolmi-do where they destroyed an estimated platoon of enemy troops; some surrendered, others swam into the sea, and still others were killed. Taplett's battalion assumed defensive positions and prepared to cover the main Inch'on landing later in the day.

In the capture of Wolmi-do and Sowolmi-do the Battalion Landing Team killed 108 enemy soldiers and captured 136. About 100 more in several caves refused to surrender and were sealed by tank dozers into their caves. Marine casualties were light-seventeen wounded. [48]

The preinvasion intelligence on Wolmi-do proved to be essentially correct. Prisoners indicated that about 400 North Korean soldiers, elements of the *3d Battalion, 226th Independent Marine Regiment*, and some artillery troops of the *918th Artillery Regiment* had defended Wolmi-do.

After the easy capture of Wolmi-do came the anxious period when the tide began to fall, causing further activity to cease until late in the afternoon. The enemy by now was fully alerted. Marine and naval air ranged up and down the roads and over the countryside isolating the port to a depth of twenty-five miles, despite a rain which began to fall in the late afternoon. Naval gunfire covered the closer approaches to Inch'on.

Assault troops of the 5th and 1st Marines began going over the sides of their transports and into the landing craft at 1530. After a naval bombardment, rocket ships moved in close to Red and Blue Beaches and fired 2,000 rockets on the landing areas. Landing craft crossed lines of departure at 1645, and forty-five minutes later neared the beaches. The first wave of the 5th Marines breasted the sea wall on Red Beach at 1733. Most of the A Company men in the fourteen boats of the first three waves climbed over the sea wall with scaling ladders;

a few boats put their troops ashore through holes in the wall made by the naval bombardment. [49]

On the left flank of the landing area, the 3d Platoon of A Company encountered enemy troops in trenches and a bunker just beyond the sea wall. There in an intense fight the marines lost eight men killed and twenty-eight wounded. Twenty-two minutes after landing, the company fired a flare signaling that it held Cemetery Hill. On top of Cemetery Hill, North Koreans threw down their arms and surrendered to the 2d Pla-

[47] 3d Bn, 5th Mar, Special Act Rpt, an. P to 5th Mar Special Rpt, in 1st Mar Div SAR; JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, I-F-1, 15 Sep 50.

[48] 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. I, an. B, App. 1, 1; JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, I-H-2; X Corps WD, G-2 Sec, Hist Rpt, Intel Estimate 8.

[49] 1st Bn, 5th Mar SAR, p. 3; 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. III; Geer, *The New Breed*, pp. 24-25. Montross and Canzona, *The Inchon-Seoul Operation*, covers the 1st Marine Division part of the Inch'on operation in detail. Much of this fine work is based on extensive interviews with participants.

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[Caption] LANDING CRAFT AND BULLDOZERS *stuck in the Wolmi-do mud after the tide fell.*

soon. Other elements of the battalion by midnight had fought their way against sporadic resistance to the top of Observatory Hill.

The 2d Battalion, 5th Marines, landing on the right side of Red Beach, encountered only spotty resistance and at a cost of only a few casualties gained its objective.

Assault elements of the 1st Marines began landing over Blue Beach at 1732, one minute ahead of the 5th Marines at Red Beach. Most of the men were forced to climb a high sea wall to gain exit from the landing area. One group went astray in the smoke and landed on the sea wall enclosing the salt flats on the left of the beach. The principal obstacle the 1st Marines encountered was the blackness of the night. Lt. Col. Allan Sutter's 2d Battalion lost one man killed and nineteen wounded in advancing to the Inch'on-Seoul highway, one mile inland. The landing force had taken its final D-day objectives by 0130, 16 September. [50]

Following the assault troops, eight specially loaded LST's landed at Red Beach just before high tide, and unloading of equipment to support the forces ashore the next day continued throughout the night. Beaching of the LST's brought tragedy. Just after 1830, after receiving some enemy mortar and machine gun fire, gun crews on three of the LST's began firing wildly with 20-mm. and 40-mm. cannon, and, before they could be stopped, had killed 1 and wounded 23 men of the 2d Battalion, 5th Marines. The Marine landing force casualties on D-day were 20 men killed, 1 missing in action, and 174 wounded. [51]

The U.N. preinvasion estimate of en-

[50] 1st Mar Div SAR, Vol. I, an. P, p. 6, and an. C. p. 6; X Corps WD, Opn CHROMITE, 15 Sep 50; Diary of CG X Corps, 15 Sep 50.

[51] Montross and Canzona, *The Inchon-Seoul Operation* pp. 110-1; Geer, *The New Breed*, p. 128.

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[Caption] MARINES MOPPING UP *on Wolmi-do.*

emy strength at Inch'on was accurate. Prisoners disclosed that about 2,000 men had comprised the Inch'on garrison. Some units of the N.K. 22d *Regiment* moved to Inch'on to reinforce the garrison before dawn of the 15th, but they retreated to Seoul after the main landing that evening. To the rank and file of the North Korean soldiers in Seoul the landing came as a surprise. [52]

On the morning of 16 September the two regiments ashore established contact with each other by 0730. Thereafter a solid line existed around Inch'on and escape for any enemy still within the city became unlikely. The ROK Marines now took over mop-up work in Inch'on and went at it with such a will that hardly anyone in the port city, friend or foe, was safe. [53]

Early in the morning of the 16th, Marine aircraft took off from the carriers to aid the advance. One flight of eight Corsairs left the *Sicily* at 0548. Soon it sighted six enemy T34 tanks on the

[52] ATIS Supp Enemy Documents, Issue 2, pp. 114-16, Opn Ord 8-10 Sep 50, CO 226th Unit, captured 16 Sep 50; ATIS Interrog Rpt (N.K.) Issue 10, p. 7 *Ibid.*, Issue 8, Rpt 1345. Lt Il Chun Son, and Rpt 1346, Lt Lee San Kak; X corps WD, Opn CHROMITE, p. 26, interrog of Capt Chan Chul, and p. 50, interrog of Lt Col Kim Yonh Mo.

[53] Diary of CG X corps, 16 Sep 50; Montross, "The Inchon Landing," *op. cit.*

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Seoul highway three miles east of Inch'on moving toward the latter place. Ordered to strike at once, the Corsairs hit the tanks with napalm and 500-pound bombs, damaging three of them and scattering the accompanying infantry. The enemy returned the fire, hitting one of the Corsairs. Capt. William F. Simpson's plane crashed and exploded near the burning armor, killing him. A second flight of eight Corsairs continued the attack on the tanks with napalm and bombs and, reportedly, destroyed them all. Later in the morning, however, when the advance platoon of the 1st Marines and accompanying tanks approached the site, three of the T34's began to move, whereupon the Pershings engaged and destroyed them. [54]

Both Marine regiments on the second day advanced rapidly against light resistance and by evening had reached the Beachhead Line, six miles from the landing area. Their casualties for the day were four killed and twenty-one wounded.

Thus, within twenty-four hours of the main landing, the 1st Marine Division had secured the high ground east of Inch'on, occupied an area sufficient to prevent enemy artillery fire on the landing and unloading area, and obtained a base from which to mount the attack to seize Kimpo Airfield. In the evening of 16 September General Smith established his command post east of Inch'on and from there at 1800 notified Admiral Doyle that he was assuming responsibility for operations ashore. [55]

Capture of Kimpo Airfield and Advance to the Han River

During the advance thus far the boundary between the 5th and 1st Marines had followed generally the main Inch'on-Seoul highway, which ran east-west, with the 5th Marines on the north and the 1st Marines astride and on its south side. Just beyond the beachhead line the boundary left the highway and slanted northeast. This turned Colonel Murray's 5th Marines toward Kimpo Airfield, seven miles away, and the Han River just beyond it. Col. Lewis B. Puller's 1st Marines, astride the Inch'on-Seoul highway, headed toward Yongdungp'o, the large industrial suburb of Seoul on the south bank of the Han, ten air miles away.

During the night of 16-17 September, the 2d Battalion, 5th Marines, occupied a forward defensive position commanding the Seoul highway just west of Ascom City. Behind it the 1st Battalion held a high hill. From a forward roadblock position, members of an advanced platoon of D Company, at 0545 on the 17th, saw the dim outlines of six tanks on the road eastward. Infantry accompanied the tanks, some riding on the armor.

The enemy armored force moved past the hidden outpost of D Company. At 0600, at a range of seventy-five yards, rockets fired from a bazooka set one of

[54] X Corps WD, G-3 Sec, Msgs J-2, 4, 6, 7 from 160705 to 160825, Sep 50: 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. II, an. 00, p. 15; Geer, *The New Breed*, p. 128; ATIS Enemy Documents, Issue 10, Rpt 1529, Hang Yong Sun, and Rpt 1534, Lt Lee Song Yol.

[55] 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. I, p. 22, and an. C, p. 7; Smith, MS review comments, 25 Feb 54.

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[Caption] DESTROYED ENEMY TANKS *on the road to Seoul.*

the tanks on fire. Pershing tanks now opened fire on the T34's. The recoilless rifles joined in. Within five minutes combined fire destroyed all six enemy tanks and killed 200 of an estimated 250 enemy infantry. Only one man in the 2d Battalion was wounded. [56]

Early that morning, General MacArthur, accompanied by Admiral Struble, and Generals Almond, Wright, Fox, Whitney, and others came ashore and proceeded to General Smith's command post, and from there went on to the position of the 2d Battalion, 5th Marines, where they saw the numerous enemy dead and the still-burning T34 tanks. On the way they had passed the six tanks destroyed the morning before. The sight of twelve destroyed enemy tanks seemed to them a good omen for the future. [57]

The 5th Marines advanced rapidly on the 17th and by 1800 its 2d Battalion was at the edge of Kimpo Airfield. In the next two hours the battalion seized

[56] 5th Mar SAR, pp. 7-8, in 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. III; 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. II, an. 00, p. 16; Montross and Canzona, *The Inchon Seoul Operation*, pp. 147-51.

[57] Ltr, Wright to author, 22 Mar 54; Diary of CG X Corps, 17 Sep 50.

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the southern part of the airfield. The 400-500 enemy soldiers who ineffectively defended it appeared surprised and had not even mined the runway. During the night several small enemy counterattacks hit the perimeter positions at the airfield between 0200 and dawn, 18 September. The marines repulsed these company-sized counterattacks, inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy troops, who finally fled to the northwest E Company and supporting tanks played the leading role in these actions. Kimpo was secured during the morning of 18 September. [58]

The capture on the fourth day of the 6,000-foot-long, 150-foot-wide, hard surfaced Kimpo runway, with a weight capacity of 120,000 pounds, gave the U.N. Command one of its major objectives. It broadened greatly the capability of employing air power in the ensuing phases of the attack on Seoul; and, more important still, it provided the base for air operations seeking to disrupt supply of the North Korean Army.

On the 18th, the 2d Battalion, 5th Marines, sent units on to the Han River beyond the airfield, and the 1st Battalion captured Hill 99 northeast of it and then advanced to the river. At 1409 in the afternoon a Marine Corsair landed at Kimpo and, later in the day, advance elements of Marine Air Group 33 flew in from Japan. The next day more planes came in from Japan, including C-54 cargo planes, and on 20 September land-based Corsairs made the first strikes from Kimpo. [59]

Continuing its sweep along the river, the 1st Battalion, 5th Marines, on the 19th swung right and captured the last high ground (Hills 118, 80, and 85) a mile west of Yongdungp'o. At the same time, the 2d Battalion seized the high ground along the Han River in its sector. At nightfall, 19 September, the 5th Marines held the south bank of the Han River everywhere in its zone and was preparing for a crossing the next morning. (*Map VII*)

Meanwhile, the 2d Engineer Special Brigade relieved the ROK Marines of responsibility for the security of Inch'on, and the ROK's moved up on the 18th and 19th to the Han River near Kimpo. Part of the ROK's Marines extended the left flank of the 5th Marines, and its 2d Battalion joined them for the projected crossing of the Han River the next day. [60]

In this action, the 1st Marines had attacked east toward Yongdungp'o astride the Seoul highway. Its armored spearheads destroyed four enemy tanks early on the morning of the 17th. Then, from positions on high ground (Hills 208, 107, 178), three miles short of Sosa, a village halfway between Inch'on and Yongdungp'o, a regiment of the N.K. *18th Division* checked the advance. At nightfall the Marine regiment dug in for the night a mile from Sosa. At Ascom

[58] 5th Mar SAR, 17 Sep 50, pp. 7-8, in the 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. III; 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. I, p. 18; X Corps WD, G-3 Sec, 18 Sep 50; New York *Herald Tribune*, September 18, 1950, Bigart dispatch.

[59] 1st Mar Div SAR, G-3 an. C, vol. I, p. 10; JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, 18 Sep 50; USAF Hist Study 71, p. 66; New York *Herald Tribune*, September 19, 1950, Bigart dispatch.

[60] 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. I, G-3 Sec, an. C, pp. 10-13, 18-19 Sep 50; Geer, *The New Breed*, pp. 133-34.

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City, just west of Sosa, American troops found 2,000 tons of ammunition for American artillery, mortars, and machine guns, captured there by the North Koreans in June, all still in good condition. [61]

Not all the action that day was on and over land. Just after daylight, at 0550, two enemy YAK planes made bombing runs on the *Rochester* lying in Inch'on harbor. The first drop of four 100-pound bombs missed astern, except for one which ricocheted off the airplane crane without exploding. The second drop missed close to the port bow, causing minor damage to electrical equipment. One of the YAK's strafed H.M.S. *Jamaica*, which shot down the plane but suffered three casualties. [62]

Ashore, the 1st Marines resumed the attack on the morning of the 18th and passed through and around the burning town of Sosa at midmorning. By noon the 3d Battalion had seized Hill 123, a mile east of the town and north of the highway. Enemy artillery fire there caused many casualties in the afternoon, but neither ground nor aerial observers could locate the enemy pieces firing from the southeast. Beyond Sosa the North Koreans had heavily mined the highway and on 19 September the tank spearheads stopped after mines damaged two tanks. Engineers began the slow job of removing the mines and, without tank support, the infantry advance slowed. But at nightfall advanced elements of the regiment had reached Kal-ch'on Creek just west of Yongdungp'o. [63]

Other elements of the X Corps had by now arrived to join in the battle for Seoul. Vessels carrying the 7th Infantry Division arrived in Inch'on harbor on the 16th. General Almond

was anxious to get the 7th Division into position to block a possible enemy movement from the south of Seoul, and he arranged with Admiral Doyle to hasten its unloading. The 2d Battalion of the 32d Regiment landed during the morning of the 18th; the rest of the regiment landed later in the day. On the morning of 19 September, the 2d Battalion, 32d Infantry, moved up to relieve the 2d Battalion, 1st Marines, in its position on the right flank south of the Seoul highway. It completed the relief without incident by noon. The total effective strength of the 32d Infantry when it went into the line was 5,114 men-3,241 Americans and 1,873 ROK's. Responsibility for the zone south of the highway passed to the 7th Division at 1800, 19 September. During the day, the 31st Regiment of the 7th Division came ashore at Inch'on. [64]

The Navy had supported the ground action thus far with effective naval gunfire. The *Rochester* and *Toledo* had

[61] 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. I, G-3 Sec, an. C, p. 8 and an. B, app. 2, p. 1; New York *Herald Tribune*, September 18, 1950, Bigart dispatch; CINCFE, Sitrep, 250600-260600 Sep 50.

[62] JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, I-F-2 and IV-1.

[63] 1st Mar Div SAR, vol. I, G-3 Sec, an. C, pp. 10-13, 8-19 Sep 50: Geer, *The New Breed*, p. 136; Montross and Canzona, *The Inchon-Seoul Operation*, p. 178.

[64] 32d Inf WD, 16-19 Sep 50; Diary of CG X Corps, 18-19 Sep 50; JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, I-F-2; 1st Mar Div SAR, G-3 Sec, an. C, p. 13, 19 Sep 50; Almond, MS review comments for author, 23 Oct 53; 7th Inf Div WD, 16-19 Sep 50; 315t Inf WD, 19 Sep 50.

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[Caption] KIMPO RUNWAY *after capture by the 5th Marines.*

been firing at ranges up to 30,000 yards in support of the marines and the ROK's on their left flank. Now, on the 19th, the *Missouri* arrived in Inch'on harbor from the east coast of Korea and began delivering naval gunfire support to the 7th Division on the right flank. Despite difficult tide conditions and other restrictive factors in Inch'on harbor, the Navy by the evening of 18 September had unloaded 25,606 persons, 4,547 vehicles, and 14,166 tons of cargo. [65]

The battle for Seoul lay ahead. Mounting indications were that it would be far more severe than had been the action at Inch'on and the advance to the Han. Every day enemy resistance had increased on the road to Yongdungp'o. Aerial observers and fighter pilots reported large bodies of troops moving toward Seoul from the north. The N.K. *18th Division*, on the point of moving from Seoul to the Naktong front when the landing came at Inch'on, was instead ordered to retake Inch'on, and its advanced elements had engaged the 1st Marines in the vicinity of Sosa. On the 17th, enemy engineer units began mining the approaches to the Han River near Seoul. About the same time, the

N.K. 70th Regiment moved from Suwon to join in the battle. As they prepared to cross the Han, the marines estimated that there might be as many as 20,000 enemy troops in Seoul to defend the city. The X Corps intelligence estimate on 19 September, however, undoubtedly expressed the opinion prevailing among American commanders-that the enemy was "capable of offering stubborn resistance in Seoul but unless substantially reinforced, he is not considered

[65] JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, 18 Sep 50, and II-6.

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[Caption] TOP-LEVEL

BRIEFING, *1st Marine Division Headquarters, Inch'on, 17 September. Seated in front row, from m left: Generals MacArthur and Smith, Admiral Struble, and Generals Whitney and Wright.*

capable of making a successful defense." [66]

Not until their 18 September communiqué did the North Koreans mention publicly anything connected with the Inch'on landing and then they merely stated that detachments of the coastal defense had brought down two American fighter planes. [67]

[66] JTF 7, Inch'on Rpt, I-F-2 and an. B, app. 2, p. 2, 18 Sep 50; ATIS Interrog Rpts (N.K.) Issue 8, Rpt 1300, p. 1, Hon Cun Mun, p. 40, Kim So Sung; Rpt 1336, p. 45, Kim Won Yong; Rpt 1365, p. 90, Kan Chun Kil; Rpt 1369, p. 96, Maj Chu Yong Bok; *Ibid.*, Issue 9, p. :9, Kim Te Jon; X Corps PIR 1, 19 Sep 50; Giusti, "Marine Air Over Inchon-Seoul, " *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[67] *New York Times*, September 19, 1950.